The nature and causes of marital breakdown amongst a selected group of South African Indian Muslims in the Durban Metropolitan Area and its consequences for family life

by

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Date: January 2001

DEDICATION

For my beloved mother Ayesha, late brother Mohammed and
nephew Moosa who have been fondly missed during the course of this
study

Acknowledgement

The completion of this study is largely due to the following:

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Abstract

The institutions of marriage and family have existed throughout human kind and continue to do so as we enter the twenty first century. These are important institutions that prepare individuals as social actors. The progress of society from its traditional form to present levels of modernity, has come with many consequences for the institutions of marriage and the family. This has been witnessed by high rates of marital breakdown and single parenthood in almost all societies. The causes of marriage and family breakdown are many, and complex. It is a multi-factored problem which social scientists and policy makers are battling to come to grips with since its escalation has enormous social, economic and political consequences. The biggest victims of marital breakdown are children. Unless society comes to grips with this social problem, the institutions of marriage and the family are at risk of collapsing. For society to continue to prepare future social actors, it is paramount that these two institutions are preserved.

CHAPTER ONE

NATURE, SCOPE AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

South African society is a complex one, comprising Indians, Whites, Africans and coloureds. Each has its own set of religious and ethnic identity, with varying degrees of value and normative systems.

The Indian community is particularly culturally complex. Its underlying social bonds are derived mainly from religious norms, which proscribe and prescribe the conduct of members in their everyday social functioning. But religious norms for Hindus, Muslims and Tamils differ in so far as the institution of marriage and family are concerned. Because of this general complexity and the differences in religious norms, it is advisable to study a selected group of Muslims so that social peculiarities may be researched and understood in a group context. In the present study the selected group are Muslims of an Indian origin in the Metropolitan Area of Durban.

This study concentrates on the Muslim community in order to make the study more specific and manageable. All too often, social researchers study phenomena in the total Indian context and then make generalisations about the entire Indian culture. This is misleading due to the fact that the Indian community comprises divergent cultures. The study of the Indian community in its entirety is also a very extensive task.

The Muslim community in South Africa is undergoing a process of social change. The religious institution and social solidarity appear to be weakening due to divergent schools of religious thought that have arisen. This has lead to the inevitable weakening of social bonds and social relationships among its members. Such

weakening of the social bond has important consequences for the institution of marriage and also for the family.

Instability within the religious institution, due to the divergent schools of thought, has paved the way for western influence. The gradual emancipation of the Muslim from the traditional Islamic value system, the shift from the extended family system to that of the nuclear type in order to meet the greater economic demands of society, the need for both spouses to secure gainful occupations to meet economic pressures, the incompatibility of marital partners and the increasing differentiation in the class structure, all have severe consequences for married life. These are some of the assumed factors that lead to marital breakdown in the Muslim community. The purpose of this study is to determine the validity of these assumptions.

Marital breakdown in the Muslim community has not been researched thoroughly, a fact supported by the Human Sciences Research Council's registers on research studies. It is envisaged that this study could result in meaningful recommendations for a healthier and enriched marital life for Muslims.

1.2 The field of study

The institutions of marriage and family have been widely studied in the fields of sociology, family law, anthropology, psychiatry, political science, history, social work, theology, social-psychology and medicine. Despite social, religious and cultural differences, the institutions of marriage and family have been considered as universal institutions which have existed and which continue to exist in the history of human civilisation.

Different disciplines have concerned themselves with the study of the different aspects of marriage and family. For example, psychiatrists, social workers and psychologists concern themselves with making marriage and families function effectively in society and with the prevention of their disintegration, breakdown and with the promotion of the preservation of marriage and family life. Political

scientists, policy makers and family law practitioners concern themselves with the management of a fair degree of balance in the relationships between public and private interests, and with rights and obligations of families which are prescribed by the state. Theologians and religious institutions express concern about the departure from the ethical, moral and divine considerations imposed by religious or sacred prescriptions.

Diagrammatic sketch of the field of family sociology
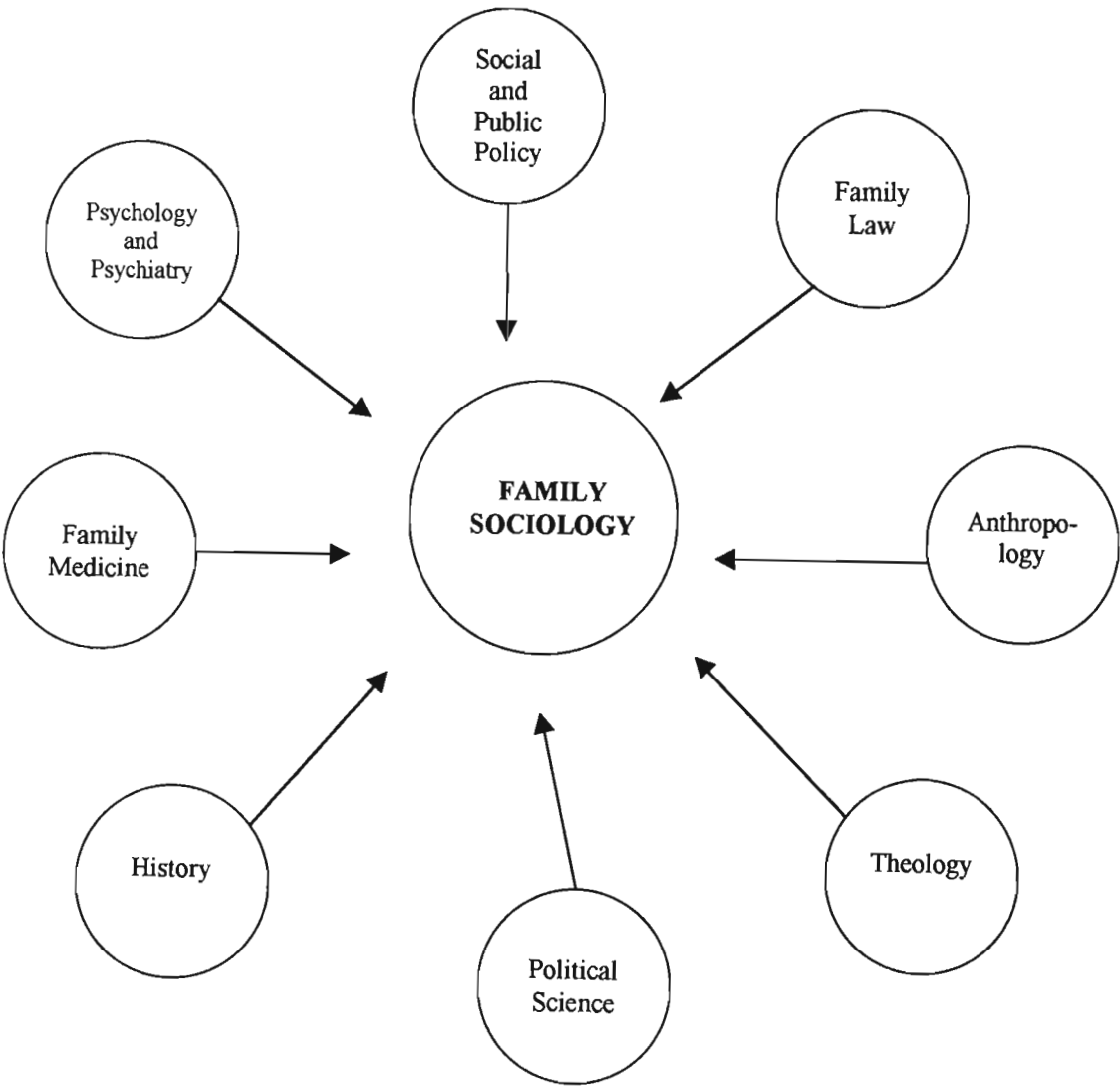
Within the discipline of sociology, the specialised field of family sociology devotes much attention to the study of marriage and family. This was particularly true during the end of the Second World War in which attempts were made to foster social reorganisation and reconstruction of western societies (Finch and Summerfield, 1991: 17-30). The preoccupation of family sociology during this era (1945-59) focussed on the greater emancipation of women from home and their improved status. This was largely due to rapid industrialisation, greater emphasis on companionate marriage and equality of spouses in the marital relationship, increasing redefinition of sex roles and the education of girls in schools in domestic science to prepare them for adult domestic roles. Family planning, increased sexual expression for gratification, the feminist movement and its influence on relationships between spouses, had taken precedence in family sociology studies (Finch and Summerfield, 1991: 17-22).

Early in the 1960s anxieties about companionate marriages were raised by western family sociologists pertaining to the deteriorating quality and also to the decline of family life. Many studies focussed on the high rate of divorce and juvenile delinquency (Finch and Summerfield, 1991:23-24). The Great Depression of the 1960s, and its effects on marriage and family life, also prompted interest in the field of family studies.

During the 1960s and 1970s family studies emphasised the importance of married couples talking things over and expressing their feelings towards each other. This trend for Richards and Elliot (1991:35) was "....mirrored in the sociological world by the phenomenologists who analysed marriage as a socially constructed shared reality in which mutual conversation is central." Increased communication and interaction between the spouses reflected the character of family life in this era. Premarital sex, including the emergence of the phenomenon of extramarital relationships (which was once considered taboo in most societies), was evidence of the liberal attitude to be found during this time. The period of the 1960s and 1970s is often described as the era of the sexual revolution.

In the 1980s the research agenda in family sociology shifted. The focus was more on the economic aspects of marriage, a deepening awareness of gender relationships within domestic life, and a slower but growing recognition of violence in the domestic sphere. This period was characterised by heightened family and public policy reforms focussing on the status of women in the economy, their sex roles, status and position in society, equality, and the fight against discrimination and exploitation. Major debates centred around whether too much attention had been placed on the various lobbying of single parents, cohabiting couples and gay relationships at the expense of the mainstream "normal" families. The diversity in family forms also dominated family research agendas (Finch and Morgan, 1991:67-69).

The field of family sociology has been widely established, especially in industrialised societies. In South Africa, family sociology as a discipline has not developed into a distinct field, despite the reality of marital and family breakdown. Interestingly in a study undertaken by the National Research Foundation (NRF) (2000:11) on the state of sociology as a discipline in South Africa, make reference to the study of families in the broad area of "domestic life". This classification suggests the peripheral status accorded to the study of families in South Africa in the specific discipline of family sociology. Further, according to the NRF for the period 1979-1988 the number of research papers presented in the area of "domestic life" at the Association of Sociologists in Southern Africa at its annual conferences was just under fifteen percent.

1.3 Goals of the study

The goals of the study are as follows:
- To ascertain the sociological and other causal factors of marital breakdown with respect to a selected group of Muslim Indians.
- To ascertain the nature and effects of marital breakdown on the Muslim family system.
- To ascertain the effects of marital breakdown on the rearing of children.
- To assess the social organisation of minority Muslims.

- To propose solutions and make recommendations on the preservation of family life.

1.4 Assumptions upon which the present study is based

The present study bases its assumption on the fact that the nature, function and purpose of marriage and family are the same for all societies in the world. Universally, marriage and family life are institutionalised within norms, values, cultures, customs, traditions, religious and ethical considerations peculiar to that society's social, political, economic and historical evolution.

Despite these peculiarities, common processes and dynamics prevalent within the institution of marriage and family make it a universal phenomenon. There is increasing belief among family sociologists that in both preliterate and in modern societies, the basic components of marriages has been the same (Wells,1988:2). Wells (1988) contends that marriages in all societies are socially sanctioned, sexual union legitimated with permanence, through a public announcement involving some explicit marriage contract which spells out the reciprocal rights and obligations between spouses, and their future children.

Similarly, the family has always been a universal social institution. As a social institution, the family universally performs similar functions in all societies. Lamanna and Riedmann (1990:9-10) assert that, universally, the family ensures social control of reproduction and child rearing, it provides economic support for its members and is a source of emotional security. Despite the universality of marriage and the family, variations in nature and form do occur. However, the scope of this study does not permit an in-depth exploration of these variations.

Based on the assumption that both marriage and the family are universally accepted social institutions, it is possible to question whether similarities in the universality of the causes of marital breakdown in fact do exist. The likelihood of similarities existing is great, despite the fact that differences in social-psychological and

economic factors do occur and vary between one society and another. In addition, based on the assumption that there are similarities in the causation of marital breakdown, one would anticipate similar consequences for family life universally.

The universality of the institution of marriage and family makes it possible to propose the following specific assumptions about the study:

- that the causal factors resulting in marital breakdown identified in American society also hold good for the South African Indian Muslim community;
- that the effects of marital breakdown on the rearing of children identified in American society also hold good for the South African Indian Muslim community; and
- that the effects of marital breakdown on the American family system are comparable to the South African Indian Muslim family.

It may be argued whether assumptions about a minority religious community with strong social, cultural and religious bonds in a rapidly transforming country could at all be made against a highly westernised, emancipated, and pluralistic society. The balance on these assumptions definitely looks skewed! Perhaps, not all together.

Should the assumptions of this study be affirmed, then it would prove:

- the similarity of problems affecting Muslim marriages and families in South Africa are no different to those experienced elsewhere in the world;
- the universality of consequences facing societies and communities as a result of family breakdown and disintegration; and
- the universality of solutions required to preserve marriage and families.

A further assumption is made on the understanding that the institutions of marriage and the family are dynamic and evolutionary in nature. They vary in their form according to a number of social, historical, cultural, economic and demographic factors. Hence the study of marriage and family life amongst Indian Muslims in the Durban Metropolitan Area is set against the backdrop of their historical entry as a minority community in the city, their achievements in maintaining their culture and

Islamic sense of identity since the colonialist legacy of the apartheid era, their prospects in the post apartheid era, their general contribution to all aspects of South African life, both past and present and their ability to sustain their sense of Islamic identity and culture in the post apartheid South Africa.

The institution of marriage and family in Islam is acknowledged as a religious duty and is considered as a sacred institution. Marriages are intended to be continuous and permanent. Marital breakdown in Islam has been considered as being the most repugnant of all things permitted by God and, as such, its dissolution requires much reconsideration (Dangor 1987:123-125). The general assumption of this study will be that the increasing rate of marital breakdown amongst the Muslims in Durban may not be attributed to the rapid emancipation of Muslims from the folds of Islam, but rather due to the stress and strains similar to those experienced by families in other parts of the world.

1.5 Scope of the study

A literature study is undertaken to establish a theoretical basis for the research. This involves an examination of fundamental concepts such as *marriage, culture and family organisation*. The causes and consequences of marital breakdown will be examined and the current status of the Muslim community, as a minority group will also be assessed.

It must be noted that past research perceptions on the Indian community in South Africa had a tendency to assume that Muslims generally subscribe to values and norms practised within the broader Indian community. Historically this perception has been shown to be untrue. Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr (1985:185-186) in a study of religion and inter-group relations in Durban, found that Muslims were the only group who overwhelmingly exhibited a clear pattern in which religious and ethnic identity was virtually one and the same in contrast to racial identity. Hence the scope of the study is confined to respondents identified as Muslims but of an Indian origin.

Although ethnic factors would be taken into account within the scope of the study it would not be the basis for analysis.

The source of the data are mainly from specialised marriage and family counselling centres, private social welfare agencies, and Muslim religious and community-based organisations. Data from government departments are known to lack in reliability. Family policy under apartheid and the present democratic government exclude the official recognition of Muslim marriages. Hence marital records from government departments for the purpose of this study can hardly be considered a source of reliable information.

Apart from religion and race being criteria for the identification of respondents, a further requirement is the validation of marriage in terms of Islamic Law (*Nikah*) which Muslims consider a primary requirement in order to legitimatise marital unions. The importance of the *Nikah* in validating marriages amongst Muslims has been appropriately expounded by Hodkinson (1984:90) who asserts that: "…There is a sanctity attached to it from the beginning to the end by conceptions of rights and obligations which, if treated without the holiness they possess in their nature, would be profane and cease to be Islamic in character."

Another important characteristic of the respondents that need to be considered, is the effect of their emotional and socio-psychological state and behaviour in the various stages of marital discord/conflict and its consequential effect on the study. Three general stages of therapeutic interventions have been identified by family practitioners in South Africa viz. pre-intervention, intervention and post-intervention stages. It is believed that respondents, for example in a pre-intervention stage would be at variance in their emotional and socio-psychological experience compared to a respondent in the post intervention stage. The scope of the study does not permit exploration of attitudes of respondents in the different stages of intervention. It seeks to ascertain general patterns of responses to a set of predetermined questions from a select group of respondents. However, the respondent's emotional and socio-

psychological state during the different stages of marital problem is likely to positively ensure representative response rates.

The study covers very sensitive ground. Not only are studies of the confidential aspects of families viewed as a very sensitive subject matter, so too are studies on religious aspects of societies and communities. This study prompts an investigation of phenomenon strongly embedded in religious norms, values, traditions, culture, ethics and diversity in religious interpretation and thought.

The study of the institutions of marriage and family in the Muslim community need be viewed as unorthodox. In fact, concerns in the community relating to matters such as the increasing prevalence of marital breakdown, family disintegration and conflict are prevalent and common.

1.6 Background studies on Muslim marriages and family breakdown in South Africa

A literature study on the subject matter had been undertaken and the results thereof indicate that no study of this nature had been undertaken in South Africa and elsewhere. However a study undertaken by Ramphal on marital conflict among Hindus in the Durban Metropolitan Area in 1985 and Schoombee and Mantzaris on a preliminary study of attitudes of South African Indians towards inter-religious and arranged marriages, may serve as an important basis for reference. It must be noted that inferences cannot be drawn in their entirety from these studies.

It must also be noted that the Muslims as an immigrant group in the DMA had similar socio-political and historical experiences of the past when compared to their non-Muslim Indian counterparts in Durban and elsewhere in South Africa. Shaped by a similar socio-political destiny over just three generations of residency in the country, the Muslim community has established deep social, economic, political and cultural roots within the broader South African society. However, its distinct set of religious,

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cultural and belief systems give it a distinct sense of identity compared to other Indian minority groupings.

Despite their distinct sense of identity, Muslims are not precluded from the many social and psychological problems faced by other minority groups both locally and internationally. At a national level, social problems are not dissimilar to that experienced by other racial groups and communities.

In the absence of significant literature in the South African context, the study necessitates an examination of research evidence on the phenomenon outside it. Sources of literature and research evidence from the international context are likely to contribute to a meaningful understanding of the phenomenon under study. This is especially in light of the fact that sufficient research evidence attests to the institutions of marriage and family as a universal human phenomenon.

1.7 Restrictions on the present study

Sociological studies of the family have presented researchers with much difficulty in the analysis of the family. Many sociologists see the family as "...a weak spot in the development of the discipline" (Wilson, 1986:217). Families are generally considered to be a very private area of social life and many people would not want this sphere of their lives to be opened to academic scrutiny. The sensitivity surrounding family studies betrays the many gainful sociological insights one is likely to gain from an understanding of the dynamics and complexity of family life.

Another complexity surrounding the study of families relates to its dynamic nature. The family varies in form according to any number of social, cultural, economic and demographic factors (Wilson, 1986:219). Hence, the study of families becomes an immensely complex process for research.

However, in this study the following constraints are anticipated:

- **Sample size**: Ideally respondents who are married couples would have served as an ideal sample type for the purpose of this study. Their personal experiences of being a spouse would have provided a rich source of data for a comparative study between males and females. However, the likelihood of including couples in the study becomes remote since most helping agencies report that the female spouse is the first person to call for social welfare services in times of marital difficulty. On the contrary, the male spouse is known to have a tendency to stay away or resist efforts from the helping profession to resolve his marital problems.

An important observation is the variety of resources used by Muslims to resolve marital problems. Therapeutic resources most commonly used are specialist family and marriage centres, community based welfare organisations and religious organisations. Hence a large sample population from these sources is likely to partially overcome the problem of male under representation in the study.

- **Class factor**: Generally low income families use public institutions and community based resource systems to resolve their marital and family problems. Middle and upper income families tend to use the services of private psychologists, psychiatrists and marriage and family therapists. Accessibility to the personal records and individual cases of private family work practitioners is restrictive due to the nature of professional accountability; responsibility and indemnity entered into with the respective professional registering body. As a consequence, private family practitioners are averse to participating in studies of this nature.

- **Ethnic bias**: The population under study is Muslims of Indian origin. As stated earlier in this chapter, the Indian culture is complex and diverse. The city of Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal is known to be inhabited by a large number of immigrants from indentured Indian Muslim backgrounds. This group of Indian Muslims is known to originate from *Urdu* speaking backgrounds and adhere to the Sunni Sect. *Gujerati* speaking Indian Muslims are known to predominate in Gauteng Province. They constitute a vast majority of passenger

Indian Muslims who had come into the country during the British colonialist period as merchants. The socio-historical backgrounds of these two Indian Muslim groups present differences in language, class, ethnicity and religious composition of the Muslims in South Africa. These differences will be taken into consideration in the final analysis of the study but will not be subject to testing by way of any hypothesis.

- **Literature:** A lack of local literature exists on the phenomenon under study. As stated earlier, in the past most studies were confined to the Indian community in general from which inferences were drawn about the Muslim community. While certain similarities are inherent and unavoidable, it must be noted that Muslims draw a sense of identity from their Islamic value system, which, in part, is distinct from other Indian groups. In addition the institution of marriage amongst Muslims is deeply rooted in Islamic Law and practised in terms of the customs and traditions prescribed therein. In the light of the fact that adherents to the Islamic faith are distributed throughout the globe, universal similarities are likely to inform the study positively.

1.8 Some preliminary considerations

Earlier it has been stated that this study was of a sensitive nature and great precaution was needed against unanticipated legal and ethical issues emanating from the study of private case files, due to violations of professional codes of conduct. The necessary permission of the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare Society was obtained so that respondents may be identified from its affiliate societies in the DMA. Similar procedures were followed for the Family and Marriage Society of South Africa in order to gain access to its regional offices based in the DMA.

Since the research is restricted from direct access to respondents, social workers and family work practitioners who have direct contact with the respondents will be requested to identify potential research subjects and undertake the interview. Social work practitioners, by virtue of their training, possess adequate in-depth interview

skills which will ensure reliable response rates due to their therapeutic relationship with the research subjects.

1.9 General structure of the present study

The study comprises eight sections broken into chapters. Chapter One sets the structure of the study, the assumptions upon which the study has been conceptualised, the scope of the study, availability of literature to undertake the study, anticipated restrictions and notation of preliminary considerations.

Chapter Two of the study examines the concept marriage, its definition, the ethical and religious aspects of marriage, motivations for marriage, the various types of marriages and the definition and factors leading to marital breakdown. More specific discussions are entered into on marriages amongst the Muslims and the formal procedures practised in validating marriages.

Chapter Three examines the concept of family life and its component parts. In this section the various forms of families are identified, the universality of family functions highlighted and the role of the family in society examined in light of rapid social change. This section concludes with a description of the general characteristics of the traditional Muslim family.

Chapter Four examines the causal factors leading to marital breakdown and its consequences. It is widely acknowledged that the causes of marital breakdown are multi-factored with multiple consequences. Where possible, these are grouped on the basis of relatedness. In the section on the consequence of marital breakdown, its effects on the physical, social, psychological and economic well-being of children is examined. Thereafter, the Islamic position on marital breakdown and its dissolution is expounded upon.

In Chapter Five the focus is on the religious and cultural organisation of minority Muslims in the global context. It proposes a theoretical basis for the formation of

culture, culture conflict, assimilation and acculturation. It examines the religious basis for the formation and maintenance of an Islamic sense of culture and identification with the global community of Muslims. The nature, trends and patterns of cultural problems experienced by minority Muslims in maintaining their identity are further discussed in this chapter.

The Chapter also examines the historical, social, cultural, political, and economic organisation of Indian Muslims in the DMA. Their contribution to the general South African society and their intergenerational contribution to ensure their survival as a minority immigrant community are assessed. Since Muslims are known to derive their sense of identity from a common religious system, irrespective of race, class and ethnic differences, the chapter extends itself to the study of Muslims in the national South African context.

The focus of Chapter Six is on methodological issues. The procedures and techniques used in the gathering and presentation of data is discussed. This chapter evaluates the method of data collection, the choice of the research locale, method of sample selection and the choice of the measuring instrument.

Chapter Seven comprises the results of the study. The Likert scale is used to analyse data. The results and the major findings of the research are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Eight contains the major conclusions drawn from the study. Based on the conclusions, substantive recommendations for the preservation of family life amongst Indian Muslims in the DMA and elsewhere are proposed.

1.10. Summary

The study of marriage and family can be a very extensive task for sociologists and other social scientists alike. These are exacerbated by the complexity of the institution of marriage and family, their dynamic evolutionary nature, the importance placed upon it by society as a basic social institution and the increasing vulnerability

it faces as a result of modernisation, industrialisation, emancipation from the sacred and divine attributes attached to the institution of marriage and family by religion and increasing stresses and strains imposed upon the family system by modern capitalism.

The twentieth century after the Second World War had witnessed increasing trends in marital breakdown and the gradual erosion of the traditional family system. The entry of women in the capitalist market, women's movements and feminism, the liberalisation of sexual attitudes, a shift to the nuclear family and companionate marriages, rapid urbanisation, liberal attitudes on family forms and many more factors provoked enquiry into the sociology of the family in western societies. Some of them are diagnostic, others descriptive, whilst others with optimistic hope in innovative treatment and preventative methods attempted to prevent the family from disintegrating. Social scientists from different persuasions have kept the study of families close to their research agenda, but an increase in the rates of marital and family breakdowns had gone by unabated.

The disintegration of families has been known to have serious consequences for social order and stability. The number of children who have been socio-psychologically disturbed, committed to public institutions of care, lost to juvenile delinquency and crime, the cost of state support for maintenance and the resulting disturbed family living patterns later in adulthood raises much concern in almost all societies.

The burning question one may ask is whether the disintegration of the family is responsible for the moral decadence found in society or whether society is responsible for the breakdown of the family? This question is a difficult one to answer and the scope of this study does not allow for the reaching of such conclusions. Ultimately, however this study attempts to highlight the fact that universally the institutions of marriage and family has a significant and important role to play in society and high rates of disintegration has major social, emotional and economic consequences. It is against this backdrop that the study examines the institution of marriage and family amongst the minority Indian Muslim community in the DMA. The study is premised

on the assumption that the institution of marriage and family is universal and what holds true for one society may be true for a minority community as well.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUALIZING THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the origin, nature, forms and structure of a marital relationship. More specifically it defines the concept *marriage* and focuses attention on the ethical and religious aspects of marriage as a socially approved institution. The section on motivation for marriage explores the social, psychological, emotional, physical and economic reasons as to why people marry.

A study of the different types of marriages prevalent in different societies is also presented in this chapter. Polygynous, polygamous, monogamous and serial monogamous marriages are the four main types of marriages identified for discussion. The study acknowledges restrictions prevalent in choosing a marriage partner. Discussion on endogamous and exogamous marital forms helps to highlight this situation.

Finally the chapter concludes by an examination of marriage amongst Muslims, the basic requirements for the validation of marriage and the procedures involved.

2.2 What is marriage?

Marriage is considered to be an institutional act, which unites a man and a woman (Turner and Helms, 1988:5). This act ensures that two persons of the opposite sex are joined according to the laws, customs and cultural requirements of the society to which they belong. An early definition of the ideal marriage was perceived as a "voluntary union of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others; that is, it is regarded as voluntary, permanent and as strictly monogamous. It is the ideal the law attempts to implement" (Farmer, 1970:12).

Schulz (1971:64) attempts to provide a more expanded definition of marriage. Marriage is the established institution for starting a family. It involves an exchange of economic goods and is a legal, physical and moral union between a man and a woman continuing through the raising of their children. Marriage helps to regulate relations between the sexes and establishes the child's relation to the community. Generally, it is associated with a ceremony, magical, religious, social or civil, which formalises the group's approval. The children produced are usually accepted as the legitimate offspring of the married couple.

More recently, Bird and Melville (1994: 175) defined marriage as a sexual union, which is socially recognised through public announcement or ceremony, based on an explicit contract undertaken with intentions for permanence. Moreover, the act of marriage provides the social legitimisation for bearing children and is limited by above definitions and social constraints to unions between two heterosexual partners.

A comparison of the earlier and more recent definitions of marriage illustrates that societal values placed on the institution of marriage have not changed as we enter into the twenty first century. Finch and Morgan (1991:56-58) in their study of marriage in the 1980s, note that there has been no change in the adherence to conventional family values. In fact, they confirm that despite disparate sociological studies being published in the 1980s evidence points to continuities with the past rather than a dramatic change in the value attached to the institution of marriage and family. An exclamation by Wells (1988:17) *"Marriage: It's Back in Style!"* points to the renewed popularity of marriage in contemporary society. Research on marriage in the 1980s highlighted the increasing importance that was being attached to the concept of a "successful marriage" and considerable efforts continue to be placed in trying to achieve one (Finch and Morgan, 1991:57).

Importantly, the definitions of marriage highlight four basic components, which are common in order to create a marital relationship, namely: social legitimisation, public acknowledgement, an assumption of permanence and reciprocal rights and

obligations. Wells (1988:2) asserts that marriage serves as a 'rite of passage', a status-changing event that requires one to pass through in order to create a family.

The definition of marriage highlights that it is neither a social nor a sexual relationship. Marriage is a sum total of social, physical, psychological, sexual and economic factors to be found in both the individuals' personality and also the social structure.

2.3 Ethical and religious aspects of marriage

In most societies, religious norms and values play an important role in legitimating marriages. Marriages are often solemnised through religious rituals and practices. As a consequence, it accords the institutions of marriage and family life a sanctimonious status in society. This section briefly discusses the ethical and religious prescriptions made by the major religions in the world.

2.3.1 Christianity

Since the advent of Christ and Christian civilisation, religion has had a profound influence on marriage in western societies. The Christian theory concerning marriage as a sacrament was endorsed at the Council of Trent in A.D. 1563, which re-affirmed that marriage was not only holy, but also a sacrament which the Church should supervise in accordance with divine instructions (Gotlieb, 1993:55). At the Council of Trent it was declared that a valid marriage required the presence of a priest and two or three witnesses at the marriage ceremony. The Council also decreed the publishing of the *banns* i.e. a public declaration of an intention to marry to be enforced. This was undertaken through formal announcements on three successive Sundays in the parish churches of both the betrothed (Leslie, 1979:175).

Despite the invocations made by the Council of Trent, much of the feudal period was characterised by clandestine marriages, abuses associated with clerical celibacy and fraud in the granting of dispensations to marriage and annulments (Leslie, 1979:176).

It was during this period that the church policy on marriage underwent further reformation.

During this reformation period the church fragmented into Catholic and Protestant factions. Martin Luther (1483-1546) a German leader of the Protestant reformation strongly advocated the view that marriage was not a sacrament but a civil contract blessed by God. It therefore meant that marriage and divorce should be regulated by the state and not by the church (Saxton; 1990:277-278).

Protestants generally accepted that the expression of the sexual urge was permissible only within marriage (Kirkpatrick, 1963:109). Persons belonging to the Protestant Church who did not subscribe to this view were considered not to hold the view of the Church. Generally, Protestants accepted the holiness of marriage, not as a sacrament, but as a divine institution. Hence it follows that ties existing between the husband and the wife was bonded by holy matrimony and therefore may not be dissolved. The marriage requirement included an injunction that the married couple needed to remain faithful to each other until they have been parted by death.

2.3.2 Judaism

For Jews, marriage is religiously important and is paramount to God's direction for the nation to be "fruitful and multiply" (Turner and Helms, 1988:34). Marriage is seen as the way to physical and spiritual fulfilment. Sex is not solely perceived for purposes of procreating children, but also for the way in which it can express and deepen love (Pilkington, 1991:79). The Rabbinical view on marriage is one of an ideal human state – a basic institution by God at the time of creation. Marriage is regarded as a sacred relationship, not merely a legal contract but a spiritual one wherein husband and wife uphold certain rights and duties.

Judaism attaches strong religious meanings to the institution of marriage. The Talmud according to Forta (1995:37) reminds Jews that "...a man without a wife is incomplete" and "...an unmarried woman is an unfinished vessel". The husband's

duties to his wife include the provision of clothing, food and shelter. The duties of both parties are to elevate their marriage to the highest level through mutual consideration and respect. It is a sacred relationship demanding faithfulness and loyalty between spouses (Pilkington, 1991:80).

2.3.3 Islam

Amongst Muslims the institution of marriage is at the centre of Muslim personal law. It is generally held that Muslim marriages are not a holy sacrament but a civil contract. Such a contract has spiritual and moral overtones but remains a contract between the parties (Hodkinson, 1984:89; Ali,1986:157).

Islam encourages the institution of marriage as it leads to the betterment of humankind and serves to legitimate the continuation of the human race. Marriage is enshrined in the Quran and exemplified by the Prophet of Islam who, by example and by precept, encouraged the status of marriage amongst Muslims. The Prophet of Islam is known to have said "...When a man marries, he fulfils half his religion, so let him fear Allah regarding the remaining half." (Badat, 1996:1). This means that marriage is a desirable institution and a necessity.

For Muslims, marriage is viewed as a way of instilling social values, and to protect society from licentiousness, illicit and deviated forms of sexual gratification, adultery, indecency and promiscuity (Begum, 1995:26; Badat, 1996). The sole purpose of marriage in Islam is not only for the fulfilment of sexual gratification's, but for the procreation of the human species (Ebrahim, 1988:43). Islam views celibacy as an un-Islamic practice, a violation of human nature, which should be discouraged (Badat, 1996:1).

2.3.4 Hinduism

Amongst the Hindus, the concept of marriage is deeply enshrined in the *Rig-Veda*, the earliest codified (about the last half of the 2nd millennium B.C, and the law of Manu,

about the beginning of the Christian era) literature which devotes attention to marriage and family (Goode, 1964:2). Early Hindu scriptures refer to marriage as the performance of religious rites, the raising of children and physical satisfaction. Marriage is also considered indissoluble in terms of the orthodox Hindu custom. It is a sacrament, an indestructible and sacred union between male and female (Ramphal, 1985:105).

Marital devotion receives its supreme expression in terms of Hindu law, hence traditionally the widow joins her deceased husband by casting herself on the funeral pyre. This is regarded as a rite of "sate" or "suttee". However, this seldom happens in India and never in South Africa. In most cases the widow remains celibate.

The examination of the concept of marriage from the various religious viewpoints makes it evident that religion prescribes and proscribes marital conduct. The concept of marriage finds its root in the ethics of religion, which is considered fundamental for a harmonious marital relationship. Societal norms and enacted laws simply serve as standards for the management and control of human conduct and relationships, but the crux of marital conduct is prescribed and derived from the ethics and prescriptions to be found in different religious thoughts.

2.4   Motivations for marriage

Do people marry merely because they love somebody, or because they see an opportunity of spending the rest of their lives with a certain person? Do they marry because society in general assumes that men and women must marry? Do they marry to satisfy their sexual urges? The motivation for marriage provokes much thought and thus explanations are in abundance. Despite the many questions and answers surrounding the motivations for marriage, there are no single motivation for marriage. Marriage is the some total of religious, social, moral, ethical, physical, economic, psychological, political and emotional factors.

Early motivations for marriage according to Kenkel (1973) perceived procreation as a primary reason as to why human beings marry. Kenkel (1973:187) asserts that:

"To live and to cause to live are the primary wants of man. Man in his humanity or vanity, has devoted much of his precious resources to preserving life and begetting life. To be sure, the future of every society and indeed of mankind is in its children. Any group that wishes to endure must provide for and encourage the birth of a young. All groups have entrusted their faith in their continued existence to the family in the sense that they have given highest approval to childbearing within the family as opposed to childbearing outside of it."

To this extent Leslie (1979:17) asserts that despite the fact that present day society is becoming more conscious of overpopulation, the expectation is that most marriages will produce at least one child. Leslie (1979) concludes similarly to Kenkel (1973) that all societies place high value upon having children to ensure the survival of society. More recently Saxton (1990:228) asserts that many couples marry because they expect to have children and want their children to be legitimised by marriage.

On the contrary, however, many present-day couples choose not to have children. Contemporary research data suggest a positive correlation between childlessness and marital satisfaction and couples without children are more likely to report being happily married than are couples with children (Saxton, 1990:238). This may be attributed to the heavy demands placed on marriages due to stress brought upon by child rearing practices, modern living lifestyles, pursuance of a career and the increasing entry of women in the paid labour market.

However, most people enter into marriage with the expectation that it will be a success and with the desire to build a family by this union. Women basically marry with the conviction that they will be able to have children whilst men have a fundamental and natural desire to beget their own offspring. Procreation and yearning in every woman to have a child of her own, together with a desire for security are probably some of the principal reasons for marriage (Raymo, 1998:1025; Broderick, 1979: 13-18).

Whilst procreation may be an important sociological reason for marriage, central to human existence has been the expression of *love* and affection which is derived from the biological make up of human beings. Marriage is one area in which human beings can legitimately express their drives on the basis of their love for one another.

Lamanna and Reidman (1991:94) define love as a deep vital emotion emanating from a significant personal need for satisfaction through caring and acceptance of the beloved leading to love and intimacy, i.e. a commitment to share.

Love takes various forms such as egotistical, altruistic, obsessive, pragmatic, companionate, and exotic. In the marital relationship social scientists identify two types of love viz: passionate and companionate. Passionate love is physical and non-rational because it flares up in a very brief time between relative strangers whereas companionate love is characterised by a deep sense of friendship, reliability, and a less intense, but not necessarily less frequent sexual contact (Bird and Melville, 1994:62-63). It must be noted that it is the expression of erotic or passionate love, which is approved within the institution of marriage in order to differentiate human sexuality from other primates. Passionate love is basically love for the flesh, which is sensual, physical and sexual, with no long-term emotional attachments.

It should be noted that the expression of love varies from one society to another and also for different cultures. Anthropologists have noted that the transition from arranged marriages to love marriages is most frequently perceived as a consequence of modernisation or industrialisation. It is strongly correlated with the decreasing importance of the joint family system as a corporate unit and with the consequent emphasis on individual autonomy (de Munck, 1996:700; Malhotra and Tsui, 1996:478). Caldwell et al. (1989) in a study of 1 974 Sri Lankan households concluded that love marriages had become the norm as a result of non-traditional, socio-economic factors such as obtaining higher levels of Western-style education and non agricultural type of employment (de Munck, 1996:700). The findings of this study question the assumption as to whether love is a purely psychologically derived construct or it is culturally endorsed or inhibited.

Cultural explanations as motivation for marriage encompass a range of factors. McLaughlin and Lichter (1997:584) assert that young women who believe that traditional roles are most important are more likely to marry at younger ages. Moreover, earlier marriages are more acceptable in families with lower parental education. Young women who experienced parental separation or divorce also tend to marry earlier and women who live independently from their parents are less likely to marry because they have established independence from the parental household.

However O'Connell (1994:14) asserts that in most societies strong social and personal reasons are the reasons why women and men marry. It is perceived that marriage brings an improved social status and prestige for women and men and it offers some protection to women and shared responsibilities for child rearing functions (Moore, 1996:137). Marriage is also a means of forging alliances between powerful and potentially competing families in order to accumulate wealth, power, prestige, or for the retention of property within a certain social group (O'Connell, 1994:14).

Lamanna and Riedmann, (1990:243-246) and Turner and Helms (1988:193-194) note that premarital pregnancy, marital rebound, rebellion, escape, physical appearance, loneliness, pity and obligation, social pressure, emotional security and economic advancement are some of the common reasons for marriage. However, they conclude that marriages for these reasons are hardly likely to lead to stable marriages.

However, the influence of societal value systems as motivation for marriage has been increasingly challenged by rapid cohabitation trends in most European countries. Two studies undertaken on cohabitation patterns in the United States by Bumpass and Sweet (1989) and Gwartney-Gibbs (1986) suggest that fifty percent of the couples sampled had cohabited before marriage (Bird and Melville, 1994). Cohabitation is becoming more common and more acceptable in contemporary society than in the past.

Conservative societal values also assume that women who have never married have failed to achieve the most important role of female adulthood. It is because of this value, which is strongly maintained in society, that pressure is exuded to conform to the generally accepted norm of marriage. Further, the majority of the people in society do marry and persons who never marry are regarded as outsiders and as different from the general society. As the person grows older, s/he finds that s/he is increasingly excluded from relationships involving married people. Many married couples regard the bachelor or the spinster as a threat to their marriage, and as a peculiar and eccentric person (Gittins, 1985:85-87).

The pairing-off relationship is another factor in the motivation for marriage. The moment two people begin courting, they seek each others company more and more. According to Callan and Noller (1987:75) similarities in values and behaviours coupled with physical attractiveness increases the quality of the relationship during courting. Their private world begins to assume another form and gains an intimate and delightful meaning.

Goldberg (1985:20) asserts that the most important psychological aspect in this relationship is the feeling of encounter, which is the feeling experienced by two people that they belong to each other in more than the physical sense and that they cannot live without each other. It is this psychological "fusion" (a sense of togetherness and longing to be one and complete) according to Goldberg (1985) that serves as a strong motivation to marry.

The marital relationship may generally be regarded as the most intimate relationship that can exist between two persons. When the married couple live chiefly for each other, their ego is satisfied to a great extent. The fact that there is someone willing to establish a relationship, satisfies their need to feel important through closeness, warmth interdependence, self-disclosure and affection (Saxton, 1990:6-7).

There is another hypothesis suggesting that the marriage market determine how mates are selected. The sex ratio hypothesis proposes that when one sex outnumbers the

other, they have a bargaining advantage because more alternatives are open to them. For example when women are scarce they are predicted to use their advantage to marry a spouse of a higher socio-economic status (Albrecht et al, 1997:431).

Albrecht et al (1997) and Sweeney (1997:482-431) further suggest that the higher socio-economic status of men and woman make them more attractive as potential mates. Employed women tend to marry more highly educated men. Sheela and Audinaryana (1997:79-80) state that marital search theories propose that men and women in marriage markets seek the best match they can, based on the characteristics they desire in a mate and their own characteristics. Of those characteristics, education and socio-economic status are considered the most important criteria used for determining the eligibility and desirability of potential mates.

Studies on motivations for marriage also indicate that occupational aspiration and work commitment are important reasons considered in first marriages. Young women who plan entry into the labour market enter a first marriage less quickly than those who do not plan such work (Raymo, 1998:1026; Sweeney, 1997:484; Malhotra and Tsui, 1996:478).

McLaughlin and Lichter (1997:583-584) in their examination of poverty and marital behaviour of young women, suggest that poor women are more likely to marry because low wages and job insecurity are unlikely to promote feelings of economic independence for employed, poor women. Moreover, they are less likely to marry economically attractive men as they are often concentrated in poor neighbourhoods and in communities with a limited supply of economically attractive men. This is based on the assumption that patterns of increasing marital homogamy by education and employment means that economically attractive men may be less likely to marry economically unattractive women and vice versa.

The motivation for marriage is further determined by rural-urban factors. Urban females generally marry later than their rural counterparts. This is largely attributed to their exposure to modern values favouring marriage postponement. Urban women's

greater distance from community and kinship based forms of social control over their sexual behaviour and greater opportunities for non-marital sexual relationships further contributes to delaying marriage or remaining single (Singh and Samara, 1996:149).

From the discussion, it is apparent that many factors motivate people to marry. Marriage fulfils the psychological, social and biological needs of human beings, which are regulated by societal norms. Religion, ethics, general cultural norms and societal values all have an influence on the various motivations for marriage. The fact that sexual feelings are sometimes less important is even advanced by some authorities as direct proof that marriage is not always based on reason of sex.

Despite the overwhelming number of motivations for marriage, evidence points to the possibility for many couples of not just cohabiting before marriage, but replacing marriage by cohabitation on a permanent basis, a trend likely to be common in the future (Moore, 1996:132). A study undertaken in Britain by Moore (1996:132) makes the following important points:

- marriage is no longer for a life time as a third of all new marriages end in divorce;
- one marriage in every three is a remarriage; and
- more than half of all couples marrying for the first time had previously cohabited.

This suggests that despite the various motivations for marriage, contemporary trends in the institution of marriage points to an increasing tendency to live single lives, cohabit and establish single parent headed households.

2.5 Types of marriages

There are only two basic forms of marriage, polygamy and monogamy, the former referring to plural marriages and the latter referring to the union of one man and one woman. Polygamy is further divided into polyandry, that is, the marriage of one woman to two or more men and polygyny, the marriage of one man to two or more wives. The discussions of polyandrous, polygynous and monogamous type of marriages becomes necessary for a better understanding of the institution of marriage in different cultural contexts.

2.5.1 Polyandry

Polyandry is not found in the more developed civilisation, and it is an extremely rare occurrence throughout history. It is known to be reported in written records over 300 years ago and probably existing centuries before (Queen, etal; 1985:19). Polyandry is practised amongst certain Buddhist Tibetans, some ethnic groups in Nigeria, and the Toda in Southern India (Turner and Helms, 1988: 9). Certain Eskimo tribes and Nayars of Malabar are also known to have practised polyandrous type of marriages (Green, 1972:275).

Two sub-forms are identified – fraternal, in which the husbands are brothers, and non-fraternal, in which they are not. Each one of these will be discussed.

The fraternal type is more common and it is usually a modification of monogamy. The younger brothers share the oldest brother's wife, all of them are husbands of the woman, but the oldest retains primary control. Paternity in such a system is socially rather than biologically determined (Queen, 1985:19). Among the Todas of Southern India, fatherhood was established through a "baw" ceremony, which established legal fatherhood. All children born prior to the mother performing this ceremony with another husband, where known to belong to the previous man with whom she had been joined. The custom was so highly formalised, that a child born years after a ceremonial father had died, still considered him to be his father, provided that the child's mother had failed in the meantime to change his social father by means of the ceremony (Green: 1972:275).

Until recently, the Todas commonly practised female infanticide. This custom cannot be said to have been the cause of polyandry, even though female infanticide did create a severe numerical imbalance between the sexes. At the same time, once given a surplus of males over females, polyandry becomes a cultural innovation to ensure heterosexual unions for all or nearly all-male members of the tribe (Queen et al; 1985:24 - 34).

Early research conducted by Smit (1903) on *Kinship and marriage in Early Arabia;* Mc Lennan (1865) on *Primitive Marriage, An enquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies;* and Morgan (1877) on North Americans lead them to conclude that polyandry was a modification of, and an advance from promiscuity. More recent research undertaken by Levine (1988) amongst the Nyinba people of Nepal lead sociologists to conclude that polyandry was rooted in the economic conditions prevalent in ancient civilisation (Stewart, 1997: http://.personal.psu.edu/). The Nyinba people placed strong emphasis on kinship ties by keeping the brothers intact through fraternally polyandrous marriages for the rest of their lives. This linkage of brothers ensured that family property is inherited and maintained in the family.

Earlier recordings had shown that the Egyptian pharaohs married their sisters, so did the Hawaiian and Inca rulers in pursuit of preserving the sacrosanct character of the royal family. The Azande of Africa allowed father and daughter marriage for high chiefs. Old Greek and Iranian writings also suggest that brother-sister as well as father-daughter incest was common in ancient Iran (Das, 1991:18-22).

Early research has undoubtedly proven that polyandry was widely prevalent in the ancient world in one form or another and its traces still exist in the life and literatures of many civilisations. Current evidence may be found in the inscriptions and architecture, the paintings and the drawings of ancient civilisations, the writings and the archaeological discoveries by scientists in the form of religious practices, traditions and folklore's.

2.5.2 Polygyny

The custom of one man taking two or more wives is much more common than polyandry. Whether the human male has a natural tendency to collect as many females as he can is a point of debate. Anthropologists have shown that the tendency is widespread. This is verified by the classic study of 565 societies undertaken by the

anthropologist George Murdock (1957) which revealed that monogamous patterns of marriage was prevalent only amongst one-fourth of the population as compared to over 70% which followed polygynous forms of marriages (Coleman and Cressey, 1990:125) In instances where the man had failed to take on more than one wife, he is most likely hedged in mainly by personal circumstances or group rules.

Nadvi (1987:56) asserts that polygyny was an established institution in human society since time immemorial. The history of the Arabs, the Jewish and Christian religions and the Talmudic Prophets, show clear indications, of polygynous marriages. Nadvi (1987) states that all ancient civilisations like the Medas, Babylonians, Abbysinnians, Persians and Greeks recognised polygynous marriages. It was also practised amongst the tribes of Africa, Australia and the Mormons of America.

It should be noted that polygynous societies practised strong taboos against sex relations, especially during a women's pregnancy, menstrual or weaning periods. It is understood that such taboos heightened the male's drive to sex variety in many polygynous societies (Green, 1972:275).

Among polygynous families, a man's worth is partly measured by the number of his wives. Religious and social attitudes stress the desirability of many children. It is believed that children in Africa increase the prestige, status and wealth of the family (Moore, 1996:130). Plural wives, however, do not usually feel degraded. It has been observed amongst certain Black communities in Africa that women often urge their husbands to take another wife in order to lighten their burden of labour in the household and the field. A childless wife may encourage her husband to marry, especially where he has the right to divorce a barren wife if he so chooses (Green, 1972:276).

More recently Gage-Brandon (1992:285) postulates that polygyny tends to be more common in societies where the female labour force participation is high. In this case, women in polygynous unions contribute substantially to the economic well being of the household unit. Polygynous unions are more common in rural areas. Due to the

high cost of living, urban centres tend not to attract polygynous households in view of low salaries, large families and unemployment (Moore, 1996:130).

Polygynous unions also tend to be more prevalent in monogamous cultures. Upper class males, because of their economic power, have either been permitted access to more than one woman or clandestinely seek them more frequently than males lacking such power. Saxton (1990:231) asserts that although 75% of the world's societies prefer polygynous forms of marriages, it is usually the most powerful and wealthy men who actually have more than one wife.

Among the Muslims, monogamy is the rule while polygamy is an exception (Lemu, 1995:12). After the great battle of *Uhud* (3rd A.H) in Mecca, many women were widowed together with large numbers of fatherless children. It is during this period that the following Quranic verse was revealed:

"If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, marry the women of your choice, two, or three or four. But if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with them, then only one" (Quran 4:3).

Polygamy was permitted for Muslims within a particular social and historical context so widows and fatherless children were accorded legitimate status (Badawi, 1995:17). The Quran not only limits the unlimited polygamy practised by the Arabs before the advent of Islam, but it also lays down conditions for it, i.e. justice and equality with the wives. Muslim Jurists therefore conclude that a person who does not have the financial means and the capacity to support more than one wife, must restrict himself or herself to only one. This measure was also used to curb immorality in the Arab world resulting from the existence of a large number of young widows. In addition, polygamy was seen as one method of preventing prostitution and any promiscuous and indecent behaviour (Nadvi, 1987:58-59; Badat, 1996:4).

2.5.3 Monogamy

Monogamy is the most frequent form of marriage practised in all societies. According to Goldberg (1985:243) monogamy is based on the expectation and hope that each spouse will be able to meet the other's needs as partner, friend and lover, with a commitment to fidelity. This does not mean that the extremely strict monogamous relation is a universal rule. Where monogamy is found, most matings are with single partners owing to custom, poverty or the unavailability of members of the opposite sex, (Goldberg, 1985:243; Green, 1972:276).

Throughout the world, the shift in modern times has been to monogamy where tradition has sanctioned other forms of marriage. Monogamy is known to strengthen the paternal relationship and to narrow the range of property inheritance in advanced civilisations.

Monogamous marriages have certainly led to a shift towards a nuclear family system compared to the traditional extended family system. These will be discussed when the various forms of families are examined.

2.5.4 Serial monogamy

With the high incidence of marital breakdown, some observers contend that serial monogamy, which is a succession of partners through the process of marriage, divorce, remarriage, and so on, has become institutionalised in most societies (Turner and Helms, 1988:6; Goldberg, 1985:252). In the majority of instances, it has been noted that individuals who go from one monogamous relationship to another are generally in search of more maturity and fulfilment compared to that experienced in the previous relationship (Goldberg, 1985:252).

In serial monogamy, relationships form and terminate one after another, each one ending due to some area of incompatibility or dissatisfaction. Robertson (1987:367)

asserts that the more often people are divorced, the more likely it is that their subsequent marriage will end in the same way.

Serial monogamy is also as a result of people spending their entire life searching for the perfect mate only to find himself or herself repeatedly disappointed. Disappointment and dissatisfaction are contained in a series of factors, amongst which incompatibility in needs, loss of interest in a partner, extramarital affairs, conflict over children and the step family syndrome are the most likely reasons for serial marriages. Robertson (1987:367) suggests that serial marriages make it possible to have several spouses more common in America than polygamy does in other societies. It may be argued that serial monogamy is tantamount to polygyny.

2.6   Restrictions on marriages

All societies prohibit marriages between individuals sharing certain blood relationships. There are also universal pressures to marry within the tribe, the race or the social class. The first set of rule is known as *exogamy*, (i.e. marriage outside) and the second, *endogamy*, (i.e. marriage within). The rules are universal, but the range of variation is wide. However, anthropologists have found that tribal societies tend to be more restrictive than Western societies (Gotlieb, 1993: 56). Exogamy and endogamy in a technical sense defines potential marriage partners and indirectly, sexual partners (Leslie, 1979:40).

2.6.1   Exogamy

The choice of marital partners in all societies is regulated and people cannot get married to whomever they wish. Exogamy is closely linked to the incest taboo. In the Tenth Century, the Church motivated strategies for exogamous marriages in fear of incest (Ermakoff, 1997:410). Exogamy requires the person to select a partner from outside certain groups and prohibits certain sex relationships with the close kin (Zanden, 1991:368). The marriage of parents with their own children is, without any

exception, taboo. ˙ Almost universally banned is the marriage of brother to sister (Green, 1972:277).

One possible reason, which can be attributed to this type of marriage, is the desire to maintain property within the family folds, since daughters as well as sons usually inherited family property. Close blood relations and first cousins are prohibited to marry in almost all societies. The Roman Catholic Church prohibits the marriage of a widower with his sister-in-law.

The Eastern Orthodox Church prohibits the marriage of two brothers to two sisters. In some pre-literate societies marriage between persons belonging to the same village or territorial group was discouraged (Green, 1972:277).

In terms of the Islamic law on Marriage, the following forms of marriages are considered forbidden, viz:

- a son cannot marry his mother;
- a father cannot marry his daughter;
- a brother cannot marry his sister;
- a nephew cannot marry his paternal aunt;
- a nephew cannot marry his maternal aunt;
- a brother cannot marry his brothers daughter;
- an adopted child that was suckled may not marry his mother;
- foster sisters may not marry the sons of foster parents;
- step children born out of either husband or wife may not marry each other;
- the father may not marry the wife of his son;
- a male cannot marry two sisters at the same time; and
- a married woman, unless she did not Islamically separate from her present husband, may not marry another (Ali, 1986:247-255).

There has been much speculation as to the origin of exogamy. Some have claimed that early humans observed and then sought to prevent the adverse hereditary effects of inbreeding. On the contrary, if the hereditary stocks contain no recessive defects,

inbreeding perpetuates sound qualities. Sir Morch Ruffer studied the Egyptian royal mummies of several dynasties and claims to have found no degeneration whatsoever in individuals who sprang from brother-sister remains for a period of over two hundred years (Green, 1972:278).

Despite this evidence, a recent study in South Africa in the province of KwaZulu-Natal indicates that the minority Muslims in the province face genetic crisis (Independent on Saturday, 19/07/1998). The report noted that the reason for this trend was due to the small Muslim community living in "a genetic isolate", leaving fewer available partners within their culture. The prevalence is largely due to first cousin marriages.

In modern civilisation, there are very few societies that permit exogamous marriage. Exogamous marriages are frequent in societies in which tribal customs and traditions have undergone very little social change.

2.6.2 Endogamy

Endogamy essentially refers to marriages within one's own social class, a particular tribe, race, religion, community, nationality and social class (Das, 1991:47). In Western societies, an important aspect of endogamy is *homogamy* i.e. a force impelling a person to date someone from the same background (Saxton, 1990:189). When marriage brings two persons from different backgrounds together, it is called *intermarriage*.

Sociologists contend that endogamous pressures (such as approval or disapproval) often encourage persons to marry within their own social group (Turner and Helms, 1988:74). Although there are no such rules, Broderick (1979:164) asserts that "...strong social pressures and personal preference still result in most marriages occurring *within* and not across social, ethnic, religious, and socio-economic class lines." Endogamous marriages occur in order to preserve family property and to

ensure that dynastic blood is passed on to the next generation (Ermakoff, 1997:408; Gotlieb, 1993:57).

Where there is little social contact between members of different groups, marriage outside the group seldom takes place. Group isolation generally ensures that marriage does not take place outside the group, but contact with different groups, due to mutual interest, makes out-group marriages inevitable. A good recent example is South Africa's former apartheid laws, which made it illegal for South Africans to marry outside the officially designated race group. According to Bird and Melville (1994:91) racial homogamy is the strongest of all cultural norms that limit the field of marriageable partners.

In modern society, religion and racial factors are still very strong, thereby fostering endogamous marriages. According to Nock (1992:82), in the USA 90 percent of the marriages amongst Protestants, Catholics and Jews are homogamous. However, within these religious groups variations have also been noted. Catholics are more likely to marry non-Catholics, than Protestants or Jews to marry those of different faiths. Nock (1992) also notes that those who marry others of different religious persuasion often convert to the spouse's religion. This suggests the need to be religiously homogamous.

However, amongst Muslims strong religious injunctions compel endogamous marriages. Marriages between Muslims and non-Muslims are often discouraged and considered as a violation of Islamic law. In certain instances marriage to Jews and Christians living under Islamic law is permissible. In non-Muslim countries this practice is considered non-permissible. Marriages between Muslims and atheists are not permissible at all. If marriages have to take place outside the folds of Islam, then it is incumbent for the non-Muslim spouse to embrace Islam before the marriage is validated (Khan, 1998: shamin@cig.mot.com: 1-7).

Endogamy is encouraged by way of arranged marriages. Arranged marriages don't merely join a couple together, but they bring also two kin groups together. In this

type of marriage, spouses are chosen because the union is either economically advantageous, to foster everlasting friendship, or due to kinship obligations. In extreme cases, arranged-marriage spouses only get to see each other after marriage. Anthropologists refer to this as blind marriages (Tepperman and Wilson, 1993:65).

Tepperman and Wilson (1993:65) assert that an arranged marriage performs certain functions. These are listed below:

- help to maintain social stratification;
- affirm and strengthen parental power over the children;
- help to keep the family traditions and values intact;
- consolidate and extend family property
- enhance the value of the kinship group;
- keep the tradition of endogamy if one desires; and
- help young people from getting into the uncertainty of looking for a mate.

Arranged marriages are known to be most dominant in African and Asian countries. According to Ahmed (1987:49-59), except for Sri Lanka, South Asian countries by far have the highest incidence of arranged marriages. Arranged marriages with child brides below the age of fifteen years, are not uncommon in India, although this practice has been outlawed. Ahmed (1987) asserts that many traditional Muslim societies practice arranged marriages which is one way of upward social mobility.

In most societies, endogamous attitudes have relaxed and changed. Geographical mobility of people is known to have broken down inter-group barriers. Inter-group marriages in modern societies have become commonplace. They may take the form of inter-faith, inter-racial or inter-ethnic marriages. International and cross-national marriages have also become more prevalent since the mid-twentieth century. It has become common for people to live and work abroad. This gives western men and women increased opportunities to meet non-westerners, either in the country, or because of travel. Hence, cross-national marriages have become increasingly common amongst those who are financially privileged (Tepperman and Wilson, 1993:66-67).

2.7 Marriage among the Muslims

Marriage in Islam is not only a sacrament, but it is also a legally binding contract between a man and a woman. It establishes permanence and responsibility in their relationship, an acceptance of one another as spouse with a mutual commitment to live together according to the teachings of Islam. Hence marriage in Islam contains elements which are both sacred and secular in nature ('Abd al 'Ati, 1977:59; Haneef, 1985:142). However, due to the institution of marriage having a strong sacred element, the nature of marriage procedure is in keeping within the prescriptions made in terms of the Islamic law and practice.

2.7.1 Formal procedure of marriage amongst Muslims

Almost universal amongst Muslims, are the procedures involved in formalising marriages. These procedures are derived from the teachings and practices of Islam. In this section, the basic formal procedure required to validate a Muslim marriage is discussed.

2.7.1.1 The marriage proposal

The selection of a marriage partner amongst Muslims is very different to that of the Western world. In most parts of the Muslim world, chastity and modesty are strongly emphasised between the sexes. As a consequence, boys and girls do not inter-mingle at school, date, or in particular, engage in pre-marital intimacy of any kind (Haneef, 1985:142).

Marriages between Muslims are traditionally arranged by elders, with family interests prominently kept in mind. These arrangements are concluded by a contract between the families.

The marriage proposal is considered to be the first step towards the constitution of marriage. A proposal is conveyed from one party to another either in writing or otherwise. The wooed party, upon acceptance of the proposal, then finalises arrangements for the proclamation of *Nikah* (Sabiruddin, 1990:1).

2.7.1.2 The *Nikah*

The term *Nikah* refers to the marriage contract ceremony. It is considered to be the most important step in the marriage process. Once it has been performed, the two parties become legally bound to each other. The *Nikah* confers legitimacy for sexual relationships between spouses and the procreation of children (Zarabozo, 1999:4).

It must be noted that Islamic marriages may be validated without any rituals or rites. Hence a distinction needs to be made from the rituals and customs prevalent in each community (Badat, 1996:3).

2.7.1.3 Essential parties

The following persons should be present for the ceremony: the bride or her representative, the bridegroom or his representative, two male witnesses, or a man and two women. It is a requirement that the bride agrees to the marriage at one meeting in the presence of at least two adults (Badat, 1996:3). However, the bride is not present at the actual marriage ceremony.

In Islam, the father (or in his absence the father's father) may give away in marriage his young son or daughter who has not yet reached the age of puberty. The age at marriage is based on puberty and discretion, unlike English law, Islamic law is silent on the age at which marriage discretion should be exercised. However, provision is made under Islamic law for the minor to repudiate marriage upon the attainment of majority (Qureshi, 1978:58-59).

Moreover, a girl who is of age cannot be married without her approval and can repudiate the marriage proposal. A marriage consummated under compulsion is invalid, but can be legalised after ratification by the parties concerned (Sabiruddin, 1990:3).

If both parties to the marriage contract are Muslims, the witnesses should also be Muslims. If the bride is not a Muslim, or if both parties are not Muslims, then the witnesses need not be Muslims.

2.7.1.4 Public announcement

The ceremony should be witnessed by as many people as possible in order to publicise the event. Moreover, any experienced, knowledgeable or distinguished member of the community may conduct the *Nikah*. In Muslim countries this task is entrusted to a Marriage Registrar called "*Ma'dhun*", in each village and in each district of large cities. In non-Islamic countries, this duty is entrusted to clergymen, judges in courts, or to any other person who is regarded as learned in or knowledgeable about Islamic Law (Abdul Rauf, 1977:38).

At the ceremony, a sermon (Khutbah) is recited before the marriage is performed. This lends a sacred character to the marriage as the verses recited relate to the institution of marriage and the responsibility of the spouses towards each other thereafter (Badat, 1996:3).

2.7.1.5 The *Mahar* - gift to the bride

In Islam, the bride must receive, or at least be promised, a special marriage gift called "*Sadaq*" or "*Mahar*". *Mahar* is either a sum of money or some other form of property to which the wife becomes entitled by marriage. It is inherent in the Islamic conception of marriage and it is neither a consideration for marriage, a dowry, nor a bride price Furthermore, it is not a bride price, but a "bride wealth" given to her as a gesture of esteem. (Diwan, 1995:139).

It must be noted that the Quran is not explicit on the subject as to when *Mahar* is payable. However it describes *Mahar* as a spontaneous gift which means that its earnest and earliest presentation to the wife is most preferable (Wani, 1996:302).

A peculiar feature of *Mahar* is that Islamic law fixes no maximum amount to be paid to the bride. However, the bride has recourse to stipulating the amount she desires as *Mahar* at the time of validating marriage. `Abd al `Ati (1977:66) asserts the fact that because Islam has fixed no minimum amount in *Mahar*, it is an indication of a strong advocacy for marriage amongst Muslims. It is also perceived as a way of discouraging class distinctions and narrowing the gap between the different social strata of Muslims.

2.7.1.6 The wedding feast - *"walima"*

The *walima* is a wedding feast, which the husband sponsors after the marriage contract. Traditionally, it takes place within three takes of consummation of the marriage (Zarabozo, 1999:18). The *walima*, according to Sabiruddin (1990:74) is a modest celebration and it is an Islamic tradition that this occasion should not be too extravagant. The *walima* also serves as an occasion in which the marital status of the coupled, is announced and celebrated. It is a way of status passage for the newly married couple.

2.7   Summary

This Chapter highlights the universality of the institution of marriage. From the discussion on the ethical and religious aspects of marriage, it is evident that the institution of marriage is strongly regulated by religious norms, values and practices. Marriage in all religious teachings, prescribes and proscribes sexual relationships and responsibilities. Motivations for marriage vary, with no single factor being a predominant reason. A combination of social, economic, psychological, emotional and cultural factors may be considered as to why people marry.

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Moreover, the Chapter highlights the different types of marriages prevalent in society. It becomes clear that monogamous marriages are the most popular practice in most societies, whilst polygamy is prevalent to some extent as we enter into the 21st century. On the other hand, serial monogamous forms of marriages appear to be a direct response to the manifest increase in the rates of marital breakdown.

The formal procedures involved in validating Muslim marriages have been examined. It highlights the universality of procedures followed by Muslims, based on Islamic law and the teachings of Islam. Its sacred and secular character has been highlighted.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON THE CONCEPT FAMILY

3.1 Introduction

Throughout human history the family has been known to exist in different guises which has been the centre of society. As a social institution with a biological foundation, the family has a universal presence, irrespective of the different types of society. It is an institution which gives individuals a sense of belonging, provides an environment for intimate and enduring relationships, serves as the medium between individual and society and transmits culture from one generation to another (Levi-Strauss, 1996:3-5).

This Chapter examines the sociological definition of the family, the different sociological assumptions made about the family, the types of family, the universal functions of the family, factors affecting the family and the traditional Muslim family.

3.2 Sociological definition of the family

Internationally there is a great degree of diversity in the organisation of the family. Whilst in some cultures the family may be considered as comprising a man, woman and children, in others, it may be a larger organisation of kin involving three or four generations of individuals or the larger extended family. In this section the diversity of definitions on the family are explored.

One of the earliest definitions of the family was formulated by sociologist George Murdock. Murdock (1949: 2-3) suggested that the "family is a social group characterised by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction; it includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved

sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting pair."

In the 1960s Stephens (1963:8) defined the family as "a social arrangement based on marriage and the marriage contract, including recognition of the rights and duties of parenthood, common residence for husband, wife and children, and reciprocal economic obligations between husband and wife."

More recently Gough (1994:24) defines the family as "a married couple or other group of adult kinsfolk who co-operate economically and in the upbringing of children, and all or most of whom share a common dwelling."

It will be noted that all of these definitions have many similarities.

Despite these similarities there are differences of opinion as to what constitutes a family. According to Hutter (1998:20) one major criticism of the different definitions on the family is that it emphasises the consensus and co-operative model of the family. It focuses on the family as a cohesive unit with shared values, orientations and interests of its family members. Critics maintain that it does not place sufficient attention on the fact that family members may often have different and conflicting interests, values and orientations. These differences may arise from power relations that exist between husband and wife, and child(ren) and parent(s). Consequently, sociologists point out that these definitions ignore power as a defining characteristic of the family. The central argument on power relations is based on the fact that families constitute small groups made up of members that differ in gender, age, and size, and as a consequence, differ in their access to economic and other resources leading to inequalities amongst members.

Feminist sociologists also vary on the emphasis that the family is the basis of activities such as production, reproduction, socialisation and sex. They contend that it stereotypes role relationships to the extent that the husband's role is confined to that of a breadwinner, and the wife to child bearing and household duties. Feminists have

challenged the way in which domestic work and caring are regarded as women's natural roles (Jagger and Wright, 1999:8–9). More recently, and especially in the United States, sociologists argue that definitions focussing on the "family" instead of "families" exclusively de-emphasise the concept. The singular definition implicitly excludes the multiple types of family forms prevalent in contemporary western societies (Hutter, 1998:20).

The traditional definition holds the notion that the family has a reproductive role. This has been questioned in recent time as many married couples prefer not to have children. In addition, the notion that families provide close, satisfying relationships enhance a person's well-being, promote children's upbringing and provide a sense of security and self esteem is also questioned. This is questioned in the light of the fact that a kibbutz for example, or a commune could also provide all of these functions with a great degree of success (Tepperman and Wilson, 1993:22-24).

It is evident that traditional definitions of what constitutes a family are being questioned. Earlier definitions attempted to define the family in terms of "ideal types", often taken to mean the "normal" to which people should aspire. The problem of this type of definition is that failure to live up to an ideal type, will denote an "abnormal or problematic" family (Bernardes,1997:4-5; Tepperman and Wilson, 1993:22-24).

The very fact that there is no consensus on the question of what families are, and how they should be defined, indicates that the "family" is a complex and emotionally charged one. The definition of a family is subject to social, cultural, political and religious influences. Significantly with industrialisation and modernisation different family forms have come into being. This to a great extent affects the traditional notion of the family, and it brings into question whether the family is a dying institution.

Skolnick and Skolnick (1994:2-4) assert that despite the many changes the family has undergone and the many definitional difficulties surrounding it, the family as a social institution is here to stay. They conclude that in America, the vast majority – as high

as 90 percent of the population marry and have children, and the family is still central to the lives of most Americans.

Perhaps to overcome the definitional problems of the family, it would be appropriate to use Goode's (1982) typology of relationships that characterize a family, that is the rights, responsibilities, obligations and duties. The following relationships according to Goode will constitute a family:

- at least two adult persons of opposite sex live together;
- they engage in some form of division of labour, that is they both do not perform exactly the same task;
- they engage in economic, social and emotional exchanges, that is, they do things for each other;
- they share many things in common, such as food, sex, residence and both goods and social activities;
- the adults have parental relations with their children, as their children have filial relations with them; the parents have some authority over their children and both share with one another while also assuming some obligations for protection, co-operation and nurturance; and
- there are sibling relations among the children themselves with a range of obligations

  to share, protect and help one another (Goode, 1982:9).

3.3 Universal features in the structure of the family

Great diversity in the definition of a family is evident. Different societies and cultures have different perceptions on what constitutes a family. However despite the divergence in finding a universal definition of the family, there are certain arrangements within a family which is common to all societies. These will be discussed in some detail.

3.3.1 Reproduction

In order for society to continue existing it must ensure that new members are produced so that those that are dying are replaced (Adam, 1986:98). This reproduction takes place within families. All societies have norms that regulate childbearing and child-rearing. All societies prescribe both formally (legally) and informally (normatively) as to who is eligible to have children, the age of a person at which they can have children, the person responsible for the care of the child and the responsibilities of childbearing and child rearing. The bearing of children within the institution of marriage (although this is often violated) is widely accepted in most societies (Zanden, 1990:271; Nock, 1992:40).

3.3.2 Socialisation of new members

The norms and values of culture and society are learnt through the process of socialisation. The rudiments of life such as language, attitudes, beliefs and patterns of behaviour occur primarily within the family. All societies expect the parents of children to inculcate these basic values and norms (Nock, 1992:40). Socialisation, according to Adam (1987:98), serves an important social control function for society because it is within a family that the individual learns what is acceptable and unacceptable in order to get along in society in terms of its demands and expectations. The family functions as an intermediary between the larger community and the individual (Zanden, 1990:371).

3.3.3 Legitimacy

Every society has formulated rules of legitimacy to link a child to a particular family, which, according to Adam (1987:98) is called status placement. In this way society ensures that every child has a sociological father who is responsible for the welfare and well-being of the child. Although many societies allow increased freedom in premarital sex, childbirth outside marriage is often disapproved (although many children are born to unmarried persons). It must be noted that it is not in all societies

that the man who assumes responsibility for a child is in all instances the biological father. Although a child born to a married woman may not belong to the husband, the child is defined as legitimate (Nock, 1992:41).

3.4 Theoretical approaches to the sociology of the family

Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century sociologists in the United States focussed on the study of social problems and the promotion of social reform. Their main concern was the study of the family in the context of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation. During this period, the Chicago School of Sociology was most dominant in making theoretical assumptions on family sociology.

Notable amongst the Chicago School of Family Sociologists are the works of Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Louis Wirth, E Franklin Frazier, W I Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. These Chicago Family Sociologists had seen traditional patterns of life being broken down by the debilitating effects of urban forces leading to social disorganisation within the family (Hutter, 1998:42-43).

The different theoretical perspectives within sociology gave rise to different approaches to the study of the family. Broadly, the study of the family in sociology is approached from four different theoretical perspectives, viz: social-exchange, symbolic interaction, social conflict and the structural-functionalist approaches. An understanding of each one of these theoretical approaches is necessary for any meaningful study of the family.

3.4.1 Social-exchange approach

The origin of exchange theory lies in both the disciplines of psychology and sociology. Social psychologists Thibaut and Kelly (1959) and sociologists George Homans (1961) and Peter Blau (1964) pioneered its theoretical assumptions. The social exchange approach in the study of the family examines what is given and received in interactions. The central focus of exchange theory is on motivation, which

induces a person to act out of self-interest (Klein and White, 1996:60; Aldous, 1996:16). Operating primarily from an economic framework, social exchange theorists believe that any behaviour is either potentially rewarding or costly (Adam, 1986:102; Klein and White, 1996:61; Cheal, 1999:67).

Rewards for exchange theorists are made up of gratification's and pleasures, which are either physical or psychological. These are derived from relationships or from a status, which a person acquires. For example, having a child may provide social status for a parent and at the same time may bring about joy from parenting. Costs on the other hand, may take two forms, namely punishments or forgone rewards. For example, being a parent may make excessive demands on married couples. It could lead to temporary loss of income, as the mother may have to stay home to take care of the young one or incur additional costs on child rearing (Nock, 1992:7; Aldous, 1996:16).

Profit for exchange theorists is based on the principle of rewards minus costs. Hence people make decisions on the basis of the greatest anticipated profit, that is, the costs must not exceed the rewards (Nock, 1992:8). Profits or outcomes from a relationship should be proportional to investments or inputs and it must be reciprocal (Acock and Demo, 1994:32). For example, if a husband has been out with his friend over a weekend the next time round when the wife wants to spend time with her mother, then she would expect him to reciprocate. Exchanges are often informal and rewards exchanged in a particular situation do not have to be of the same kind and value but almost closer.

The basic principles underlying exchange theory are as follows:

- human beings act rationally and as such maximise rewards and minimise costs within the limits of available information;
- all human behaviour involves costs either in the form of energy or time;
- human behaviour is likely to be repeated if it has been rewarded in the past;

- social exchanges occur within the context of reciprocity as both the provider and the recipient of the reward are expected to reciprocate each other; and

- rewards are based on the law of diminishing returns, that is the more the person has of something, the less rewarding it will be if additional amounts are provided (Klein and White, 1996:65-71; Aldous, 1996: 16; Nock,1992:8).

In family studies, exchange theory is used extensively by researchers, especially in the formation and dissolution of relationships. For example, exchange theory is used to explain mate selection. It is argued that women are more able to marry men of higher status than vice versa because they can exchange their beauty and charm for a man's higher social position. Similarly, an abused spouse will remain in a violent marriage because she or he believes that even a "bad" marriage is better than divorce. In the case of marital breakdown, exchange theory is popularly used to argue that the rewards for maintaining a relationship is lower than the rewards for living alone or in another relationship (Adam, 1986:103; Dickinson and Leming, 1990:54-55; Nock, 1992:9; Klein and White, 1996:77-78).

According to Cheal (1999:68), exchange theory is one of the most individualistic approaches in sociology that emphasises human agency. Due to its simplicity and clarity it is widely used by positivist theorists. However, at the same time this theory is widely criticised for its oversimplification of family interactions. For example, feminists do not support that all relations are voluntaristic and rational. Women have little choice in being responsible for small children. Despite the heavy costs involved in raising them, they provide few material benefits when they are older and economically independent. On the other hand, the social and psychological satisfaction involved in rearing children far exceeds any material benefits that may be derived from it later in life (Cheal, 1999:79; Klein and White, 1996:83).

3.4.2 Symbolic interaction theory

Early twentieth century sociology was dominated by the symbolic interactionist approach to the study of the family. Symbolic interactionism is a social-

psychological approach which examines the various forms of family interaction patterns such as courtship, the honeymoon period, child rearing practices, divorce and separations, the role of the elderly and so on. This perspective was developed by sociologists such as Charles Horton Cooley (1909), Ernest W Burgess (1926), W I Thomas (1928) and George Herbert Mead (1934), who perceived the family as a unit of interacting personalities (Hutter, 1998:45; Klein and White, 1996:90).

The basic assumption underlying symbolic interaction theory is that human interaction takes place through commonly shared symbols. A symbol is any sign that is agreed upon by convention. To illustrate, the word "dad" is understood by others when uttered. It is socially constructed and has a meaning (Klein and White, 1996:91). Interaction is therefore based on the understanding of the meaning that one attaches to social situations and the perception of what others expect from these situations. Social interaction theorists maintain that reality is socially constructed and it interacts within the confines of this subjective reality (Dickinson and Leming, 1990:53).

Symbolic interactionists place great emphasis on early childhood socialisation. They strongly contend that through socialisation one acquires the symbols, beliefs and attitudes of ones culture (Klein and White, 1996:95).

The primary concern of symbolic interactionists is the study of the family as a small-scale social phenomenon. Symbolic interactionism does not extend itself with the impact of larger societal institutions and processes on the family. However, later work by Burgess (1886-1965) led him to explain the shifting of traditional functions of the family to outside agencies, which he largely attributed to industrialisation and urbanisation. Traditional functions such as economic, educational, recreational, health protection and religious functions of the family have moved to other institutions in society. Hence the family is left with the psycho-emotive functions of its members (Hutter, 1998:45).

This shift in the traditional family function led Burgess to make the famous classification of family types as moving from "institution to companionship". Within this type traditional rules and regulations, specific duties and obligations determine the unity of the family, and other historical social pressures brought to bear upon family members. In this respect the extended patriarchal type of family most closely represents the institutional family, which is autocratic and authoritarian in form. This type of family form requires complete subordination of each family member, including the spouse and children to the authority of the eldest male (patriarch) in the family (Hutter, 1998:45).

However, in recent times the companionate or democratic family type has emerged. This type of family involves affection and the sharing of common interests and activities, coexisting with the division of labour and individuality of interests. The companionate family is kept together through emotional attachments among its members (Hutter, 1998:45). As a consequence, interactionist family studies has moved from the assumption of unity to looser models of individuals and their relationships, since not all intimate interactions occur in family settings. Contemporary interactionist models increasingly examine how role commitments may be redefined, new relationships entered into and plural involvement's sustained (Cheal, 1999:70).

Several dimensions of the concept role are significant in the explanation of the family phenomenon. An important dimension is the *expectations* that both spouses have about the performance of their roles. Lack of clarity on role expectations or the rules of the marital relationship leads to role conflict. Symbolic interactionists assert that *role strain* emanates from the insufficient resources on the part of one or both spouses to enact a role or roles. This leads to an overload on role expectations. Hence role performance for symbolic interactionists is largely dependent on how one learns one's roles through primary socialisation (Klein and White, 1996:96-97).

The interactionist's approach on the study of the family is criticised by feminists. Feminists argue that interactionist's obscure asymmetry in relations between women

and men resulting from gender behaviour. They argue that gender stereotypes are mapped onto the sexes, which determine the typical activities that women and men engage in, inevitably resulting in the way meanings are constructed within social relationships. This eventually leads to men imposing their definitions of reality upon women. Interactionists have now extended their study to include conflict situations involving dynamics of control and domestic violence (Cheal, 1999:70).

Another major criticism regarding symbolic interactionism is whether the theory can be nomothetic or cross-culturally relevant. This argument is based on the fact that if the theory is based on meaningful symbols from the subjective reality of culture then universal generalisations are difficult to generate. In addition, the theory places too much emphasis on the individual and ignores the role of social institutions in affecting human behaviour. For example, interactionists see norms as emerging from interaction but fail to explain how social institutions exist with relative permanence (Klein and White, 1996:116).

3.4.3   Conflict approach

The theoretical root of the conflict approach in the study of the family is found in the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Marxist account of family life may be traced to the work of Engels, who wrote *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* from extensive notes made by Marx (Bernardes, 1997:41). Both Marx and Engels recognised that the family is rooted in biological self-interest (sex and reproduction) but at the same time it is a form of social organisation (Klein and White, 1996:182).

Central to Marxist thinking is the view that all conflict in capitalist societies is a result of class relations, i.e. those who owned the means of production (bourgeoisie) and those who sold their labour to the capitalists (proletariat). The profits made by the capitalists are as a result of exploitative relations with the proletariat. Profit for Marx was equal to surplus labour. In so far as the family was concerned, Marx saw relations between husband and wife similar to that of owners and workers. In fact

Engels, Marx's close collaborator, described monogamy as forcing wives to prostitute themselves to their husbands by selling their sexual and domestic labour in return for minimal support and security (Nock, 1992:10-11).

For Marx the capitalist system exploits the family by exploiting the working-class workers by paying them low wages. In return, working class families produce children, potentially for the cheap labour market, which is further exploited by the capitalists. Hence it similarly exploits women by not only paying them low wages but encouraging them to undertake unpaid housework and child care so that the husband can devote his time to his capitalist employer (Eshelman, 1991:54).

Important to the understanding of the family from a conflict framework, are the processes involved in competition, conflict, dissension and its relationship to social change and disequilibrium (Dickinson and Leming, 1990:51). Nock (1992:10) and Klein and White (1996:184-185) elaborate on the notions upon which these processes are based:

- human beings are self-centred and are therefore inclined to pursue their self-interest at the expense of others;
- conflict is endemic in social groups despite the amount of time spent and expectations or togetherness in the achievement of common interests;
- human beings have hopes and aspirations and there is no limit to this. This suggests that no matter how much a human being has, he still aspires for more, thus remaining in a state of competition; and
- competition is endemic to all social relationships to the extent that a gain for one person may result in a loss for the other.

The notion of resources is a pivotal concept for the understanding of conflict theory. Within the family context Klein and White (1996:190) assert that conflict emanates when there is unequal distribution of resources between spouses. Then conflict is most likely to result. This is based on the traditional Marxist thought that when resources of symbolic importance become scarce, competition for it is likely to

become fierce. Hence confrontation around these scarce resources emanates. Conflict is therefore a confrontation between individuals or groups over scarce resources or incompatible goals (Aldous, 1996:18; Nock, 1992:10).

In addition, conflict theory emphasises economic determinism and sources of power and control in the family. As a theoretical approach it questions who has the power in the family, whether it is the man or the woman and whether inequality is built into family roles and the sources of this. Conflict theorists studying marriage and family attempt to understand how the role of the spouse or the family contributes to family disintegration and/or change (Dickinson and Leming, 1990:52; Cox, 1990:8).

Conflict theorists maintain that conflict is inevitable in society, in the family and in interpersonal relationships. Not all conflict is viewed as negative and leading to social disorganisation, because conflict could lead to positive change. Consider the fact that women did not confront abuse from their husbands and continued to remain in their marriage, how healthy would it be for her, the children and society as a whole? It is only through confrontation and challenge (even to the extent of separation or divorce) that women can provide a non-violent socializing experience for their children. Conflict theorists strongly argue for the management of conflict because it is inherent in society (Eshelman, 1991:54-57).

To this extent conflict theorists propose negotiation as a form of managing conflict. They do however caution the outcome of negotiations for the following reasons:

- negotiations involves resources and whoever has the greatest resources will negotiate the greatest rewards in a compromise; and
- coalition formation is likely under democratic authority patterns, hence the person with the greatest amount of support is likely to negotiate the greatest amount of rewards (Klein and White, 1996:191-192).

The traditional Marxist approach to the study of the family has been criticised on the basis that domestic labour does not provide surplus value and in the strictest sense

cannot be considered to be productive labour. Influential within this perspective is the work of Zaretsky (1976) in his book *Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life,* which focuses on the separation between the economy and the family. Zaretsky rejects the notion that the modern welfare state has invaded or replaced the family and he argues that the ideal type of family remains autonomous and fulfils a major role in supporting capitalism (Bernardes, 1997:42).

It must be noted that the Marxist perspective has not generated popular theoretical approaches to the study of the family both in Europe and in America. However, it has contributed to radical thinking about the social relationships associated within the economic structure which includes an understanding of the hierarchy of production, distribution and consumption of resources within the family-based household and on the hierarchy of transmission of wealth between kin. In addition, feminist theorists have drawn much from the Marxist radical thought in explaining gender inequality and the oppression of women in society (Bernardes, 1997:42).

Despite the criticism, one of the major empirical areas for the application of conflict theory has been that of family violence. Conflicting situations are operationalized and subjected to measurement conditions leading to empirical tests. Gender inequality has been identified as the major cause of wife battering in marital relationships. In addition conflict theory proposes how conflict can be managed and compromises reached (Klein and White, 1996:202-205).

3.4.4 Structural-functional approach

This approach views society as a complex system of interrelated parts. Each part is connected to the other and contributes to the functioning of the totality of the system. The term's "structure" and "function" are interrelated and the one implies the other. Structure may be defined as units of society that carry out one or more basic functions. Function refers to the results or consequences of given social structures.

For structural-functionalist theorists the family is made up of married adults and children and the primary responsibility is to ensure individual personality development, provision of ascriptive status to its members and nurturing socialisation. For the larger society, the family serves the function of replacing members, socialising the members to the norms and values of society, acts as an agent of social control, provides role differentiation and division of labour (Bernardes, 1997:37; Acock and Demo, 1994:29; Eshelman, 1991:52).

Researchers using this approach attempt to understand both the positive and negative (eufunctional and dysfunctional) outcomes of social interaction including the intended and unintended (manifest and latent) effects of social behaviour (Dickinson and Leming, 1990:50). Latent functions may include, for example, the family socialising children to be abusive adults. For the larger society some latent functions may be to keep women in inferior positions so that men could enjoy greater power and authority. Hence the structural-functional approach is used to study both macro and micro systems (Eshelman, 1991: 53).

Sociologists believe that all societies are stratified by certain institutions or social structures, accomplishing broad social functions. These social institutions are considered vital to perform important functions for a society. Each social institution is considered to be interdependent on the other. If one institution is in a state of disequilibrium it is likely to cause dysfunction in the entire system (Dickinson and Leming, 1990:50).

Society is perceived to be patterned by different social institutions such as religious, family, economic, education and political. Each one of these institutions has important functions to perform so that society functions orderly. Failure of one of these institutions is likely to affect other institutions and society as a whole. For example, a high rate of marital breakdown in a society is likely to have major consequences for the family as a social institution. More families will be headed by female single parents, children will have lesser opportunities of having the benefit of male role models, the likelihood of large numbers of socio-psychologically maladjusted and

juvenile delinquency will be greater, as well as many more negative consequences for society as a whole. In addition, non- support of children is likely to make demands on the economic institution for public support. Hence it becomes evident that not all structures produce positive consequences for the system of which they are part (Nock, 1992:13).

However, a major criticism of the structural-functionalist approach to the study of the family is the assumption that the traditional nuclear family provided the optimal arrangement for meeting individual needs. Rapid social change has created diverse family structures making the traditional family forms less attractive. There is an increase in single parent households, families without children and gay and lesbian family forms. (Acock and Demo, 1994:30).

3.4.5 Systems theory

Systems theory first emerged in America after the Second World War. Its basic theoretical premise is derived from the traditions of physical sciences, machine technology and modern day computer systems which view the family as a set of elements which interact among themselves and with their environment (Bernardes, 1997:36). The theory was first expounded by David Kantor (1975) and William Lehr (1975) in their book *Inside the Family: Toward a Theory of Family Processes* which typified the family as a self-regulating system in which members control each other's access to meaning, power and affect (Klein and White, 1996:153; Adam, 1986:104).

A common assertion made by system theorists is that "the whole is more than the sum of its parts". Systems theory places focus primarily on system processes rather than on the parts of the system. Systems theory makes the assumption that the family is just one system of the broader social system (society). Each of these systems is also made up of other sub-systems. Systems and sub-systems are not independent entities, but are in constant interaction with each other. A system has the capacity to influence other systems and similarly influence it self. Systems are made up of boundaries,

defined by rules and norms which guide interaction. These boundaries could either be closed, open or in-between (Janosik and Green, 1992:13).

The family as a social system has a structure made up of its members. Each member fulfils certain functions through interaction with each other. The term function in the family context is used generically to illustrate that it is not a static entity but a dynamic system interacting inside and outside its boundaries (Burr et al, 1993:41).

The underlying assumptions made by the system theorists about the family are as follows:

- Systems are organised hierarchically in which complex higher level systems emerge from simpler, lower systems. Individuals in this sense make up families, families make up kinship, kinship makes up communities and communities make up societies.
- A change in one system or subsystem creates changes in the total system. When one member of a family becomes dysfunctional, it affects the entire family system. When the entire family system is affected, then it will affect societal functioning.
- Systems are not averse to disequilibrium and its non-static nature helps it to regain balance after periodic disruptions, but the balance regained may not be how it previously existed. The state of balance may be stronger or fragile. Similarly, families may undergo crisis, for example the death of a child. It may recover after a period, make certain adjustments, but the absence of the child will always remain a vacuum within the structure of the family.
- Behaviour in a system is not viewed as linear but rather in circular patterns as some of the output of a system becomes the input (feedback) of the system and in turn affect, and is affected by other systems (Klein and White, 1996:155-160).

In the study of marital interaction and family communication, systems theory is widely used as a major conceptual framework. Systems theory has helped to identify specific patterns of interaction that lead to marital breakdown and the specification of

causes for these patterns. It also helps to identify the degree of adaptability and cohesion within a family. For example some families may be identified as high in cohesion (enmeshed) and low in adaptability (rigid), other families may be low in cohesion (disengaged) but high in adaptability (chaotic). Hence normal family functioning may be assessed within the balance of these two extreme points on the continuum which could be the basis for intervention during breakdown (Klein and White, 1996:171-173).

A major criticism of the system theory is that it is more methodological than theoretical. It is viewed as a model for predicting family functioning instead of proposing any grand theory on the family, hence critics reduce it to a diagnostic tool (Klein and White, 1996:174).

3.4.6 Role theory

Role theory is a branch of symbolic interactionism and it also falls within the framework of structural functionalism. It considers the family as a system of roles fulfilled by different members. The question of how it is that, in a family, each member comes to be responsible for certain roles and tasks whilst others are not, arises. These roles, sociologists believe, are specified by society and vary from one culture to another. The acquiring of roles is either achieved or ascribed by society. For example, certain statuses such as sex, age and race are generally ascribed by society, whilst marital, occupational and parental statuses are achieved. As a consequence, each one of these statuses carries certain role expectations in terms of what is appropriate and what is not (Eshelman, 1991:59).

All societies expect that husbands must take a providing role, whilst wives take on more nurturing and caring roles within the family. Roles for male and female siblings and roles in terms of birth order of siblings are also within broad societal expectations, with variations from one society to another. Despite these variations, the functioning of the family is dependent on the ability of its members to fulfil their

societal roles. The inability of a particular member to fulfil a role adequately is likely to cause strain on its functioning. Sociologists call this role conflict.

Whilst role fulfilment is important for family functioning, role alteration or adaptation is not uncommon. In the event of a family crisis, such as marital breakdown or death of a spouse, the spouse remaining with the children is likely to adjust his or her role to that of the missing one in order to fill in the vacuum. Failure to fulfil roles leads to unhappiness in the family, disapproval by society and difficulty with later family developmental tasks (Eshelman, 1991:64-65).

A common criticism of role theory in the study of families is that it does not explain how the role structure changes or what the dynamics involved in such changes are. For example, role theory suggests that when a new baby arrives, family roles are altered to incorporate the new member. However, it does not suggest to what extent the structure of roles change and the dynamics involved (Nock, 1992:17-18).

Role theory needs to be viewed jointly with developmental and life cycle stages of the family. The family life cycle theory examines the existence of a universal set of family stages within which the family fulfils certain roles in keeping with that particular stage of development. In most societies individuals go through various culturally and socially recognised stages of development. The most commonly known stages of human development progress from infancy, early childhood, adolescence and early adulthood. Each stage of development carries with it certain expectations for family roles. As a consequence, family roles and its contents change as members pass from one stage of development to another within the family life cycle. Life cycle research ascertains social patterns in the timing, duration, spacing and order of transitions (Cheal, 1999:71; Acock and Demo, 1994:36).

The family life cycle approach is useful in the study of the family as it directs attention to the changing nature of family relationships and activities during the life cycle. It is useful in describing the development of many intact families, which follow a normative sequence of activities, and stages (Acock and Demo, 1994:37).

However, a major limitation of life cycle theory is the impossibility of fitting all the different sequences of domestic arrangements that exist today in any one set of stages because of behavioural diversity. For example, parenthood may come before marriage or individuals may cycle into and out of marriage and family life many times without completing the task of raising children into independent adults. Hence much emphasis is placed on the individual as a unit of study in family relationships (Cheal, 1999:72-73). In addition, its applicability is limited to explaining changes and family relationships with subcultural variations such as Asian American Hispanic families in America (Acock and Demo, 1994,37).

3.5   Types of families

Different forms of families have existed throughout human history. Many of these have taken on different forms due to the changing demands made by society. However, the most common form of family prevalent in most societies was the extended type. In this section it is not possible to examine the different types of families prevalent in different societies, but there will be an examination of those most commonly prevalent in contemporary society.

3.5.1 The nuclear family

The smallest and most elementary type of family organisation is the nuclear family. It comprises a husband and a wife and their children. The nuclear family consists of at least two adults of the opposite sex living in a socially approved sexual relationship, together with one or more of their own or adopted children (Murdock, 1949:1).

The nuclear family is the most commonly found form in highly developed countries and it is also to be found to a lesser extent in developing and underdeveloped countries. Socially it is an independently operating unit separated from family units and parental families. Often it has an independent residence (Das, 1991:3-4).

Nuclear families are known to include a family within a family. In the first instance a person belongs to a nuclear family which is called the *family of orientation*. Since a vast majority of individuals do marry, their spouse and children then become the *family of procreation* (Zanden, 1990:365-366).

3.5.2 Extended family forms

A second method by which composite family form is established is through various extensions of the parent-child relationship. Extended families are the one's in which more than two generations of the same kinship line live together. They may either share the same house or live in adjacent dwellings. The head of the household is usually a male and adult members are required to share the responsibility for child rearing and other tasks. This family type is often found in traditional and pre-industrial societies. Generally they are very large and they consist of adult offspring of the head of the household, their spouses and children (Robertson, 1987:355).

The extended family may have as many as 30 to 40 members living in attached dwellings and working on common land. Moreover, the extended family is a distinct social system, meeting the social, political, and economic needs of its members (Das,1991:3).

Das (1991:3) alludes that in certain emerging and developing countries, the extended family structure undergoes transition from the traditional extended family to the nuclear family system. This he refers to as the limited extended family. In this instance, the extended family tends to be more compact and smaller in number, generally made up of a husband, wife and their offspring.

3.5.3 Joint family

The Hindu joint family of India is one of the most widely known variations of the extended family system. The consanguineous unit consists of the adult brothers and their wives and children residing together in the same household. The Hindu joint

family represents a patriarchal family system in which power and authority are vested in the father or other males. Unlike the Irish stem family, the Indian joint family pools its resources, financial and otherwise. It has a common residence, common property, common worship, common kitchen, and a system of mutual obligations between the different units of the family.

The composition of the joint family shifts as it passes through several phases of the life cycle. Initially, the parental home becomes expanded as the sons marry and add their wives and children to the household. When the parents die, the brothers continue to maintain the extended household, living together with their individual families and siblings. When the siblings have been educated and married, then the joint household is broken up. The property is divided among the brothers and each proceeds to establish a separate household. At this stage, they resemble the nuclear family structure characteristic of Western society. Eventually, the sons in these nuclear units marry and the joint family pattern is brought into existence once again (Nimkoff, 1965:312).

The Indian joint family represents a system of corporate living and mutual assistance that provides considerable social and emotional security for its members. The rest of the kin group supports those who become sick or incapacitated. The joint family system is an integral part of the larger system of values within the Indian society. These values are strongly internalised and even where the household has broken up into individual nuclear units, brothers continue to assist each other's families when the need arises (Nye and Berardo, 1973:42-43).

3.5.4. Single parent family

High rates of marital breakdown and children born outside of wedlock have contributed to a boom in single parent families. The single parent family may be conceived as an alternative to the nuclear family.

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In the past females falling pregnant outside the institution of marriage would readily consider settling down with the reputed father. However, with increasing economic independence and social support in developed societies, fewer women are opting to give their babies up for adoption and making increasing demands on the father of their baby for child support (Robertson, 1987:366). Robertson (1987) asserts that females in the US head 90 percent of all single parent households.

Single parent families evoke much debate amongst policy makers and family therapists. Central to the debate is the long-term effect of lone-parent families on child development and the cost to the state in the form of child support grants (Moore, 1996:125). The poor socialisation of the child and the perpetuation of various psychosocial problems later in life, is a major reason for concern.

3.6   The family in society

The family is known to fulfil important social, political and economic roles in almost all societies. Despite its important role in society, it has undergone many changes and made adaptations accordingly to changing needs. Modernity brought about by industrialisation is known to be one of the major factors affecting the traditional role of the family in society since large numbers of females enter the market economy. The growth of cities brought upon by rapid urbanisation are also known to breakdown established kinship patterns through an increase in the number of nuclear families. The family due to rapid urbanisation and industrialisation is known to play a lesser link between society and the individual. Some of these central issues are discussed briefly.

3.6.1 The family as a link between the individual and society

The family is an essential link between the individual and society in so far as it provides the individual with an identity in the wider society. The family is an involuntary group and the status derived from an involuntary group is always ascribed. From the family the individual initially receives a socially ascribed status,

so that membership of a family gives the child a position that defines his relationship to other members of the society, so that he has certain ascribed positions which the illegitimate child does not have (Farmer, 1979:9).

The ascriptive importance of the family varies at different stages of social development and from society to society. In a rigidly stratified society, such as the one with a caste system or a closed class system which effectively blocks social mobility, the child is likely to remain in his family-ascribed position throughout his life (Farmer, 1979:9).

Changes such as these mean that the family no longer provides security of status in the outside world as it does in more closed societies. At almost all-social levels, the family is now faced with the need to achieve it's own status. In an open society achieved status has gained in importance and the importance of ascribed statuses derived from the family has correspondingly reduced (Farmer, 1979:9).

3.6.2 Industrialisation

In pre-industrial societies, agriculture was a predominant source of living. Large households consisting not only of the nuclear family of husband, wife and their children, but comprising a line of descendants, with three or four generations, constituted a family. The extended household provided a total way of life, catering for all dimensions of work and play within closely united groups. Members lived closely and co-operatively, and were organised for mutual support. They performed important economic functions and were economically self-supporting, supplying all their own needs for food, clothing and shelter. Individual security was ensured, as the family cared for the young and the old, sick and physically and mentally handicapped. Socialisation and education to enable members of the new generation to acquire the skills, mores and norms appropriate to their way of life took place largely within the family. Religious observance was also a family affair (Moore, 1996: 136; Cockerham, 1995:192).

The industrial revolution in Europe beginning in the 17th century and later spreading to the United States initiated the factory system. Farming became commercialised on a large scale, while factories began to produce manufactured goods beyond the capability of any household. Industrialisation, in effect, had destroyed the household economy by removing economic production from the home and taking it out of the hands of women (Ferrante, 1998:390).

The family had to undergo certain adjustments and modifications in order to accommodate the impact of industrialisation. Industrialisation had a genuine impact on the social, economic and political system of the extended family. Sociologists have for a long time agreed that industrialisation undercut the extended family system while fostering nuclear family arrangements. Industrialisation meant that people had to move about in search of new job opportunities, thus weakening kin obligations which was previously dependent on frequent and intimate interaction (Zanden, 1990:366).

Moore (1996:139) asserts that the impact of industrialisation had different effects on middle and lower income families. In the middle class family, the wife was not expected to work, instead she supervised the work of the cleaning lady or the nanny. The husband's role was to work and provide for the family.

On the contrary, life in the working class family was different. Household chores and child rearing practices were seen exclusively as the wife's tasks. Husbands spent long hours at work, leisure time activities took place around the pub and lesser time was spent on interaction within the family.

With industrialisation the workplace and the home had become two separate social environments with profound effects on the day-to-day life. Frequent interactions among husbands and wives, parents and children had gradually begun to break down. Traditional activities around the household had moved outside of it. Families had become accustomed to travelling long distances to work or to school. The daily

dispersal of the family to office, factory and schools had become institutionalised (Cockerham, 1995:193-194).

The long daily absence of the father from the home began to take effect on the internal structure of the family. The mother, particularly if she was at home instead of at work, frequently, had to take responsibility for all the day-to-day decisions with regard to the management of the household and the children. The father's authority in the home began to decrease (Cockerham, 1995:193-194).

Industrialisation had also altered the balance of power in the family by creating new types of jobs, which could be done by women. Employment for women had become a possible alternative to marriage, an alternative to subservience to husbands and fathers. In addition, employment of females in business had made for greater equality between the sexes and for a decline in male authority (Ferrante, 1998:390-392).

A reduction in or loss of the traditional activities of grandparents, aunts or other relatives has accompanied industrialisation and separation of home and work. Activities such as making clothes, preserving fruit and vegetables, nursing the sick, supervising the children, and many other household duties which in the past contributed to the maintenance and cohesion of family life, is now greatly reduced. With industrialisation and the increasing availability of commercial supplies, the grandparent, for example, has become an extra mouth to feed out of the possibly inadequate wages of the single breadwinner (Farmer, 1979:15).

It must be noted that in a situation where the bond of the individual with the family is weakened, he becomes emancipated from any prolonged dependence on them. He has to set his own standards of living and is thus freed from many of his obligations which may have accumulated had he retained a strong bond with his family. Accordingly, in times of adversity such as sickness, accident, unemployment or natural disaster, the individual is extremely vulnerable, for he has few institutionalised claims on his family and may undergo great hardships and become dependent on the state or charity for help.

However, Ferrante (1998:382) cautions that the diversity of experiences of industrialisation in the different countries makes it impossible to make blanket generalisations about how it affects family life. Industrialisation and the changes that are thought to accompany it often comes into conflict with political, cultural or historical events that alter the course of events. For example, industrialisation in the west meant the rise of capitalism. Capitalism in turn gave rise to colonialism in developing and underdeveloped countries. Hence the effect colonialism and capitalism has had on the families of underdeveloped countries, is much different to that of industrialisation and its effects in developed countries.

3.6.3 Urbanisation

Changes in the institutional function of the family had been associated not only with industrialisation and the growth in scientific knowledge and technology, but also with urbanisation which has accelerated through rapid industrialisation. Urbanisation occurs through the process of migration of people from the rural areas to the cities in pursuit of scarce resources. This process is known to lead to changes in ties that bind people to one another (Ferrante 1998:386).

The penetration of the capitalist system in the rural areas had forced the family to depend on the urban economy. Breakdown in the rural household production system forces the rural areas to lose their trained, stronger and enterprising manpower in search for employment, and a cash income in the big cities and towns. Very often women, children, the elderly and the sick are left behind depending on the rural household. Subsistence farming which previously was the primary source of income now becomes a secondary source, supplemented by the income of migratory labour and informal sector activities. (Swanepoel; 1992:8-9). The rural household now becomes dependent on the urban economy for survival.

Although the migrant maintains regular contact with his rural household, he also forms social networks with other migrants in the city. In some instances, he is joined

by other members of his rural family, his wife, children or next of kin, in pursuit of employment opportunities. Increasingly the migrant internalises the norms and values of the urban area, and becomes integrated within the urban social networks.

Many 19th century sociologists perceived large cities with their complex division of labour, bureaucracies and dense population as imperilling the social fabric through distant and aloof relationships. Frederick Toennies (1855-1936) a German sociologist captured this sentiment by the concepts *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. For Toennies, *Gemeinschaft* involves binding personal relationships rooted in customary roles, long-standing obligations and mutual trust. *Gesellschaft* describes relationships dominated by self interest and competition with people's interests formally protected by contract and law. Hence, the rural home is depicted as a personal world of friends, relatives and neighbours, whereas the city is portrayed as a world of impersonal strangers (Zanden, 1990:581).

The size, density and heterogeneity of the city are likely to profoundly affect peoples' attitude. The impersonal way of life in the towns and cities are known to cause social and personal disorganisation for some migrants. Others who have been able to adjust to secondary contacts and who have been emancipated from the social and emotional obligations of intimate family and kinship group, are likely to exploit greater opportunities for personal advancement and social mobility.

With industrialisation and its concomitant intensification of urban living and the extension of educational opportunities greater emphasis is placed in individualism. Industrialisation and urbanisation have made it possible for individuals to achieve and be rewarded for their social status irrespective of family background. The anonymity of city and town life has made it possible to conceal or forget family origins and to assume an identity independent of the family.

3.6.4 Secularisation

In all societies, religious observance provides an integrating and cohesive dimension to the family. Religion plays a regulating role of social control. It is a moral force beyond any individual. In addition, as a collective force it makes demands on human behaviour and punishes transgressions (Zanden, 1990:408).

Most industrialised societies have undergone a process of secularisation, a process by which religion loses its social influence. In these societies, traditional religion increasingly becomes a separate and distinct institution. Its influence becomes eroded by other institutions such as government, science and education. A Gallup poll in 1975 reported a collapse of religious belief in virtually all the industrialised nations surveyed (Robertson, 1987:419).

The limitation of sexual activity within marriage, which means chastity before and fidelity after marriage, and the ideal of a life long and monogamous union, stems from the belief in the worth of the individual. Most religions have opposed practices such as prostitution, which is regarded as undermining the dignity of the individual and threatening family life, within which the individual should ideally find fulfilment. Emphasis on the marriage vows as sacred also stems from the belief that a stable family environment is the best for the child (Farmer, 1979:22).

Although there has been a decreasing interest in the formal aspects of religion, some ceremonies and rites attract large numbers of people. Whatever the motivations for these attendance's, whether they are social or secular, they tend to bring about family participation and serve to cement the feeling of solidarity. Institutionalised rituals tend to offer particular meanings for family members and help to define and set limits for family goals. It also helps to form bonds with other like-minded families (Farmer, 1979:22).

3.7 General characteristics of the traditional Muslim family

The Muslim family exists at the heart of Islamic society and culture. Islam holds that the basic unit of social life is the family. Despite differences in the Muslim world, the basic teachings of Islam are practised universally. The universalistic character of Islam sets identical standards of morality, obligations and familial relationships for all Muslims around the world. Laws and regulations concerning marriage, divorce, inheritance, proper relations between men and women, the treatment of widows and orphans, the training of children, and the position of the aged are prescribed in the Quran and the teachings of Islam (Cockerham, 1995:503;Usman, 1991:29).

The corporate family is the most typical organisation and the normative ideal in the Muslim community, but the functional unit is the extended family system. This includes the nuclear families of brothers, sons, nephews and sometimes, male cousins. Not all male relatives and their families live in one household, but extended households are made of several nuclear families under the authority of the oldest male (Blitsen, 1963:199).

The Muslim community places great emphasis on kinship. Traditional reciprocities between grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and aunts and nieces, nephews and cousins, as well as those between members of the nuclear family unit, create close family ties. Lineage is recognised by kinship through the male line. Family continuity through sons is a prime value and all children belong to their father's house. Muslim families are generally patriarchal and authority is vested in the males. Children are subordinate to their elders, and women to men (Blitsen, 1963:200).

However, the traditional Muslim family has undergone tremendous social change due to westernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation, and the extended household is often no longer a viable economic proposition. The extended household has tended to separate into nuclear family units in order to meet the greater economic demands of society. In South Africa, the type of housing provided by the state, geographical mobility of job seekers, the Group Areas Act of the 1950s followed by forced

removals and the policy of separate development, inadequate opportunities for employment, and so on, have all contributed to the tendency for the nuclear family system to replace the traditional Muslim family.

Muslim females were traditionally confined to household duties and child rearing functions. Due to economic stress, the Muslim female has become greatly emancipated from her traditional role and many are now competing in the open labour market to supplement the household income.

Religious education has traditionally been the function of the Muslim family unit. Due to the fact that both parents have to seek employment in order to supplement the household expenses, in many cases the child now has to attend vernacular classes for basic religious training. Thus, religious training and socialisation of the child no longer takes place within the folds of the family alone.

Traditionally, females were given an inferior social status compared to males. The participation of the Muslim female in the open labour market has given females a more equal status to males. Furthermore, Muslim females are no longer confined to the home. More and more Muslim females are obtaining higher academic qualifications and entering tertiary educational institutions. The emphasis on the liberation of women has also caused Muslim females to no longer be completely subordinate to their male counterparts.

The parent-child relationship within the Muslim family has also changed due to the shift to the nuclear form of family life. Traditionally, the child had to show total obedience to his parents in terms of the Islamic doctrine. With the gradual breakdown in the Islamic value system and the stress on individualism, parental authority has been eroded to some degree.

When looking at the Muslim family in South Africa, it is necessary to take into consideration the broader social context. Muslims in South Africa are not exposed to a totally Islamic environment, since South African society comprises diverse cultures.

The diversity of social and cultural groupings could be another factor as to why the Muslim value system is no longer so strictly adhered to. The Muslim family does not only have to conform to norms in terms of the Islamic doctrines, but also to norms of the general South African society. To some degree this presents normative conflict for members of the Muslim community.

3.8 Summary

The Chapter highlighted the definitional issues surrounding the institution of the family. Different sociological approaches to the study of the family have been examined. The universality and functions of the family have been expounded upon. The Chapter examined the different types of family forms prevalent in contemporary society. In addition, factors contributing to the changing role and function of the family in society have been examined. The Chapter concludes with a brief examination of the traditional Muslim family.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAUSAL FACTORS LEADING TO MARITAL BREAKDOWN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR FAMILY LIFE

4.1 Introduction

The institution of marriage and family life was examined in Chapter two and three respectively. This Chapter attempts to examine the concept of marital breakdown and its consequences for family life. An attempt is made to establish a working definition of the concept and to identify the causal factors leading to breakdown. The Chapter also examines the consequences of marital breakdown on family life.

4.2 The concept of marital breakdown

The concept of "marital breakdown" is difficult to define for the simple reason it involves a multiple number of sociological processes and dynamics, which eventually culminate in breakdown. A sociological definition of the concept is non-existent despite the fact that it is a widely used terminology in family and marriage studies. In the absence of a working definition of the concept, it becomes necessary to first examine what these various sociological processes are, before attempting such a definition.

The concept of marital breakdown may be explained by examining factors that influence marital stability, namely:

- factors which act to reduce the level of commitment or value attached to marriage;
- factors that increase conflict between spouses or inhibit their ability to manage tension; and

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- factors that increase the opportunities for individuals to escape from marriage.

It may therefore be asserted that in the absence of conditions that optimise marital stability and functioning, marital breakdown is likely to result. In light of this, it is proposed to define marital breakdown as consisting of those factors that lead to a lack of commitment to marriage which results in conflict between spouses, reducing their ability to resolve this conflict, which inevitably leads to separation and then divorce.

4.3 Sociological causes of marital breakdown

Earlier it was mentioned that there are numerous sociological causes of marital breakdown. No single factor can be identified in its totality as a cause of marital breakdown. A combination of factors is likely to result in marital breakdown.

A review of literature on the causes of marital breakdown indicates many overlapping areas. Where possible these will be grouped together, but in most instances discussions will focus on individual factors.

4.3.1 Birth of a new child and marital adjustment

The effect of the birth of the first child and subsequent children are complicated and involve many factors. No matter how much preparation a couple may have, bringing the first new baby home is an exciting, happy and frightening experience for parents. It requires new role adjustments. The new mother becomes preoccupied with the new-born, whilst the father takes second place in the mother's time and attention (Cox, 1990:482-483).

According to Cox (1990:483) the birth of the first child traditionalises marital relationships. Parenting and household roles are assumed more by the mother whilst the father turns toward the world of work. Research conducted by Enwisle and Doering (1980), La Rossa and La Rossa (1981) and Belsky (1983 and 1985) found

that changes in the marital relationship were more pronounced for wives once a child was born (Cox, 1990:483).

Several theories account for the traditionalisation phenomenon. From a physiological perspective, hormonal change in the mother due to pregnancy cause her to have "erotogenic pleasure" from nursing their infants. Personality theorists maintain that early childhood experience of socialisation cause one to revert to patterns to which they were socialised leading to the acting out of traditional behaviour. Sociological explanations of traditionalisation offer the argument that the demand of caring for the new-born baby places great strains on the new parent which clashes with the daily social reality of married life. The coming of a child increases the economic burden on the family. Since men may earn more money than women, the demands are greater on the husband and less for the wife, who remains at home to care for the new-born. The birth of a baby demands that the couple make a successful transition to parenthood and adjustment to changing roles (Cox, 1990:483-484; Laswell and Laswell, 1991:323-324).

The ongoing care of the new-born baby means that one spouse is free to pursue his or her own interests outside of parenting whilst the other must forego his or her interests for the sake of the baby. This constant demand on time causes conflict between the new parents (Cox, 1990:484).

Often many women experience postpartum depression following the birth of the baby. This may involve severe anxiety about motherhood, emotional disturbances, sleeping difficulties and in the extreme suicidal thoughts and possible hospitalisation (Laswell and Laswell, 1991:322-323).

There has long been the notion that the presence of children improves a marriage. To some extent this notion is true because it helps the couple settle down finally to familial roles. Family experts argue that the new-born serves as a link between the couple and has a stabilising effect on the relationship. On the other hand it is argued that having a child is not a certain and immediate route to marital happiness. In fact

the likelihood of increased dissatisfaction between couples is greater if marital problems are unresolved before the birth of the baby. The demands of raising a child are likely to compound the previously unresolved marital problems (Laswell and Laswell, 1991:324).

4.3.2 In-law problems

After marriage, the young couple is accorded adult statuses. For many, the movement is not sharp and distinct but rather slow and evolving. Because the newly acquired role of marriage is not always clearly distinguished from certain aspects of the role used to when being single, problems may emerge. One problem area emanates from the fact that after marriage, the couple does not always move completely away from the control and influence of their parents.

Contacts with parents and kin are also potential causes of problems in most marriages. The lack of agreement on what should be the ideal contact arrangement with parents could result in the couples either living and working with parents, cutting themselves away from their families, or seeing one set of relatives or parents but not the other. The extent of contact with parents and kin is largely influenced by their cultural background and expectations of the couple, geographical and physical distances of residence and their personal obligations (Broderick, 1979:345).

Participation in kin and family activities could be either a source of strength or strain for the couple. Problems arise when the "job of maintaining kin ties falls disproportionately to the wife" (Broderick, 1979:345). W.J. Goode (1964:73-74) concludes that in western societies husband-wife bonds and patrilineal networks largely determine the social network. Hence, it is obvious that the disproportionate maintenance of kinship ties is likely to favour more the husband's family than the wife's. For Goode (1964) this requires marital adjustment. The same could be said about matrilineal networks.

Parents generally face certain social, psychological and physical adjustment problems when their children marry. Turner and Helms (1988:263) term this phase as the "empty nest stage" because they lose their children to adulthood. They see their young adult child not only in his present role as husband, but also in all the roles he had fulfilled from infancy. Parents take the responsibility of rearing their children and making decisions for them and they tend to continue this to some degree until their children marry. Once they marry, parents find that their children no longer listen to them or accept parental control (Bell, 1966:317).

The adult roles of the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law contribute to the frequency of conflict in the marital relationship. The important fact is that their adult roles are essentially the same, although they are two individuals with many differences in role experience. The young wife brings into marriage the training she received from her mother, and as a result, tends to do things differently from her mother-in-law's expectations. If the daughter-in-law rejects suggestions by the mother-in-law, she inevitably questions the way in which the mother-in-law has been doing things for years, thus indirectly criticising her way of fulfilling roles. If the daughter accepts the mother-in-law's way of doing things, it may indicate to her own mother a rejection of the way she has played her role. Thus, the young wife may be caught between two experienced women trying to show her how she should fulfil her new role, (Bell, 1966:318).

A mother is more likely to accept her son-in-law as he is, than her daughter-in-law as she is. The mother-in-law may become critical of the son-in-law in his role of husband if he does not treat her daughter in the way she thinks he should. Probably the important source of conflict comes from the feelings of the son-in-law.

Because controls over behaviour are usually longer and greater for the girl than the boy, the mother may have greater difficulty giving up the control over her daughter when she marries. The son-in-law may feel that his mother-in-law is over-stepping her rights and imposing on his right as husband, if she continues to influence his wife. Because of the mother's close emotional involvement with her daughter and the fact

that she herself has been a wife for many years, she may feel that her daughter should listen to her advice on the role of the husband. Some mothers may want to shape their daughter's husbands into an image they prefer, which they could not realise in their own husbands, (Bell 1966:319).

Conflict between father and son-in-law seldom appears to exist due to the fact that they fulfil complimentary roles. Both have the responsibility of earning a living and maintaining a home. However, the father may become concerned if he feels that the son-in-law is over-stepping the limits of the husband's role. He may feel called upon to perform as his daughter's protector, (Bell, 1966:320).

A recent study conducted by Serovich and Price (1994:140-142) on in-law relationships amongst 309 Caucasian couples in the US, provides the following vital conclusions:

- the husband's parents are more problematic than the wives and husbands reported greater satisfaction with fathers-in-law than mothers-in-law;
- couples living closer to in-laws were more likely to experience disagreement and poor relationship quality; and
- in-law relationships were more problematic in early marriages and decreased in later marriages.

4.3.3. Financial problems

The socio-economic status of the married couple is associated with marital breakdown. According to Amato (1996:630) lower income group families are placed under greater strain by unemployment and financial problems. The stress generated by financial difficulties is likely to increase disagreements over finances and leave spouses tense and irritable. As a consequence financial difficulties lower the rewards obtained from the marriage and increase the probability of marital breakdown.

In industrialised societies, generally, both husband and wife work not only for money, but also for personal fulfilment. With the increase in the number of women entering the labour market one would expect a happier and equal marital relationship and more time for leisure and romantic love. However, Goldberg (1985:13) notes that more men and women work in order to meet the basic necessities of life. This in turn keeps people enslaved by the struggle for economic survival than any potential gains in the area of personal fulfilment, leisure and romantic love.

However, it can be questioned whether marriage failure can properly be attributed to social or economic causes. It can be argued that the fault may be found in the personalities of the persons, in particular that of the failed husband. Economic strain can adversely affect personal relationships, but many causes of marital breakdown may be the result of interaction between personality and external difficulties. For example, Blumberg and Schwartz (1983) in a study of dual employment families found that the lack of leisure time and the exhaustion that one or the other often feels due to its demands can have a dampening effect on their sexuality and degree of romantic interest (Saxton, 1990:254). In addition, they found that if a wife earned more than her husband did, it was quite possible that the husband will have problems with impotence. Interestingly, Rosenberg (1989) in a study noted a relatively higher correlation between the higher income for the wife and the husband's disinterest in sex (Saxton, 1990:253).

It may be asserted that the stress and strains of married life lies in the economic dependence of the wife on her husband. This on the one hand, engenders in the wife a feeling of resentment and on the other, gives the husband the power of ultimate decision making conferred by economic domination. This type of relationship eventually leads to conflict and then to marital breakdown.

On the contrary, in contemporary times where both husband and wife have paid jobs it can have a significant effect on the nature of the couple's interaction in marriage. Saxton (1990:254) contends that wives who provide a share of the income tend to have relatively more power in their marriages than wives who do not.

There is increasing evidence suggesting that there is an association between money, power and inequality in marriage. Vogler and Pahl (1999:129) and Bharat (1995:372) assert that the partner with the larger income is likely to play a more dominant role in decision making within the family. They conclude that wives who have paid employment are likely to have greater power than those who only work at home.

The economic organisation of marriage is also known to inhibit marital breakdown. Suhomlinova and O'Rand (1998 :221) assert that women's economic independence tends to defer marriage and wives are left with a choice of either to leave an unsatisfactory marriage or to remain in satisfactory ones. Women's economic independence contributes to family income and to the economic status of the family. They conclude that this impacts positively on marital stability. In addition, long-term capital investment such as home ownership, affects the extent to which marriages are disrupted.

4.3.4 Infidelity

When couples marry, they tend to view their marriage as a life-long commitment to each other, involving exclusive sexual rights. Often many that make this commitment to sexual fidelity are not likely to adhere to it throughout their marriage. When this commitment to exclusive sexual rights is violated by either or both of the marital partners, it weakens the sanctity of marriage and as such makes the marital relationship vulnerable to breakdown (Goldberg, 1985:243).

Most societies are restrictive in their norms regarding adulterous relationships, because they assume that the married are not sexually deprived and as such extra-marital relationships are a threat to the institution of marriage. This is confirmed by a study conducted by Macklin (1987) amongst a sample of Americans for the period ranging 1960–1980, which concludes that the vast majority disapproved of extramarital sex (Richards and Elliot (1991:42-43). Richards and Elliot (1991)

observe that infidelity, particularly amongst men, was more likely to be tolerated and seen as less of a threat to marriage in the 1950s and early 1960s, than in the 1970s.

Labriola (1997:1-2) asserts that sexism and women's economic dependence on men throughout most of history made it possible for men to get away with extra-marital affairs, mistresses, sexual relationships with prostitutes, and even having several wives. However, this tradition has changed after the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s and 1970s predominantly in Western societies. New freedoms were acquired by the advent of effective birth control methods through the "pill" and by women entering the paid labour force and demanding equality with men (Labriola, 1997:2). This transformation of sexual mores made it possible for men and women to engage in many new types of relationships, reject the rigid sex roles and limitations of monogamous relationships, particularly marriage.

Research conducted by Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) found that the minority of the people who had affairs or whose partners had affairs expressed feelings of marital dissatisfaction. A similar study conducted by Atwater (1982) found that most of the women were not happy in their marriages (Bird and Melville, 1994:164). However, despite the subjects reporting no negative consequences on their marital relationship, it is known that this type of behaviour could be destructive to the marital relationship, if the other spouse discovers the extramarital activity especially if no prior agreement exist (Bird and Melville, 1994).

The discovery of an extramarital affair is known to bring about a crisis between the spouses and/or their families and also interferes with a person's ability to function effectively. As a consequence individuals may experience difficulty working, taking care of themselves and /or their families (Truhe, 1998:1). On the extreme end marital infidelity can and does cause partners to develop an intense emotional attachment outside of the marriage, and the other partner becomes threatened and intolerable of it (Counselling Net, June 1998).

However, social scientists do not altogether agree that all extra marital relationships lead to marital breakdown. This is dependent on the amount of trust prevalent in the marital relationship and the duration of the marriage. It is logical to assume that new marriages are more vulnerable to marital breakdown as a result of extra-marital affairs than older ones (Lamanna and Riedmann, 1991:262; Laswell and Laswell, 1991:410).

It has also been noted that the discovery of an extramarital affair for some couples accompanies a renewed love and sexual feeling for each other. This may be due to the energy, effort and distance involved between the couple in keeping the affair a secret. However, this intimacy is not known to last long enough (Truhe, 1998:1).

4.3.5   Communication difficulties

Communication may be defined as a process through which one understands the other and seeks to be understood in return. It involves feelings, fosters a union of thoughts and meanings and keeps two or more people engaged in a communion over a period of time. The ultimate goal of communication in an intimate relationship ensures mutual trust, respect, understanding and empathy (Stinnett, et al, 1991:133). Burleson and Denton (1997:889) believe that good communication enhances marital quality, which leads to the assumption that a positive association exists between communication skills between spouses and ensuing marital satisfaction.

However, men and women are socialised into adopting different communicational styles. Men are more likely to adopt verbal/rational forms and women communicate non-verbally or emotionally. Women are known to give more accurate non-verbal signals such as smiling when pleased and frowning when displeased as compared to men. Consequently if men and women have learnt to communicate in different modes, then it is likely to create problems in relationships. In addition, the very fact that there is a perception that women are emotional and non-rational, disagreements on certain issues, despite the fact that women may be objective may lead to stereotypical accusations leading to the deterioration in communication (Dallos and Dallos, 1997:65-66).

Successful role enactment in marriage depends on proper communication. The problem of communication is occasionally more critical in the later phases of marriage than in the earlier ones. If harmony between two individuals declines in the succeeding years of marriage, communication can suffer. As a person's needs change, there is less agreement on the similarity of role expectations and consequently more discrepancy in the role behaviour which can be considerably complicated by the failure to communicate (Williamson, 1972:335).

Robinson (1991:15) asserts that poor communication difficulties emanate from a number of different sources and levels and is a component of the many other factors which lead to marital breakdown. An important component is the relationship expectations which couples have of each other concerning the degree to which partners would understand their point of view. Meeks et al (1998:258) concludes that failure to fulfil these basic expectations consequently results in decreased relationship satisfaction.

When couples state that they have grown apart, it is often a sign that over the years, communication has become less frequent, less open, or less effective. By not communicating effectively they are prone to misinterpret the other's non-verbal signals, adding to low levels of marital satisfaction, and the likelihood of marital breakdown. Effective communication does not mean that conflict will never arise in the marital relationship. Good communication, coupled with mutual respect and acceptance as well as a sense of security on the part of each spouse, greatly facilitates the resolution of conflict and as such reduces the possibility of marital breakdown (Dickinson and Leming, 1990:234).

On the other hand Bruess and Pearson (1998:186-187) inform that marital satisfaction might be related to the husband's ability to be expressive, to be clear and to decode his wife's messages accurately. Since male gender stereotype do not encourage or value verbal expressiveness many wives perceive their husbands to be deficient in communication. Often men express their feelings in non-verbal expressions such as

washing the wife's car or doing the laundry. Since women in general rely on verbal display of feelings they fail to interpret non-verbal expressions as emotion.

Communication does not in all instances lead to marital breakdown. In many instances couples purposely refrain from communication in order to avoid further conflict. They may not communicate their grievances because of insecurity about their relationship and fear risking rejection if they communicate dissatisfaction. Couples also experience a sense of hopelessness and fatalism about their problem believing that nothing can change them (Stinnett, et al 1991:190).

There is increasing research evidence that destructive pattern of communication which cause problems later in relationships, develop premaritally. Communication patterns including the ways of dealing with conflict situations are established before couples are involved in setting up a home together (Noller and Feeney, 1998:39).

4.3.6 Premarital sex, sexual dysfunction and sexual issues

Changes in sexual norms have led to an increase in sexual activity outside of marriage. The belief that cohabitation and premarital sex screens out poor marital partners and subsequently improves marital stability is increasingly being contested. Wu (1995:213) confirms that there is considerable empirical evidence suggesting that premarital sex is associated with lower marital stability, leading to breakdown.

Moreover, many studies indicate that cohabitation prior to marriage is associated with an increased risk of marital dissolution. People who live together are known to have personal traits, such as attitudes favourable to divorce or unconventional lifestyles, which increase the likelihood of marital breakdown (Amato, 1996:630).

A study undertaken by Forste and Tanfer (1996:35) on sexual exclusivity among dating, cohabiting and married women, found that the longer the relationship before marriage, the greater the likelihood that familiarity or boredom between partners, increasing the probability of having a secondary sex partner. This finding suggests

that the experience of premarital cohabitation undermine the notion that intimate relationships are lasting and permanent.

Wu (1995:213-214) asserts that those who engage in premarital sex or cohabit, are often people who are less committed to the institution of marriage. They view marriage less of a lifetime relationship and commitment and tend to be more willing to end an unhappy marriage than those that had not cohabited or engaged in premarital sex before.

Conflict over sexual issues is not an unknown factor in marital breakdown. Since sex is a very personal and private matter, it becomes a very sensitive area about a couple's married life and is hardly spoken about in the open. As a consequence sexual problems and difficulties are very often least spoken about amongst couples, which manifests itself in lowered sexual activity, dissatisfaction, extramarital affairs, psychological problems, physical and sexual violence.

According to Cox (1990:375) there are many factors in married life that reduce sexual interaction and excitement. Financial problems, demands of work, household chores and children are known to affect a couple's sex life. In view of the fact that both partners work, quality sex and lovemaking are known to be reduced. The presence of children also makes it difficult to find time amongst spouses.

The sexual revolution and the consequent liberalising of sexual practices are known to have reduced the meaningfulness of sexual behaviour. This is most prevalent amongst people who have participated to a greater extent in sexual behaviour before marriage. A study conducted by Landers (1989) in the United States amongst 140 000 respondents, the author found that eighty percent of both male and females found sex after marriage less exciting. Most respondents found sex after marriage boring, dull, monotonous and routine (Cox, 1990:375-377).

Sexual dysfunction is not an uncommon problem experienced by married couples. Five forms of sexual dysfunction's are known to affect the marital relationship (Burr et al 1993:426-427). Briefly they are the following:

- Premature ejaculation: this results from a man's inability to control his ejaculatory reflex so that when he is aroused he moves rapidly from excitement to orgasm.
- Overstimulation: this results in the retraction of the clitoris into its sheath upon stimulation causing discomfort.
- Vaginismus: this results in the involuntary constriction of the vagina prohibiting entry of the penis and making the sexual experience painful for both the man and the woman.
- Impotence: often referred to as erectile dysfunction, which results in the loss or the lack of ability to maintain an erect penis sufficient enough to perform the sexual act.
- Unstable plateau: this results from the inability of the woman to reach the orgasmic stage or skipping the plateau stage during sex.

Although advanced medicine and therapy provide remedies for these dysfunctions, severe relationship problems may result. Couples become frustrated and angry by the impediments to sexual gratification, feelings of embarrassment and inadequacy, denial of the problem, and to the extreme, feelings of being cheated by the spouse (Burr et al, 1993:428-429).

4.3.7 Arranged marriage

In many societies an arranged marriage is still the norm and practice. The primary consideration is the preservation of the kinship lineage, property and status transmission from the older to the younger generation. An arranged marriage is not based on romantic love, desire for children, loneliness, compatibility and sexual desire. The marriage exists primarily to fulfil social and economic needs. As a consequence divorce is practically unknown or occurs only infrequently (Eshelman, 1997:288-289).

However, Eshelman (1997:289) asserts that as traditional cultures are exposed to western cultures due to modernisation and industrialisation, there is an increasing tendency towards free-choice or love-matched marriages. On the issue of whether arranged marriages contribute to marital breakdown, no research evidence exists to support this supposition.

4.3.8 Changes in personality and associated problems

Personality is the configuration of an individual's characteristics and behaviours. It is the pattern of thinking, feeling and behaving that usually predetermines and pre-selects an individual's way of adjusting to the pleasures, frustrations and difficulties of living. Some marriages result in a harmonious synchronisation of two different personalities. Some exist in spite of the differing personalities of the partners. Others are broken by the irreconcilable attitudes and living patterns of the spouse. This is often termed as incompatibility, which means that certain combinations of psychological qualities are less conducive than others in forming and maintaining harmonious and mutually satisfying relationships.

According to Leonard and Roberts (1998:46-47) personalities of spouses is an important factor in marital stability and outcomes. The impact of personality differences is strongly evident when couples are newlyweds as it is later in marriage. This may be attributed to the fact that early in a relationship couples are not attuned to issues of compatibility and are likely to present themselves in a manner that is inconsistent with their actual preferences. After the honeymoon couples begin to present their true selves and they become disillusioned with each other (Bradbury, 1998:143-146).

Tucker et al (1998:221-222) in their study of intra-personal characteristics and the timing of divorce conclude that traits such as impulsivity, lack of conscientiousness, vanity, egotism, lack of sympathy and tenderness predispose individuals to a higher

risk for earlier than later divorce. Moreover, neurotic individuals were more likely to divorce.

Associated with personality problems, is the more severe psychological disturbances individuals experience which inevitably lead to marital breakdown. Psychopathy and schizophrenia are some of the more serious psychological disturbances having an effect on the marital relationship.

4.3.9 Religious differences

Religion is considered as a complementary trait for marital stability. It is known to enhance marital companionship as individual spirituality can be shared, but is inhibited when couples have to look outside of the marriage for religious intimacy. Religion influences how children are educated and socialised, the formation of social relationships, formation of business and professional networks and even the choice of residence. As a consequence, households in which spouses differ in their preferences are known to enjoy reduced efficiency and characterised by greater conflict (Lehrer and Chiswick, 1993:386).

Despite the importance of religion in enhancing marital relationships, Moore (1996:135) avers that the importance and influence of religion on marriage has been on the decline, throughout the twentieth century. Traditionally marriage was viewed as a holy institution and the bonds of matrimony sacred. The decline in religious influence means that people do not see marriage as a life-long commitment ordained by God. Hence, the stigma attached to marital breakdown has been considerably weakened.

Changes in cultural values and attitudes also influence the extent of marital breakdown. The social and moral constraints that once kept unhappy marriages together is less stronger than before, making marital breakdown more acceptable (Lammana and Riedmann, 1991:548).

Laswell and Laswell (1991:405) argue that although interfaith marriages are thought to have a higher failure rate than marriages in which couples share religious beliefs, this is not altogether conclusive. Other factors such as age at marriage, educational level and social and economic statuses of spouses is known to be an important factor in determining the likelihood of success or failure of a marriage.

Lehrer and Chiswick (1993:399) in their study of 3060 marriages in the US found no significant differences in the stability of naturally homogamous and conversionary marriages. Unions involving a convert was significantly more stable than those who shared the same faith before marriage. The results suggest that differences between the spouse's religious background do not affect marital stability adversely if one of the partners convert in order to achieve homogamy. Lehrer and Chiswick (1993) emphasise that the important factor in stability was not similarity in religious background but the religious compatibility between partners at the time of marriage and thereafter.

4.3.10   Marital violence and abuse

Coleman and Cressey (1987:138) state that the relationship between husband and wife is one of the strongest bonds in society, which is deep, passionate and often violent. Husband-wife violence is the most common. The threat of violence is often used by husbands to control their wives. Violence in marriages may take the form of wife battering/abuse, rape within marriage, husband battering/abuse, murder, violence, parent abuse, child abuse, sibling abuse, sexual abuse and incest (Pretorius, 1987:418; Laswell and Laswell, 1991:410). Often the typical pattern of marital violence graduates from kicking, slapping and punching to severe burns, fractures, internal injuries, miscarriages and attempted strangulation's and drownings – a continuing and deliberate pattern of intimidation and control (Mullender,1997:55).

In many Middle East societies, the husband traditionally had the legal right to physically punish their wives if they refused to accept male authority. Although this practice is not approved in Western cultures, it is still prevalent. It is estimated that in

approximately one in every two marriages, violence is prevalent (Coleman and Cressey, 1990:138).

In the US an estimate in 1977 revealed that 3.5 million wives and over 280 000 husbands experience severe beatings from their spouse each year. Estimates for child abuse range between 1.5 million and 2 million cases each year. Fifty-three out of every 100 children are beaten by their siblings each year. Marital rape was prevalent at least in one occasion during marriage (Laswell and Laswell, 1991:410-413).

Dutton et al (1996:116-117) in their study of abusive personality and abusive behaviour in wife assaults found a relationship between wife assault and early trauma. Husband to wife violence was associated with childhood witnessing of interparental assault in 88% of studies and with direct violence in 69% of the studies. They strongly speculate that early experience in the family of origin is a source of trauma.

However, as women become empowered through higher levels of education, financial and social equality and greater protection through the law, they are demanding an end to violence or to leave abusive husbands.

4.3.11 Alcohol and drug abuse

Hafner (1993:34-35) asserts that men and women react differently when beset with worries or depression. Women generally feel better by talking about their problems as compared to men. Men on the contrary when they are under personal stress are less likely to discuss their personal problems openly and acknowledge related feelings of depression and anxiety. Their avoidance of the problem is through distraction and suppressing their anxiety through the use of alcohol or drugs. Hafner (1993:35) asserts that abuse or dependency on illicit drugs such as cannabis (dagga), amphetamines and cocaine is nearly three times more common amongst men. Alcohol abuse is further encouraged by the stereotype that it is manly to drink.

Researchers agree that illicit drug use in adulthood is related to the timing and quality of participation in social roles of family and work. Yamaguchi and Kandel (1997:32-33) in their study of marijuana use and marital dissolution, conclude that marijuana use leads to higher rates of premarital cohabitation and divorce and delays in marriage and parenthood. However, their study also confirms that marriage itself leads to a decline in marijuana use but concomitantly its dissolution increases the probability of use. In contrast, they noted that there was no significant effect on divorce rates amongst couples who were marijuana users before marriage, but after marriage, when one of the spouse uses the drug without prior disclosure could have far reaching negative consequences for marital stability.

Kaestner (1997:148-149), in a study of cocaine and marijuana use on marriage and marital stability, concludes the following:

- drug use negatively affects the individual's wage and future earning power;
- decreases the productivity of the individual within the household;
- beset by poor health, affects their intellectual ability and their emotional stability; and
- it is a time-intensive activity in order to obtain the desired effect of the drug.

Generally, illicit drug users are more likely to experience marital breakdown problems as it increases the uncertainty about the expected gain from marriage.

Alcohol may be linked to domestic violence, marital breakdown, homicide, homelessness, assault and vehicle and occupational injury or death. Stockwell, Lang and Rydon (1993), in a National Campaign Against Drug Abuse Household Survey in Australia found excessive drinking to contribute to innocent people being harmed, caused unpleasant or irresponsible behaviour leading to loss of self control, domestic violence or child abuse, problems within families and eventual breakdown in marriage.

Laswell and Laswell (1991:414) argue that alcohol abuse is often a facilitator of most of the common marital problems, such as constant arguments, sexual dissatisfaction, communication problems and financial disagreements. Bradbury (1998:46) avers that excessive alcohol use and alcoholism is linked to marital satisfaction and marital stability. Alcoholics have rates of separation and divorce four to eight times higher than the rates in the general population of married couples. However, Bradbury (1998) also confirms that bi-directional effects are also likely to manifest itself as drinking leads to marital distress on the one hand and, on the other marital distress may lead to problem drinking.

Stanley (1998:1027-1028) in a study of marital dynamics in alcoholism amongst 150 wives of alcoholics and a reference group of a similar number of non-alcoholic wives in Tiruchirapalli, India concluded the following:

- inter-spousal conflict was higher in the alcoholic families than the reference group;
- respondents reported greater economic hardships on account of their husband's drinking; and
- higher marital violence rates were reported by the wives of alcoholics.

The study concludes that marital dysfunction and relationship problems are prominent in families where one or both spouses abuse alcohol.

4.3.12 Women's participation in the labour force and liberation

A stereotyped perception of the male and female role is that a woman's role is in the home while the man goes out to work in order to support his wife and children. Despite this rhetoric on gender and the division of labour, many women work and most of them give up work once they become mothers either temporarily or permanently.

However, the cost of living in most developing and industrialised societies demands that both spouses work. This is the characteristic feature in most modern capitalist societies. Recent trends in India for example, show that urban Indian women are increasingly entering non-traditional professions such as engineering, medicine, commerce and marketing, which were once dominated by men. These women may be considered to be comparatively high on resources, equate their husband's income, or to the extreme exceed it (Bharat, 1995:373).

Research indicates that where mothers work, role models for children are expanded, egalitarian gender role attitudes among both sons and daughters are fostered and more positive attitudes toward women and women's employment are promoted (Demo, 1994:300). In addition employment enhances the mother's self-esteem, adolescent children tend to take on more personal and domestic responsibilities and fosters a sense of self-reliance. Overall where both spouses work it improves the quality of life for the entire family. Although employed women spend less time with their children than unemployed women, they tend to spend more quality time over weekends than in families where the wife is not working (Demo, 1994:300).

4.3.13 Childlessness and the presence of children in marriages

Infertility amongst couples, no matter how strong their relationship, can cause significant marital stress. In the US it is estimated that at least 15 percent of American women aged 15 to 44 cannot conceive. Whilst some have no hopes of conceiving, others have low fertility conditions. The causes of infertility may be both psychological and medical. The latter condition through advancement in medicine has an approximately 70 percent chance of being treated (Laswell and Laswell, 1991:281).

Fertility problems for men are reported in 20 percent of the cases. This is largely attributed to low sperm counts. However, modern medicine through in vitro fertilisation has made it possible to help most men with fertility problems (Laswell and Laswell, 1991:281).

However, despite advancement in medicine not all couples are successful in enjoying fertility after treatment. In addition the cost of fertility treatment is not within the affordable means of all couples. In fact, fertility programmes are expensive and have no guarantee of success. Many couples after months and sometimes years of enduring efforts fail to conceive. This leads to frustration followed by what is called an "infertility syndrome". The infertility syndrome often involves denial, self-blame, communication difficulties between couples, anger and depression. These feelings often become the basis of other problems within the marital relationship, such as drinking, extramarital affairs and personality problems (Aldous 1996:134; Laswell and Laswell, 1991:285-286).

A further problem experienced by infertile couples is social stigma. Greil (1998:245-253) in a study of interaction patterns of infertile couples found that they often felt embarrassed at disclosing to others that they had no children or that they have fertility problems. Social gatherings, colleagues at work and the extended family often violate the privacy of infertile couples by asking intimate and personal questions on learning that a couple is childless. An innocent comment such as "how are your children doing" could place an infertile couple in an awkward social position. This may be largely attributed to the stereotyped perception that all married couples must have children.

The psychological basis of infertility is much more complex. Whilst it is widely accepted that infertility by its very nature could cause a host of psychological, emotional and stress factors, there is increasing evidence that these factors independent of any medical problems can cause infertility. Monach (1993:21-26) identifies categories of psychological conditions that could lead to infertility which will be mentioned very briefly:

- Women who obsessively seek medical help but unconsciously fear sexual intercourse and reject the very ideas of pregnancy, childbirth and motherhood. Similarly, men have an unresolved oedipal drive of sexual attraction to their

mother, which is posited in the unconscious desire to punish the wife for daring to assume the place of the mother. However, this psychodynamic theory is not widely accepted.

- Stress in prejudicing fertility is more widely accepted. Severe psychological distress can lead to changes in menstruation cycle or in its character which prevents fertility. Similarly in men high stress levels are known to lead to impaired sperm production.

- Sexual difficulties such as vaginismus or dyspareunia in women and impotence or premature ejaculation prevent adequate intercourse and are known to have a strong psychological component.

- The "waiting list effect" refers to those women who fall pregnant whilst waiting investigation. Research has shown that women waiting investigation often fall pregnant before medical intervention, having engaged in unprotected and unrestricted intercourse for two or more years.

- Post-adoption conception is known to be a common phenomenon. Couples with long histories of infertility and treatment are known to conceive a child after adoption. A theory that explains this phenomenon is once the stress of failing to achieve pregnancy is removed, the consequent relaxation permits conception.

- Lastly, there is an unexplained category of infertility. Despite psychological and medical intervention women are not able to conceive.

The extent to which childlessness affects marital relationships has been disputed. Some studies suggest that childlessness does have a negative impact on marriage although some couples adapt well to their childless state. Other studies have shown that new mothers find pregnancy to make their marriages less happy in light of the fact that mothers involvement in their children can make them withdraw emotionally from the marital relationship. Still other studies suggests that other factors such as age at marriage, the length of courtship and socio-economic factors combined with childlessness could lead to marital breakdown (Monach, 1993: 30-31).

The presence of children and its effects on marital stability has been well documented. Studies indicate that couples with children report more worries, distress, higher levels

of anxiety and depression, and less happiness and satisfaction, than non-parents. The birth of a child is known to demand increased time and energy resulting in lesser attention being directed to the spouse. Consequently, interaction is disrupted and conflicts between husband and wife becomes elevated. The evidence from these studies suggests that the presence of a child or children increases stress in the parental role and reduces marital satisfaction (Lavee et al, 1996:115).

4.3.14 Early marriages

There is increasing evidence that men and women who marry at an early age are more likely to experience marital breakdown than couples who marry when older. According to South (1995:432) almost every study on marital dissolution undertaken in the past 30 years had found statistically significant and inverse effects of both the husbands and wife's age at marriage and the probability of divorce.

Age at first marriage is found to be a consistent predictor of marital breakdown (Amato, 1996:629). According to Lehrer and Chiswick (1993:387) a very young age at marriage is often associated with short duration of search, suggesting relatively poor information about partner characteristics, a high probability of divergence from the ideal match, and a greater likelihood of marital dissolution.

Women who marry under age seventeen are three times more likely to divorce than women who marry in their twenties. In addition, women who are eighteen or nineteen are twice as likely to divorce as women marrying in their twenties. The same holds true for men (Dickinson and Leming, 1990:332; South, 1995:432; Suhomlinova and O'Rand,1998:220).

South (1995:433-434) asserts that age at first marriage and marital breakdown is related to three reasons. Firstly, persons who marry young are believed to lack sufficient maturity for the performance of marital roles adequately. Persons who marry young lack the knowledge and skills required for marriage and the emotional and psychological maturity essential for overcoming difficult periods in the marriage.

The second reason espoused by South (1995) is the existence of external pressures early in the marriage. Lack of support and approval from significant others, especially parents and friends, leads to a deficit in the integrative aspects of social relations. Thirdly, persons who marry young spend insufficient time in the marital search process and marry spouses who are relatively poor matches on a variety of unmeasured traits.

Contrary to this, Laswell and Laswell (1991:405) contend that age itself is not the only reason for high rates of marital breakdown. They assert that people who marry at an early age often do so because of unanticipated pregnancy. This often involves disapproval from one or both sets of parents towards one or both of the couple. Their relationship from the onset is characterised by guilt, blame or anger towards each other, thus predisposing them to marital breakdown.

In addition couples who marry young often interrupt or discontinue their education, thus forcing them to accept unskilled jobs that pay less. Consequently, their financial plight places stressful demands on their marriage, leading to dependency on their parents. Emotional dependence and conflicts with the family of origin are also factors known to lead to marital breakdown in early marriages (Quinn and Odell, 1998:114).

However, whilst early marriages are known to be susceptible to breakdown, there is an increasing trend to defer marriages later in life, especially amongst women. Sheela and Audinarayana (1997:79) note that education plays an important role in raising a woman's marriageable age due to the number of years spent on education, continuation of higher education for career opportunities and longer waiting time for getting an alliance with an educated person.

4.3.15 Role conflict

Role conflict exists when the behaviour of one spouse does not correspond to the expectations of the other. As a woman acts out one aspect of her role as wife, there is

no guarantee that the manner in which she does so, will conform to the anticipations of her husband. If it does not, there exists a role conflict. It is the discrepancy between the actual behaviour of one spouse and the behaviour expected by the other that is the real source of role conflict. Whether major or minor, serious or trivial, each time one marriage partner acts out his role, there is a possibility that it will conflict with the way in which the other expects him to act it out (Kenkel, 1973:437).

The culture of society contains the broad outlines of sex-roles in marriage. At a general level, there are standardised expectations of what a husband should do and what a wife should do, but no two members of society interpret the cultural definitions of the roles of marriage partners in precisely the same manner. Rather, each has a unique perception and interpretation of these roles, which he uses as a guide for his own behaviour and a standard for evaluating the behaviour of his spouse. Cox (1990:549) asserts that in America changes in sex role patterns amongst spouses is one of the major reasons for America's high divorce rate. He further states that whilst sex role change may be liberating to some individuals for others it results in marital disruption.

In a study of 700 cases at the Cork Marriage Counselling Centre in Ireland, Hogan (1996:1) found that 60 percent of the couples were struggling with gender role expectations.

Apart from the standardised expectations that society holds in terms of role fulfilment for married couples, it should be noted that these roles differ in terms of social class, religious and ethnic groupings. For example, the roles which a lower class wife fulfils in terms of her marital relationship, will differ from that of a wife from an upper class background. These differences in class, religious and ethnic groupings bring about role conflict which inevitably, lead to a disequilibrium in the marital relationship and which finally culminate in breakdown.

4.3.16 Role fulfilment by working mothers

Of particular interest to researchers is the family management patterns and role fulfilment influenced by women's increased participation outside the home boundaries. Generally there is increased findings that regardless of their employment status, women continue to bear the major household responsibilities and perform multiple roles as worker, home maker, mother and wife (Bharat, 1995:371).

In contrast, some research studies also support the view that working mothers experience difficulty in fulfilling their dual roles efficiently, thus producing tensions and conflict within her and the marital relationship. The extent to which the working mother in her dual role resolves these conflicts which is mutually satisfying to herself, husband and the other members of the family, will determine her adjustment to married life. Inability to deal with these conflicts is known to lead to failure in achieving marital adjustment (Mantri and Krishnaswamy, 1994:100).

However, the argument that working mothers have too many roles to fulfil leading to consequential neglect of their families has been contested. Silva (1999:46-65) argues that the traditional role of housekeeping amongst middle class families has transformed due to technology and the advent of washing machines, dishwashers, microwave ovens, floor shining machines etc. Household technology and increase in women's income capacity in the labour market have caused the amount of time spent on daily domestic labour to shrink in many dual-income families.

Silva (1999:51) also contends that due to improved labour participation of women, women can buy other people's services and afford to spend greater time with their families. It is argued that technological innovations has by far left only one traditional role for women and that is cooking daily meals. Even this area is rapidly being replaced by cheap fast food outlets. Technological innovations have also made it possible for men to undertake household chores with greater ease and allowed for the participation of older children in certain domestic duties making the tasks of the working mother much lighter.

A study conducted by Robinson and Milkie (1998:215) on trends and role determinants of women's attitude towards housework remains positive with significant enjoyment associated with household cleaning and a neat home. This suggests that women continue to psychologically invest in their gender and housekeeping roles despite their increased labour force participation. Robinson and Milkie (1998) also conclude that technological advancements in home maintenance products are a contributing factor in improving women's satisfaction in fulfilling their housekeeping roles.

However, on the other hand research indicates that full-time employed mothers with unemployed husbands are more strained with a series of demanding responsibilities and, as a consequence are more likely to be violent towards their children. On the other hand fathers with employed wives are less likely to be violent and abusive to their children. One explanation for this pattern is that men with unemployed wives tend to hold traditional beliefs that they are the head of the household and responsible for discipline and that they are the enforcer of family norms (Demo, 1994:301).

4.3.17 Role differentiation and role expectations amongst couples

Generally couples tend to form mental pictures of a new family long before the first child is born or adopted. This process is referred to as idealisation. Based on this process couples usually develop an idea of what a good outcome for their family would be if each other fulfilled his or her roles properly. The idealisation of roles is often learned from observing other families, reading about how others live or believe how life should be and watching television and movies. However, the most important source of ideal role fulfilment emanates from their own family of orientation (Lasswell and Lasswell, 1991:332-335; Stinnett et al, 1991:183; Odell and Quinn, 1998:92-93).

It is only after marriage that many of these expectations become visible since the partner and the marriage do not resemble the model they have constructed and

expected. The consequence of this discrepancy soon develops into anger. Demands for change may be expressed with hostility or silently hidden. This conflict in expectation leads to disappointment and disillusionment in the marriage. Unrealistic expectations of marriage and spousal behaviour has been reported to be one of the most common and damaging types of complaints and the most difficult to treat in therapy (Odell and Quinn, 1998:92-93).

However, these role expectations are not static and are subject to ongoing change. With changes taking place in the family it is expected that couples *differentiate* their roles and make adjustments accordingly. Couple's role expectations vary on being single to when the first child is born. It takes on further changes as the child grows up to be a teenager to when he becomes an independent adult. The gender of the children will also determine the type of roles parents fulfil. A father, for example, is likely to be very preoccupied with his daughter when she is a child, but becomes less preoccupied when she attains puberty. The wife is expected to teach the young teenager the virtues of femininity and exercise control and discipline over her behaviour (Lasswell and Lasswell, 1991:338-339).

Birth order also has a significant bearing on the extent to which couples act out their idealised roles. As each successive child appears there is a difference to the extent to which parental roles are idealised. For example, the father with his first born son would like him to emulate the ideal of masculinity by engaging in out-door activities such as fishing, hiking cycling etc., but the second son may not experience such intense involvement from his father due to other preoccupations made due to the growth in the family (Lasswell and Lasswell, 1991: 339-340).

Hence, the inability of couples to differentiate between the different roles they have to fulfil in the different developmental stages of their families is likely to lead to discrepancy compared to the previously held role expectations. The severity of role discrepancy and the extent of expectation held by each spouse could be a potential source for conflict.

4.3.18 Role reversal amongst spouses

Ideally, before marriage couples establish a satisfactory degree of consensus on role compatibility. They test and negotiate how they will play their respective marital roles. Upon mutual agreement, they decide to marry (Lamanna and Reidman, 1997:197).

However, relationships leading to marriage does not always exhibit these rational characteristic, neither does mutual self-disclosure. After the honeymoon phase, couples settle into a shared lifestyle contrary to their individualistic ways before marriage. The inability to make this adjustment leads couples to a lifestyle when being single. This process is known to be role reversal. For example, upon marriage one would not expect a married person to hang out with single friends without the spouse being present. Marital role expectation requires that a person spends a greater proportion of one's leisure time with the spouse and the family and cut down time spent with friends when single. Continued role reversal could lead to marital conflict and breakdown.

Cockerham (1995:104) asserts that consistency is a major feature of role orientated behaviour. Role consistency ensures that behaviour is understood and anticipated. Hence, acting in the context of a role makes it possible not only to expect a certain type of behaviour but also to evaluate it and respond to it more easily.

4.3.19 Marital status

Bell (1971:275) and Gittins (1985:85-87) conclude that marriage is an important status passage for both men and women as it confers adult status. A bachelor is generally regarded as someone who has never attained real adulthood. For the man, marriage implies independence and responsibility for others. For women, marriage is of even greater importance. It represents an important shift from being someone else's child, being semi-dependent by becoming someone else's wife. A woman who

pursues a career and never marries will normally be given lesser social recognition than the man who pursues a career and never marries.

Being married enhances a person's social support and psychological well-being. Compared with being unmarried, marriage provides emotional support - a sense of being cared for, loved, esteemed and valued as a person. Marriage offers social attachments and integration.

Despite the positive outcome of being married, it is questionable as to whether the status of being married or the quality of the marital relationship improves a person's social, psychological and emotional well being. A study undertaken by Ross (1995:137) on marital status as a continuum for social attachment amongst 2 031 households in the US, it was concluded that it is the social attachment between spouses, and not the status of being married that was important to well being. Moreover, Ross (1995) suggests that adjustment to the status of being married is an important factor for marital stability and the status of being married, which is purely normative. It may be concluded that the inability of couples to adjust to the status of being married could predispose them to marital breakdown.

4.3.20 Stereotyped roles amongst couples

The stereotyped role of provider is intimately related to perceptions of power in the family highlighting gender patterns. Brues and Pearson (1998:187) assert that young couples still believe that men should have more power in the area of personal relationships. A good example of this may be seen in instances were dual-career couples perceive marital satisfaction in terms of their spouse's fitting sex role stereotypes.

Husbands and wives in dual-career jobs report greater marital satisfaction if the husband is seen as more intelligent, competent and of higher professional status than his wife. Deviation from this dominant stereotype has serious relational consequences. Women who earn more than their husbands are reported to experience a decreased

level of marital dissatisfaction followed by the greater probability of divorce (Brues and Pearson 1998:187-188).

In dual-career relationships women accepting stereotyped roles are known not only to affect their physical well being but also to experience greater psychological stress. They tend to suffer more physical illnesses, are susceptible to greater emotional stress and often suffer from depression.

Brues and Pearson (1998:190) report that the happiest wives are in marriages where husbands share equally in household tasks and in marriages where they are satisfied with the amount of sharing or support they receive from their husbands. Couples sharing tasks tend to experience increased communication, heightened intimacy and improved decision making abilities. In addition, it has been found that fathers who share tasks equally experience greater satisfaction in the fathering role, being more aware of their children's need and provide non-stereotypical role models for their children.

In so far as stereotyped child rearing roles are concerned, Winfield (1998:159-160) strongly asserts that it should not become the burden of one spouse simply because of gender, tradition or the unilateral decision of another spouse. Such stereotypes for Winfield (1998) not only violate the marital right to co-determine household affairs, but also impede the social and political opportunities of the parent bearing the major responsibility of child care roles. When childcare roles are stereotyped within society the likelihood of gender neutral principles perpetuating itself is lesser leading to the continued inequality of women in the marital relationship.

4.3.21 Male dominance and marital stability

The issue of dominance as a cause in marital breakdown refers to power relationships amongst spouses. Generally men, because of early childhood experiences, are socialised into taking more dominant roles in later lives whilst women into more nurturant, sensitive and responsive roles. Society expects that the man must be the

provider, protector, in control and non-vulnerable as head of the family (Dallos and Dallos, 1997:21-22).

As a result of societal expectations power between spouses is unequally distributed, with the male often taking a dominant role and the woman being subjected to a lessor relationship within the marital relationship. However, this may vary in terms of educational, financial and cultural factors. The more educated, financially independent and emancipated a woman, the greater the likelihood of her enjoying equal or greater power than her spouse. Women who are less educated, less emancipated and financially dependent on their husbands are more likely to feel male dominance within the marital relationship.

4.3.22 Family background and marital stability

Lehrer and Chiswick (1993:387) suggest that the effects of a broken home background are ambiguous and different from the reason for the dissolution of the marriage. Children from divorced parents may view marriage dissolution with greater acceptance. Individuals raised in single parent homes may have greater skills or more confidence in managing a household alone, thus reducing the perceived costs of marital breakdown and increasing their readiness to end unhappy marriages. On the contrary, Lehrer and Chiswick (1993) assert that their experience may give them a greater sense of the difficulties of single parenthood and therefore raise the value of intact marital relationships.

Rohling and Dostal (1996:331-332) assert that divorce, family violence and alcohol abuse tend to reoccur in families through intergenerational transmission. The underlying point is that individuals who grow up in negative family environments are more likely to perpetrate the negative behaviour they have observed or experienced in their adult relationships.

Amato (1996:638) in a longitudinal study of the effects of intergenerational transmission of marital breakdown concludes that offspring from parents who were

divorced were more likely to have interpersonal problems compared to those parents who continuously remained married. Problematic behaviour such as anger, jealousy, feelings of hurt, communication difficulties and infidelity were some of the interpersonal problems passed onto their marital relationships, predisposing them to marital breakdown.

Patterns of heterosexual relationships for those who have experienced parental divorce are rather different (Richards 1999:268). The likelihood of young people beginning such relationships and entering into long term marital commitments at an earlier age is greater. Due to marriage and child bearing at an earlier age, the divorce rates tend to be higher.

Research evidence indicate (Richards, 1999:268; Rohling and Dostal, 1996:333) that:

- children from divorced homes have higher levels of divorce and reduced marital well-being in their own marriages;
- adults from divorced homes also have lower levels of psychological well-being expressed in the form of depression and high anxiety rates compared to adults from intact homes; and
- coming from a divorced home is found to be negatively related to cognitions about marriage and family than does coming from intact homes.

4.3.23 Traditional status of women and participation in the labour force

In the light of increased involvement of women in the labour market, contemporary society has witnessed a modification of male claims of breadwinning. Financial constraints as a result of rising costs in living necessitates that women work to supplement the household income in order to lead a better quality of life. The traditional notion that the women's role is in the home is no longer a cultural dogma but has become an economic necessity.

Irwin (1999:31-33) argues that the increased participation of women in the labour market has brought about a shift in the traditional notions of family and household relationships.

Increasing female participation in paid employment either together or apart has led to new forms of diversity leading to growth in the relative proportion of step-families, lone parent families, childless couples and single-parent households. Irwin (1999:33-35) alludes that this is as a result of the "individualizing tendency" which promotes autonomy and self-fulfillment. It is strongly argued that the importance placed on individual self-fulfillment within the marital relationship tends to raise expectations of equality as against continuing gender inequality, rendering such unions more fragile to breakdown.

The entry of women into the labour market raises new concerns amongst researchers about the potential impact of relative earnings on marital breakdown. Women's liberation, improvement in their educational well-being and open competition in the labour market with their male counterparts, have made women more financially independent as we enter into the twenty first century.

Heckert et al (1998:691) postulate that employed, married women are more likely to have the option of divorce compared to unemployed women or women with few economic opportunities. This is based on the assumption that the dependent rationally chooses to prevent dissolution, whereas the less dependent may decide to exit the relationship if a more desirable alternative is found.

4.4 Consequences of marital breakdown

The consequences of marital breakdown are wide and varying. All members of the family, that is the husband, wife and children (including grandparents) have to come to terms with the social, emotional and psychological stresses brought about by marital breakdown.

For women, the consequences include seeking employment if she has not worked before, making child care arrangements if she did not previously have any, living off a decreased income, developing new friends as former friends distance themselves, having to deal with ambivalent feelings of relationships with another man and assuming full responsibility for all aspects of family life (Stinnett et al, 1991:120-121).

The consequences of marital breakdown for a man are also not easy but different to that experienced by his former wife. Men have to make adjustments to life without familiar support systems and have to deal with reduced contact with children whom they love and value. Men however, proceed to another relationship quicker than women. Their sexual encounters are not restricted as they are eligible bachelors once again (Stinnett et al, 1991:121).

However, whilst it is not intended to downplay the effects of marital breakdown on parents, it is a well-established fact that children are the greatest victims of this phenomenon. There is a general consensus within the research community that children coming from broken homes are more likely to have low grades, drop out of school, become drug addicts, have pre-marital sex, seek psychological help, get divorced later in life, end up in prison, commit murder etc (Jeynes, 1999:104). This section will expound on some of these effects.

4.4.1 Financial constraint

Marital breakdown in most instances brings a sharp decline in income for households headed by females. This predisposes children to economic disadvantage continuing into adulthood (Richards, 1999:264).

Financial constraints after the breakdown of marriage means that most women are pushed down below the poverty datum line. Their financial problems are not always temporary and in most instances the economic decline experienced is irreversible. The problem is most severe when the woman has to leave her spousal home, has been dependent on her former husband for support, poorly educated and not young enough

for the competing labour market. The problem is further exacerbated when the woman and children are used to a particular standard of living and the extent of child support received from their former husband is below the poverty datum line (Arendell, 1994:229-234; Demo, 1998:232).

Marital breakdown means that the woman and the children will have to make certain financial adjustments. This financial adjustment means that they must adjust to a quality of life different to that they were previously used to. Arendell (1994:234-241) and Ladd and Zvonkovic (1995:197-198) assert that the emotional and psychological problems associated with marital breakdown and financial problems are traumatic. Anxieties, depression, suicidal tendencies, anger, despair, hopelessness, guilt and resentment are not unknown amongst divorced women.

The major emotional pain for women is coming to terms with the effects of sudden economic hardships on their children. Inability to provide adequately for their children, dependence on state maintenance grants, charitable organisations and public welfare agencies for financial support are known to affect the self esteem of both the mother and children. The social isolation experienced as a result of being marginalised from certain social groups leaves a feeling of rejection and despair. However, despite the feeling of despair, the thought of the future of their children is known to provide the strongest incentive to continue with their financial struggles (Arendell, 1994:238-239).

Men generally fare better following divorce. According to Laswell and Laswell (1991:433) men in all income groups show a substantially higher income than their former wives. They have lesser financial responsibility and their personal income is treated as their own rather than that of their ex-family.

However, studies indicate that financial improvement for men after divorce is not conclusive and is the subject of much controversy. Arditti (1995:286) asserts that findings on men's upward financial mobility after divorce is usually based on middle and upper class samples. Men in lower income thresholds often report economic distress post divorce and difficulties in financially covering the most basic necessities.

4.4.2 Problems with social relationships among siblings

Sibling conflict is frequent in almost all families. Children often fight with their siblings, taking opposing positions and violating common family rules as they attempt to gain advantage over one another. Ideally parents adjudicate the disputes of their children and institute appropriate discipline for their transgressions in the context of sibling disputes (Perlman and Ross, 1997:464).

Ramey and Juliusson (1998:34) assert that upon marital breakdown not only are relationships amongst parent-children affected but also amongst siblings. The size and number of children and age differences amongst siblings are important factors that will determine the effect it has on relationship patterns. Social scientists agree that the larger the family, the less contact parents have with their children (Ramey and Juliusson, 1998:35). Based on this fact, the absence of one parent during marital breakdown makes the adjudication of sibling rivalry and dispute lesser. In the absence of the father the eldest son may take on certain domestic roles. Older children will take on care functions, including the disciplining of younger siblings.

4.4.3 School performance

Research indicates that children living in mother-only-families perform worse on measures of intellectual performance and educational attainment than children in intact families. In addition, they exhibit higher rates of sexual and delinquent activity. One explanation for this finding is that the extent of parental supervision and control is lower in single-parent families making it possible for adolescents to make decisions without parental involvement (Demo, 1994:302).

There is further research evidence that children of divorce who live with neither parent, perform at academically lower levels than children from intact families or children of divorce from single parent families (Jeynes, 1999:117). This suggests that children with at least one parent fair better academically than those without the presence of anyone of their parents.

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4.4.4 Placement of children in institutional care

When children are found to be at risk in the care of parents due to frequent marital conflict, as a last resort they are institutionalised in children's homes or places of safety by child protection officers. The institutionalisation of children is one way of state intervention to ensure their safety and well-being.

Most children's homes are managed by community based organisations. Residential care programmes are expensive and managed by volunteers. The high costs of residential care programmes, the absence of trained and skilled staff and the impersonal environment contribute further to the marginalisation and alienation of the child. Feelings of anger, depression, and manifestation of anti-social behaviour are some of the problems experienced by children who are forcibly separated from their parents. Children in residential care programmes are known to perform poorly at school, drop out of formal schooling at an early age, and lack the self-esteem to perform stable and long term relationships.

The long-term effect on children in residential care programmes is dependent on the duration of their stay. It may be asserted that the longer the duration of stay in these programmes, the more damaging will be the consequence for negative behaviour and reintegration into families of biological orientation or foster care.

4.4.5 Placement of children in foster care

When either parent is found to be an incompetent caregiver, child protection services first investigate the possibility of removing the child to the care of family members or alternatively to non-family members. This alternative form of care is called foster care. Foster care is a temporary form of child care arrangement until the parents develop competencies in their child care skills and management which would not endanger the safety and well-being of their children.

Whilst foster care in happy homes is an ideal, research indicates that children entering foster care exhibit a significant number of behaviour problems and adaptive deficits. Clausen et al (1998:284) postulates two reasons as why children in foster care exhibit significantly higher risk for behavioural problems. Firstly, most of these children have experienced severe maltreatment problems in their families, necessitating placement in foster care. Secondly, the negative effect of separation from their family places them on a higher risk for the display of behavioural problems. Clausen et al (1998) assert that the movement from the family of origin to foster care engenders feelings of rejection, guilt, hostility, anger, abandonment, shame and dissociative reactions in response to the loss of a familiar environment and the separation from family and community.

4.4.6 Ineffectual parental role model and the perpetuation of marital breakdown

Constant conflict amongst parents undoubtedly has negative effects on children. Research indicates that this is the major source of difficulty for children of separated parents and there is strong correlation with the development of low self-esteem. Low self-esteem is known to be associated with a wide range of other difficulties including poor performance at school, poor relationships with peers, premature entry into romantic and sexual relationships and poorer employment prospects (Richards, 1999: 265). The effects of marital conflict are also known to affect children in a variety of ways. Although conflict after separation continues, the way it affects children may vary to when parents are still living together. Whilst parents are living together the extent to which they involve their children in their conflict, will also have a bearing on the effect it has on children.

Constant marital conflict amongst parents is known to negatively influence adult children's marital relationships. Children acquire the behaviour of their parents through observational learning in their family environment. Growing up in a family with constant conflict and constantly witnessing parental discord is known to have a definite effect on the marital relationships of children later in life (Lee; 1995:14). David et al (1996:82) suggest that conflict that occurs in front of the child is

detrimental to their development, compared to conflict which is encapsulated or hidden. Moreover, marital conflict is known to be associated with a rejecting relationship between parents and their children, which is related to children's problem behaviours.

Contrary to the assertion that upon marital breakdown parents present themselves as poor role models to their children in the form of hostility and unfriendliness, research evidence prove that post-divorce parental relationships do in fact improve, having a positive effect on their children. Ladd and Zvonkovic (1995:192-193) assert that parental relationships are friendlier when non-custodials remain in contact with their children and focus communication around their children. Ladd and Zvonkovic (1995) report that after a difficult post divorce year, 95% of parents in their study reported that their feelings changed in a positive direction towards their ex-spouse, impacting positively on children.

Sinclair and Nelson (1998:104) assert that marital breakdown does not always lead to negative consequences for children. It is argued that some children in adjusting to their changed situations before, during and after parental divorce tend to become strengthened in one or more areas of their lives. Moreover, they develop competencies or grow psychologically because of what they learn when dealing with the marital crisis helps them to enter adolescence and adulthood as well-adjusted individuals.

In support of the above, Sinclair and Nelson (1998) argue that parental conflict is one of the most important variables affecting a child's level of well-being following divorce. Children in low conflict families display fewer problems compared to children from divorced and high conflict intact families. The continuation of parental conflict after divorce is also known to be associated with deleterious effects on children. Following divorce, the amount and quality of contact with custodial and non-custodial parents is a also an important factor in mediating adjustment. Children with significant contact with the non-custodial parent are known to have greater self-esteem, compared to those who do not have contact at all.

4.4.7 Breakdown in the discipline of children

Marital breakdown means the absence of one or both parents in the lives of their children. In most instances the female spouse obtains custody of the child unless she is found to be incompetent to parent. In some instances both parents are found incompetent to parent, and as a consequence the children are referred to alternative forms of care either in public childcare institutions or foster care.

The absence of one or both parents is known to have serious consequences for the discipline of children. Very often the non-custodial father is portrayed as the "disneyland dad" or relegated to the role of "secondary caregiver". This stereotype infers lax or non-existent discipline and expectations for mature and age appropriate behaviour. On the other hand the custodial mother attends to the day-to-day work of parenting, discipline, homework and chores (Arditti, 1995:289).

Arditti (1995:289) strongly asserts that most studies ignore the diversity of circumstances non-custodial fathers find themselves in and the influence of important social factors on the nature and extent of paternal participation in the lives of children. For example, children's age and sex has an important influence on how non-custodial fathers involve themselves with their children. Fathers tend to be more involved with their sons than their daughters and the younger the child, the greater the participation. Fathers are less likely to involve themselves in play activities with their teenage children since they prefer to be with friends, or hold part time jobs or are engrossed in their careers.

Dreman et al (1999:39) suggest that custodial mothers have difficulty in establishing parental control and discipline without the presence of a father figure, especially in the case of adolescent sons. Maternal custody deprives disciplinary measures of limit setting associated with fathers resulting in poor adjustment and behaviour problems.

4.4.8 Loss of trust

Ideally children are nurtured in a safe, non-threatening and trusting home environment. Children emulate their parents and hold them in high esteem. During marital breakdown, parents attempt to win the support of their children, more especially when it comes to the issue of child custody. One parent is played up against the other and what was once a trusting relationship, turns out be one of mistrust, competition and suspicion for children.

The sense of insecurity caused by constant conflict before, during and after breakdown may be considered to be an important factor to the extent to which children continue to express unconditional trust in their parents. To this extent Lamanna and Riedman (1997:494) maintain that the extent and severity of open conflict in the presence of children is a determining factor in the continuous well-being of children.

4.4.9 Parental dependence on emotional support from children

There is increasing evidence that long term parent-child relationships have many positive and negative effects. Many older men and women coming out of long term marriages are alone and unhappy and as a consequence tend to depend on their children for support and companionship many years after the divorce (Ladd and Zvonkovic, 1995:201).

The degree to which parents depend on the emotional support of their children during marital breakdown is dependent on the age and sex of children, duration of marriage, parent child relationship and the extent to which conflict is managed. For example, it is probable that teenage children are more likely to be depended upon by their parents during marital breakdown than younger children. Fathers are more likely to seek the support of their sons whilst mothers will depend on their daughters.

4.4.10 Displaced parental anger

Anger has been shown to negatively influence parental cognitive processes. A consequence of this is displaced parental anger towards children. An angry parent serves as a negative role model affecting children's behaviour and adjustment. The probability of displaced parental anger manifesting itself is most likely to occur in the post-divorce stage. Post-divorce situations are known to be characterised by ongoing frustration, stress and anger.

Dreman et al (1999:26) in the study of the expression of anger in divorced mothers and behaviour problems in their children found that higher levels of anger to be related to more behaviour problems in children irrespective of gender. This finding suggests that the greater the intensity in the expression of anger by a parent the more severe the behaviour problem is likely to manifest itself amongst their children.

4.4.11 Childlessness, adoption and marital stability

A likely option for sterile couples to remain married and rear children is through adoption. Whilst this may be a possible option, it is not a easy process as both spouses must be agreeable and committed to raise a child or children which do not belong to them biologically. In addition, they may be required to undergo pre-adoption counselling through an adoption agency and willing to take the risks of adoption. Some of the risks are the genetic effects of behaviour acquired by the child from its natural parents, illnesses and psychological problems. Concern is expressed about the effects of possible abuse of alcohol, drugs and tobacco on the part of the biological parent during the prenatal period and the long term effects on the new born baby (Laswell and Laswell; 1991:286).

Whilst adoption may be an option for sterile couples, with increasing incidences of abortion, contraceptive use and the number of single mothers wanting to keep their babies, the number of babies available for adoption is on the decline. Hence the prospective adoptive couple may have a long waiting period, which could further add

to their anguish of being childless. In addition, the inability to find a right match between the adoptive couple and a baby is a long process of trial and error, sometimes leading to further anxieties of hopelessness and frustration (Laswell and Laswell; 1991:286).

4.5 Summary

A working definition of the concept marital breakdown was attempted in the Chapter. It becomes evident that marital breakdown results through the interaction of multiple social, psychological and economic factors. These factors have been identified and expounded in-depth.

The Chapter also examines the consequences of marital breakdown on family life, with special focus on its effects on children. It becomes evident that the consequences of marital breakdown for children and family life are many. The long-term effects on the psychosocial development of children have been examined. There is increasing evidence that children bear the greatest consequence of marital breakdown.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONCEPT ISLAMIC CULTURE AND MUSLIMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

Muslims in South Africa constitute a minority group made up of different ethnic and race groups. Each one of these groups have different historical contexts but draw on their normative and value systems from the universal principles of Islam. Although the study is based in KwaZulu-Natal, it is not possible to separate the examination of Muslims and their culture without referring to Islam, both in the national and international context. In particular, reference to minority Muslim groupings in other parts of the world and the cultural and religious problems experienced necessitates some discussion in the context of this study.

In the light of the foregoing, this Chapter examines the concept of culture, the meaning of Islam and its normative and value system, and the basic articles of the Islamic faith. Islam and the subsequent impact of colonialism in the destruction of the normative and value system of Muslims are also examined in this Chapter.

The Chapter focuses more specifically on the social, cultural and economic organisation of Muslims in South Africa. It examines their historical origins and their current status as a minority group in South Africa. The marital position of early Muslims is also examined.

5.2 The concept culture

The concept of culture is often understood from the perspective of the Anglo-Saxon tradition as an every day culture (Buhler, 1993:60). However the concept culture, as

used within the framework of sociology, has a much wider and more significant meaning than that which is often attached to it in everyday language.

Without having to undertake a lengthy discussion on the concept of culture, and its different sociological meanings, a simple definition will suffice for the purpose of this study. Buhler (1994:61) defines culture as "... that complete whole which comprises of knowledge as religious beliefs, arts, customs, the law, habits and every form of ability and lasting activity which a human being, as a member of a society, acquires".

It is generally argued that the basic process through which human beings learn to act like other members of the culture they belong to is by way acculturalization or socialisation. The process of socialisation ensures that an individual's behaviour conforms with the demands of social life.

Culture is likely to be relatively stable and integrated over a period of time. Macionis (1997:63-66) states that culture can be identified in the structure of a society or group, in its institutions, and in the actions of its members. It is socially learned, socially accumulated, socially shared and socially reinforced. It involves what we know, what we believe, and what we think is right or wrong. Our day to day behaviour is guided by the cultural framework in which we live.

However, the demands of social life vary from one society to another as each culture differs in its practice and expression of its everyday rituals. Buhler (1994:62) asserts that everyday ritual "...provide unambiguity and consequently behavioural security in every day reactions." The diversity of everyday rituals provides an opportunity for the individual to enjoy a sense of belonging within a community, group or society. This requires that the individual conforms to rules, which are established at a certain point in time by a certain social group. Underlying these rituals are specific norms, which contribute to the diversity between various cultures (Buhler, 1994:62).

Consequently different communities develop their own peculiar cultural traits. The South African Muslim community is no exception. This will be discussed in greater detail in this chapter.

However, to fully appreciate the nature of marriage and family life in this community; it is necessary to briefly discuss the peculiar cultural characteristics of this group. It must be noted that Muslims are enjoined by a common declaration of faith and conform to a set of basic articles of belief emanating from early Islamic teachings and practices. It is this commonality which joins Muslim universally despite cultural differences and practices.

5.3   The meaning of Islam and its normative and value system

Islam is one of the world's major religions. It is claimed that almost one fifth of the world's population follow the religion of Islam. A common misconception amongst westerners is that Islam is an Arab religion, although its origin is in the Middle East. Due to its large adherents, trends in Islamic societies are potentially of global significance (Robertson, 1987:407).

"Islam" is an Arabic word. Literally translated, it means: peace, purity, submission, and obedience.   In the true sense of the word, it means belief in the One God, acceptance of his authority and commitment to His service.   The adherents of Islam are called Muslims, which means one who submits voluntarily to, or surrenders willingly to Allah (Nadvi,1989:72;Cockerham, 1995:500-501). Muslims recognise that all the prophets of God, from Adam to Moses, Jesus and Muhammed have been delivering the same message, which is the message of Islam (ICSA,1984:9).

Islam, as a way of life, is not just a declaration of faith, or observance of a series of rituals. It encompasses every aspect of life: social, political, economic, legal, moral philosophical, spiritual and personal. Muslims believe that the Islamic code of life, covering all fields of human existence - private, political, material, legal and cultural was established by God. The significance of this belief is based on the understanding

that man is limited in his capabilities and the solutions he derives are only of temporary value (Nadvi, 1989:72).

The Quran (the holy book), is the basis on which Islamic norms and values for Muslims are prescribed. It was first revealed to Prophet Muhammed (Peace Be Upon Him) around 610 A.D. It contains that which is permitted and prohibited for the whole of humanity. Such things as drinking alcohol, gambling, false worship, adultery, eating pork, stealing, cheating, telling lies, amongst many other things, are prohibited; just as many of these are not permissible in other religions. All these factors combine to determine the way in which a Muslim must conduct his everyday life in his relationship to all people; from family to society (ICSA,1984:10; Nadvi, 1989:74).

Laws that are contained in the Quran and those traditions practised by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and subsequently by his companions are known as *Shari'a Law*. Practises of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his companions are commonly referred to as *Sunnahs* (i.e. teachings or practices). Laws laid down in the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet are considered by Muslims as mandatory and considered unalterable despite scientific and technological advancement.

In many respects Islam is considered to be a total way of life. Its uncompromising religious prescriptions on human conduct foster social order, social justice, equality democracy and self-fulfilment. It's various prescriptions and proscriptions are considered by its followers to be a divine order for betterment and fulfilment in this world and the hereafter. Islam is a monotheistic religion understood to have encapsulated and perfected on the teachings and practices of previous prophesies and divines. Hence, for Muslims the divine order of Islam is accepted as the final message to all of human kind.

Important on the issue of finality, is the belief that life on earth is a sojourned destination to either a poorer or better life as promised in the hereafter. This is dependent on one's spiritual accomplishments and fulfilling one's spiritual

obligations through the teachings and practices of Islam. It places great emphasis on the rights and obligations of the individual, family, community and society; in keeping with the divine will of God during their stay on earth. Hence it may be asserted that the proscriptions made by Islam helps humankind to pass through this material world by obeying the divine laws to the fullest i.e. an Islamic way of life.

5.4 Basic articles of Islamic faith

The belief in One God, the Creator, is a basic belief. It is commonly known as the first principle of Islam and recognises that all things created in this universe are under God's absolute control, which requires man's complete submission to the Will of the Creator (Banoobhai, 1987:135).

Muslims are not organised into churches. They believe that no formal organisation should exist to intervene between the individual and God. However, there are Muslim clergy whose function is to interpret the Quran and serve as spiritual and community advisors. In addition, Islam does not separate the church and state. The state is considered to be God's and works for the success of the Muslim community in this world and the hereafter (Cockerham, 1995:503).

The basic article of faith is the belief in God's prophets, His holy books, His angels, the Day of Judgement, the fact that man is accountable for his own deeds and actions, life after death and acceptance that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is the final messenger of God. Since the advent of Islam 1400 years ago, there has been no change in these basic articles of faith amongst Muslims throughout the world (Nadvi,1987:50).

The relationship between faith and daily life is an important concept in Islam. There is no separation between the soul and the body. Religion is not assumed to be a personal affair and Islam holds no credence in secularism. In line with this, there are certain specific acts of worship which are intended to join the spirit with the activities of

daily life. These are commonly referred to as the "Pillars of Islam" (ICSA, 1984;12), which are:

- **The declaration of faith:** to believe, that there is only one God and that Muhammad is His servant and messenger. The messengership of Muhammad obliges the Muslims to follow the exemplary life of the Prophet in every way.

- **Daily prayers five times a day:** as a duty towards God. It is a means of strengthening and enlivening the belief in God. It inspires higher morality, purifies the soul and suppresses evil and indecent inclinations.

- **The observing of fasting during the month of Ramadaan:** this involves abstention from food, drink and intercourse from dawn to sunset, and evil intentions and desires. The purpose is to cultivate in humankind a sound conscience, patience, unselfishness and willpower.

- **Charity:** the giving away annually of two and a half percent of one's net savings and a portion of certain prescribed personal holdings, to be spent on, among other things, the needy.

- **Pilgrimage:** provided one has the means, to perform once in a lifetime, a pilgrimage to Kaaba, in Mecca.

It should be noted that Islam is a much more involved way of life that can be illustrated in this present study. The above information, merely serves to illustrate the basic concepts of Islam.

5.5 Islam, colonialism and the destruction of the Islamic normative and value system

The negative impact of colonialism on Muslim countries and others with minority Muslim communities has led to the destruction and distortion of many religious laws, practices and teachings which are significant to an Islamic way of life.

Shari'a Law as practised in Muslim countries and by minority groups in colonialised countries was viewed as antiquated, barbaric, as an impediment to modernisation and anti-development, backward, uncivilised and oppressive (Nadvi, 1987:34-36). During

the colonialist period, much of the *Shari'ah Law* had undergone "Law Reforms" which deviated from the divine injunctions of the Holy Quran and the *Sunna*. Muslims under colonialist rules had to conform to the penal code of their masters, in conflict with what was theologically ordained for them as a civilisation.

However, in the post-colonialist era, and still continuing today, there is an attempt to revive the *Shari'ah Law* under the guidance of religious leaders (Ulema). This is prevalent after the success of the Iranian revolution in the late 1970s and the strong opposition to Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in the early 1980s. This resurgence to Islamic Law in terms of the *Shari'ah* is perceived by westerners as *"Islamic Fundamentalism"* and attempts to either overt or covertly oppose the restoration of Islamic life and Islamic law in these countries in many subversive ways. The western world perceives Islamic law not in keeping with western civilisation and contradicts modern values and stymies global growth (Robertson, 1987:407; Ferrante, 1998:437).

An important question concerning sociologists is the reason for the intensification of Islamic fundamentalism. This is especially in light of the fact when societies are moving toward modernisation rather than tradition. Robertson (1987:407) provides one such explanation. The revival of fundamentalism takes place in any society at a time when social change leads to turmoil, uncertainty and the erosion of familiar values. This is based on the premise that when people find themselves confused, threatened or even appalled at changing conditions, they tend to return to the basics as solution.

However, Muslim countries under colonialist administration experience the dilemma of reverting to Islamic forms of administration. This is because of either the dependency caused by the colonialist on their country of origin, eradication of fundamental norms, values, cultural and religious practices of these Muslims. In addition, dependency on the western capitalist system had forced these Muslim countries to act contrary to the *Shari'ah Law.*

Whilst there is no compromise on *Shari'ah Law,* Muslims conform to a secondary source of Islamic Law in instances where there is no clear injunctions or directives in the Quran and the *Sunnah* on a particular issue. These sources of law originate from judgements made by Muslim Jurists, deductions made by way of analogy, consensus of opinion and interpretations by Muslim scholars. This secondary sources of law provide latitude for adaptations in the post-modernist era. Hence it may be asserted that Islamic Law is dynamic and has great potential to progress with society and culture promoting adaptation, assimilation and modifications (Nadvi, 1987:48).

5.6 Islam and Muslim minorities in the world

The diaspora of Muslim minorities is to be found throughout the developed, underdeveloped and developing countries of the world. The international distribution of the Muslim population in 1996 in the different continents of the globe may be illustrated as follows:

Africa	426 282 000
Asia	1 022 692 000
America and United Kingdom	11 572 089
Europe	41 684 507

(Source: Estimated from the CIA World's Facts Book 1998: http:/odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook)

According to Ali Khan (1987), the number of countries with over 50% Muslim population is 57. Mahmoud (1991:5) asserts that in 1973 the number of Muslims world-wide made up of 20% of the population, in numerical terms approximately one billion. Of this, a staggering 350 million Muslims live as minorities in non-Muslim states (Institute of Minority Affairs 1992:XII). The overwhelmingly large presence of Muslims in these countries does not, however, necessarily mean that they are governed in terms of Islamic Law. For example, Muslims in India number around 90 million, in Ethiopia Muslims exceed 50% of the population and in Albania, a European country, they make up the majority of the population. Despite the large

presence of Muslims in these countries, none of these are a Muslim state (Mahmoud, 1991:1). In fact in India, Muslims form the largest minority group in the world.

According to Nadvi (1989:72-73) Muslims in non-Muslim countries can be divided into two distinct regimes. Firstly, that which is directly or indirectly under the western political system and secondly, that which is directly or indirectly under the Communist or Socialist political system.

Nadvi (1989:73) asserts that the plight of Muslim minorities in the Communist or Socialist bloc is characterised by difficulty in maintaining their Islamic sense of identity in view of the fact that these regimes are based on Godlessness. Compared to the western countries, religion is considered a private matter and public life is governed by a political system based on secularism and secular philosophy. Hence, Nadvi (1989) concludes that Muslims living under the western political system are better off as it allows them to practise their religious rites and rituals and to arrange Islamic education for their children on a private basis. To a large extent, Muslim minorities in the western world have greater control of Islamic personal law (essentially, marriage, divorce, inheritance and religious endowments) as compared to Communist countries where any form of religious practice is outlawed by the state.

However, no matter in which region the Muslim lives, the most serious and challenging problem for minorities is the preservation of their Islamic identity and way of life in terms of their religion, culture, education, politics, economics, ethics and law. Muslim minorities frequently experience a clash between the values and norms set by Islam and those of the dominant secular political systems and ideologies of the foreign nation state in which they live.

5.7 Social, cultural and religious problems experienced by minority Muslims

All minority communities experience problems of a socio-political, cultural and economic nature in their host countries. The problems of the Muslim minority is no exception except for the fact that attempts for the international revival of Islam,

opposition to pro-western governments and the rise of the political Islamic movements in the Muslim world have created difficulties for Muslims living in non-Muslim countries. This to a large extent has caused major hostility against Muslims and an increasing anti-Islamic stand. It is likely that these attitudes would "create problems for Muslims living in the western countries who would be increasingly forced to choose between the west and Islam" (Crescent International, July 16-31, 1998).

Minorities to a large extent have very little capacity to influence the power relations between their host country and their country of origin and as a consequence have to put up with the negative effects of these power relations in their host countries. These negative effects may take the form of religious and cultural ostracism, suspicion and alienation, increased control of immigrants, forceful suppression of any overt identification with the country of origin and to the extreme, discrimination.

Central to the cultural problems are the disturbances experienced in the generational development of minority groups. Issues pertaining to the effects of acculturation, assimilation, integration-disintegration, isolation, identity crisis, social adjustment, discrimination, social change, modernity, culture conflict, westernisation etc, on the minority groups cultural survival in the host country would require much discussion. It is not within the scope of this study to deal with such issues but to draw on broad conclusions on the present status of minority groups.

What is evident is that the Muslim minority in most parts of the world experience problems in maintaining their Islamic identity due to a host of historical, social-psychological, political, and economic factors both internally and globally (Nadvi, 1989; Mahmoud, 1991; Doi, 1992; Ali and Whitehouse, 1992; Ahmed, 1992; Lamand, 1993;Mohammed, 1994).

Ethnicity is known to contribute significantly to the identity of minority groups (Randeree, 1997:63). Despite the fact that minority Muslims are known to be of different ethnic backgrounds and share close kinship relationship patterns, they are

also known to derive their cultural value primarily from the Quran and the practices of the Prophet Mohammed (PHUH) (Mahmoud, 1991:7). Thus the Islamic way of life supersedes ethnic factors and becomes the dominant cultural value for Muslims which is reflected by a universal sense of identity within the concept of *Ummah* (the universal society of Islam).

Deviations from the teachings and practices of Islam have lead to the emancipation of minority Muslims from the folds of Islam over generations. This is largely attributed to the present generation of minority Muslims being educated and brought up according to a cultural outlook which is not consonant with Islam, loss of the Arabic language and lack of access to the distinct cultural structure of Islam. Hence, Muslim minorities are known to preserve their ethnic identity through rigorous conformity to ethnic practices of their country of descent. In doing so they either come into conflict or assimilate into the culture of the host country.

Sacranie (1998:1) in his study of Muslims in Britain noted that living there was both challenging and stressful. He concludes that British Muslims at schools, places of work and in their neighbourhoods experience a strong sense of alienation rather than acceptance and belonging. As a consequence there has been widespread educational underachievement, high levels of unemployment and various forms of discrimination. Emancipation from the folds of Islam has been noticed in the fascination with the bright lights of promiscuity, drugs, alcohol consumption, immoral and criminal behaviour, all of which are contrary to Islamic teachings and practices. On the contrary, Clay (1999:2) noted that whilst the second and third generation were becoming less attached to the cultural identity of their parents country of origin, they still kept to their religious identity as Muslims.

Despite problems of acculturation, Muslim minorities are also known to rise to the occasion of making adjustments to their newly sought citizenship in their host countries. They have managed to maintain a dual identity through self-help, perseverance and reliance. They have built schools, provided their children with

Islamic education, participated in the host country through the various opportunity available to them.

Earlier discussions focussed on how colonialism and eurocentric norms and values impacted on the applicability of the *Shari'ah Law* in countries predominantly inhabited by Muslims. Despite the onslaught on Islamic Law, which covers various aspects of personal law, the Muslims in these countries managed to maintain their sense of identity based on the basic articles of faith.

Similarly, minority Muslim communities in non-Muslim countries have managed to maintain their sense of identity even in the absence of the *Shari'ah Law* and the non-recognition of Islamic personal law which prescribe and proscribe their individual, family and community functioning.

5.8   Some examples of social, cultural and religious problems experienced by minority Muslims in the world

To illustrate the difficulties experienced by minority Muslims a few examples become necessary. In France there are over four million Muslims representing 28 nationalities. During November 1992 the Council of State, the highest administrative jurisdiction of the French state, ruled that the wearing of the veil by young Muslim girls inside an educational institution "to be an act of pressure, provocation, prosalytism or propaganda, to affect the dignity, freedom or security of the students, or to disrupt order in the institution or the conduct of teaching activities" (Lamand, 1993:102-106).

A similar incidence was noted in South Africa during January 1998 in the town of Ladysmith, KwaZulu-Natal where a Muslim girl was refused entry into a former whites- only school for wearing a headscarf. The school concerned, despite its multi-cultural policy, found that wearing the headscarf was a violation of the school's code of dress (Daily News, 7 May 1998). The parents of the pupil felt that the school's dress code was too revealing and could not allow their daughter to dress in a manner which is against the Islamic way of life (Sunday Times, 24 April, 1998).

In Germany, 70% of mixed marriages between Muslim males and German females end in divorce. In most cases the German court awards custody of the children to the German mother. This is rejected by the Muslim husband who feels that the custody of children in terms of Islamic law is the prerogative of the father. Often when all judicial methods fail, brutal force, intimidation and to the extreme, abduction of the child is resorted to (Ahmed, 1992:76).

The minority Muslims in Canada number approximately 400 000 and have become part of the broader North American society. Canada with its large immigrant population is a multicultural society. Despite it being a multi-cultural society the Canadian government does not recognise Islamic personal and family law. The argument presented by the Canadian government is that there are no legal constraints for Muslims to practice their religion. Despite this position, Canadian Muslims experience many problems pertaining to child custody, dissolution of marriage, recognition of Islamic marriages, inheritance and so forth (Ali and Whitehouse, 1992:166-170). Canadian Muslims believe that they are bonafide citizens of the country and as such their legal rights based on religious laws must be entrenched within the constitution of the country.

In India, as stated earlier, the largest group of minority Muslims exists. Despite them being the largest minority Muslim group in the world, their socio-economic, political and religious problems are no different to smaller minority Muslim communities in the world. In Kashmir the Muslim minority are alienated from the rest of the Indian society. Muslims in Kashmir receive fewer of the national resources for development and their socio-economic position is in a "dismal state" (Ahmed, 1994:98). In addition, there are constant clashes with local Hindu, religious intolerance, and denials by the Indian government to the formation of the state of Kashmir, which is largely inhabited by Muslims. Lack of religious tolerance led to the majority Hindu Indians destroying the Babri Mosque, which resulted in major riots and the loss of lives (Ahmed, 1994:103).

It is evident from the discussions thus far that minority Muslims throughout the world experience problems of alienation, marginality, conflict in identity and acceptance of their culture, values, traditions and norms. In some instances, they experience discrimination and do not enjoy acceptance from their host countries.

5.9 History of early Muslims in South Africa

The history of Muslims in South Africa has strong overtones of slavery, colonialism, political and economic conquest, exploitation, oppression, class formation and discrimination. The first arrival of Muslims in South Africa may be traced to Muslim soldiers in the army of the Dutch East India Company known as Mardyckers who were free people from Amboyna in the Southern Molucca Islands. They were recruited in Ceylon in 1658 to protect the newly established Dutch Colony in the Cape. These Muslim soldiers were prohibited to practice Islam in public in order to prevent the spread of the religion in the Dutch colonies. Public practice of Islam during this period was punishable by death. (Nadvi, 1988:145; Naude 1992:17; Randeree, 1997:69).

Thereafter in 1667 the Eastern Batavian Dutch Empire sent a number of slaves to the Cape. Most of the slaves were Muslims taken from the Malaysian Archipelago, Java Bengal, the Malabar Coast, mainland India and East Indies who had a long tradition of Islam (Randeree, 1997:69; Nadvi, 1988:145; ICSA, 1984:14). Amongst them were political exiles, pious Muslim divines, highly skilled craftsmen and convicts. Notable amongst the slaves were political prisoners of high and noble rank. Some of them are the Prince of Ternate and Shaik Yusuf. The Rajah of Tambora is known to have written the first *Quran* in the colony from memory (Nadvi, 1988:146-147). Table Mountain and Robben Island are widely known to house the tombs of these religious and political prisoners, which is revered by both local and international Muslims. Some of these tombs in the post-apartheid era, because of their political and historical value and significance, have been declared national monuments.

The early history of Muslims in South Africa indicate that the colonialist masters did everything to Christianise their slaves whose names were changed, so that Dawood became "Davids", Ibrahim, became "Abrahams", Yusuf became "Joseph", Ishaaq became "Isaacs", and so on. Flogging, punishment, exploitation, imprisonment and abuse were some of the many hardships experienced by the Muslim slaves (ICSA1984:14).

Despite harassment from their White owners, these early Muslim clung tenaciously to their faith and to their cultural heritage. They gathered in the homes of their leaders to perform their *salaat* (prayers), to learn and memorise the Holy *Quran*, and to observe their Islamic traditions. In 1804 after the invasion and recapture of the Cape from the Dutch, the British allowed the Muslims to build the first mosque, a school and set up a burial ground.

In August 1833, the British Parliament passed an Act, which abolished slavery throughout the British Empire. After the emancipation of the slaves, Islam became a flourishing religion and by 1840 it had gained approximately 6 435 adherents, equivalent to a third of the total population of the colony (Nadvi, 1992:147).

The early Muslims in the Cape are known to have defied the colonialists in order to practice their religion. For example in 1882 Muslims objected to the burial of Muslim victims of the small pox epidemic in coffins and without the proper ritual ablutions. In 1883 when the main Muslim cemetery (Tana Baru Cemetery) was closed in terms of the Public Health Act, Muslims defied the local authorities for three days when a child was refused burial (Naude, 1992:17).

In terms of the South African Population Registration Act, Muslims in the Cape were racially classified as "Coloureds" i.e. of mixed racial heritage. The Cape Muslims are known to have made a significant impact on the Afrikaans culture and literature. Most Muslims in the Cape follow the Shafi school of Islamic Law (Randeree, 1997:70).

However, a separate stream of Muslims, from the sub-continent of India arrived in South Africa from 1860 onwards. The English colonial settlers in Natal had taken up sugar cultivation but could make no headway on their plantations due to local labour problems amongst the indigenous Zulu population.

The colonialists had difficulty in securing the labour of indigenous Zulu on the sugar cane plantations. However, they did notice that sugar cultivation were flourishing in Mauritius as a direct result of the use of 'indentured' labour, imported from India (Ramphal, 1985:109). Consequently, the Natal Government approached the Government of India with a request that similar indentured labourers be sent to Natal. Negotiations followed and the Government of India eventually agreed to the request (Meer,1980:1).

The first batch of indentured labourers reached Natal on 16 November 1860 in the ship SS Truro. A total of 342 Indians were on board, of which 24 were Muslims. Thereafter between 1860 to 1861 a further five ships called at Port Natal with a total of 1 360 men and women. A total percentage of Muslims in every ship was 12% (Sulliman, 1997:107). Amongst them was a large group of Muslims from North and South India. The indentured Muslims were mainly from Hyderabad and Malabar (Randeree, 1997:70).

Indentured Muslims settled largely on the periphery of the City of Durban, in areas such as Riverside, Cato Manor, Clairwood and Magazine Barracks before the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950. In addition, they were largely distributed in outlying towns such as Isipingo, Umzinto and Umkomaas to the South of Durban where they served their indenture to White farmers. To the North of Durban they settled in towns such as Verulam, Tongaat and Stanger. In the rest of Natal, indentured Muslims had also settled in the Province's capital in Pietermaritzburg and hinterland towns of Dundee, Newcastle and Ladysmith.

On the expiry of their indenture the majority of the indentured Muslims decided to stay on in Natal and engaged mainly in farming and supplying fresh produce to the

Durban markets. Others took up employment servicing industries as unskilled and semi-skilled workers or started their own businesses to earn a livelihood.

It is important to note that amongst the first batch of 24 indentured Muslims, Sheik Allie Vulle Ahmed (commonly known as Hadrat Badsha Peer) from Madras is known to have been a Saint and died in 1894 at the age of 74. He was buried in a tomb at the Brook Street Cemetery, in the City of Durban (Sulliman, 1997:107). He is still today considered a great Muslim Saint and has followers predominantly from the indentured Muslim background who visit his shrine regularly.

At about this time the passenger Muslims also arrived. Their history and origins vary from that of the indentured Muslims. The first passenger Muslim to arrive was Aboobaker Amod, a *Memon* in origin from Porbander India around 1870. Being a successful businessman in Mauritius he had seen the great prospects for trade amongst local blacks and the indentured Indians in small towns in the Natal Colony. In particular, a market was created for "Indian spices and other traditional Indian requirements" (Sulliman, 1997:109). Until this time all shops and trading posts were in the hands of White traders who predominantly served the Black communities.

He first settled in the Eastern Transvaal between 1870-1871 and thereafter moved to the Verulam – Tongaat area where he set up a second-hand goods shop. Having had a major success after two years of trading, he bought a property in West Street No 434 and moved to Durban. Together with other merchants he formed Dada Abdullah and Company at 427 West Street with 15 branches in Natal and the Transvaal. In addition, he had two steamers commuting between Durban and Bombay. The potential for the African and the local indentured Indian market was realised and more passenger Muslims of the *Surtee* background were attracted to the Natal Colony.

The passenger Muslims were made up of the merchant class and referred to by the colonialists as "Arabs" because of their distinct code of dress. They enjoyed certain privileges from their colonialist masters because they were free citizens of the British Empire, and they did not fall under the Indian Immigration Law as they were

considered to be traders (Sulliman, 1997:108). They were largely of the merchant class and came from areas such as Surat, Kholwad, Rander, Kathor, Baroda, Bardoli and Navsari in India (Randeree, 1997:70).

The "Arab" merchants of Durban supplied merchandise to many of the small stores owned by their relatives or village contacts in the districts of the Colony. They penetrated many remote areas and rendered commercial services to communities around them (Sulliman, 1997:109). Many of the passenger Muslims moved to the Transvaal. The railway and the mining industry attracted Muslims to the Transvaal who set up small businesses in the city of Johannesburg and outlying towns such as Pietersburg, Nelspruit, Potgietersrus, Volksrust etc. (Nadvi, 1988:149).

The merchant class Muslims were already an established business community in the City of Durban. To illustrate, by 1885 the Wragg Commission on Indian Immigration noted that of the 26 licenses issued to Indians, 40 wholesale and retail business existed amongst the Muslims in the City. Notably, it is because of the booming trade amongst Muslims both locally and through their country of origin that trade dispute and competition emerged, leading to young Mohandass Gandhi to arrive in May 1893 in the Colony of Natal to litigate in the case of two Muslim businessmen, namely Dada Abdallah and Company of Durban and Hajee Khan Mahomed and Company of Pretoria (Sulliman, 1997:110 - 112).

Just like their indentured counterparts, the passenger Indians settled in and on the periphery of the city of Durban. Most of the passenger Muslims lived in Block AK and in blocks of flats owned by the merchants in the Grey Street complex. On the outskirts, passenger Muslims also settled in towns and suburbs to the North and South of Durban.

The Indian Muslims, like their brethren in the Cape Colony, were very much aware of their Islamic identity and initiated collective measures to preserve their religious values, their social customs and their cultural traditions.

Their religious way of life, customs and traditions and community may be exemplified by some of the historical artefacts left behind by Muslims of Indian origin in the Natal colony. It is confirmed that the highly revered saint Sufi Sahib arrived in Durban in 1895 predominantly to minister to the social, religious and welfare needs of poor indentured Muslims in the Colony. He is known to have set up many mosques and places of worship throughout the colony, offered spiritual guidance, and worked amongst the poor, orphaned, destitute and the sick. After his demise in 1911, his body was enshrined in a tomb in Riverside, North of Durban, an area desecrated by the Group Areas Act in the 1960s (Dangor, 1996:60). This shrine is declared a National Monument and attracts both local and international visitors. Notably in keeping with the Sufi tradition, the management and control of places of worship set up by its founder was entrusted to the appointed *"Khulafa"* (those authorised to initiate disciples). This tradition continues to be practised until this day (Dangor, 1996:66).

The largest Mosque in the Southern Hemisphere is situated in the Grey Street complex in the City of Durban, which is symbolic of Muslim presence in the city. This mosque was built during the 1880s by the initiative of the *Memon* Muslim community (comprised mainly of merchants). It is notable that the management and control of the mosque was solely made up of *Memon* Muslims and endorsed in the original trust deed. Until now this is a point of controversy from different Muslim groups in the city, struggling for representation and inclusivity. The mosque was originally built to cater for 48 persons and by 1903 provision had to be made for another 480 prayer mats due to the increasing Muslim population in the city centre (Sulliman, 1997:118). The mosque served as a important point where Muslims met and discussed community and social issues fostering community cohesion.

It is interesting to note that whilst the *Memon* Muslims were building the first mosque in the Colony in 1885, the *Surtee* Muslims just a kilometre away from Grey Street set up a mosque in West Street, Durban. The original trust deed of the mosque confined the management and control of the mosque to merchant Muslims from the districts of Rander, Kathor and Surat in India. The West Street mosque is another

landmark on the history of the merchant class Muslims in Durban and has been declared by the Durban City Council as having historical, architectural and cultural significance and of being worthy of conservation as part of Durban's heritage (Jamal, 1997: 103-106).

The *Memon* and *Surtee* Muslims became a distinct business community in the cities and towns of Transvaal and Natal. Many owned shops and lived in the city. To illustrate, the Grey Street Complex from Commercial Road to Leopoldt Street in the City of Durban, has been predominantly owned by the *Memon* Muslims (Sulliman, 1997:117).

Noticeable amongst both indentured and passenger Muslims is that they both follow the Hanafi School of Islamic Law. However, the indentured Indians mainly spoke in their mother language of Urdu whilst the passenger Muslims spoke Gujerati. It is interesting to note that a few passenger Muslims were also of Urdu speaking backgrounds. Muslims of Indian origin were classified as Asians in terms of the Population Registration Act (Randeree, 1997:70).

In 1873, the Muslims of Indian origin were further supplemented in Natal, by Muslims of African origin. Muslims of African origin were referred to as Zanzibaris. They were descendants of Muslim slaves and brought to Natal between 1873 – 1880 to alleviate the labour problem in the colony. They originated largely from northern Mozambique, Portuguese East Africa, Malawi and Zanzibar. They settled mainly in Kingsrest on the Bluff, in Durban (Randeree, 1997:70 –71).

During 1899 a small contingent of Pathan soldiers arrived from the North-West frontier of India at the request of the British to fight against the Boers during the Anglo-Boer war. The Pathans were largely Muslims (Dangor, 1991:67).

As a result of the Group Areas Act, in 1961 Muslims of African origin were relocated to the Indian township of Chatsworth in Durban. An earlier study undertaken by the Islamic Council of South Africa indicates that Muslims of African origin number

3000 in the Indian township of Chatsworth (ICSA, 1984:16). Initially these Muslims were classified as "Coloureds" but later in 1960 they were reclassified as "Other Asiatics". Muslims of African origin are largely Sunni Muslims who follow the Shafi school of Islamic Law (Randeree, 1997:70-71).

It is evident from the discussion of the history of the early Muslims in South Africa they have different historical backgrounds and their social, political and economic circumstances differ markedly during their period of origin. The early Muslims had made a distinct impression in the cities and towns owned by the colonialists, both economically, spiritually and as a community. It becomes further evident that although Muslims profess to belong to one religion, they are highly divided in terms of ethnic background, language, class and race since the colonialist period. The race classification of Muslims has been imposed upon them since the colonialist period and further reinforced by apartheid.

5.10 Marital position of indentured Muslims

Actual records of marriages amongst the indentured Muslims have not been kept. However in this section, the marital position of indentured Indians as a whole will be examined. It may be assumed that the indentured Muslims suffered the same plight as their non-Muslim indentured Indian counterparts.

The first five ships that arrived between 1860 and 1866 brought 359 women and 1029 men. This means that approximately 35% of them were women. It was often difficult to make up the requisite proportion of women as ships were sometimes kept waiting for a day or two until the necessary proportion of women had been recruited. According to Palmer (1957:28), under the circumstance the women were not always of the most respectable types. The Indian government admitted that the statutory proportion of women was hardly ever made up without enlisting large numbers of prostitutes or women of the lowest class. No evidence was required of legal marriage between a man and the women who accompanied them. The Coolie agent in assigning labourers simply linked together any two convenient individuals and sent

them over for indenture as husband and wife. However, they had to give their formal consent (Palmer, 1957:28).

The effects of the system on the first generation of Indian immigrants were deplorable. No proof of Muslim marriage, whether contracted in India or in South Africa existed. Since the Islamic form of marriage was not accorded legal recognition in Natal, men and women could form short term unions and separate as soon as quarrels occurred. It was sometimes difficult to get the men to accept responsibility for their children and in view of the limited number of women among the many men, quarrels leading to murder were not uncommon. At times it was difficult to clear the barracks of the surplus women and children. Surplus, that is, to the employer's requirements, not surplus to the social requirements of the Indian community (Palmer, 1957:28).

However, on the 14 March 1913, a Cape Supreme Court judge gave a decision that only Christian marriages were legal in South Africa and that rites carried out under a religion which recognised polygamous marriages were illegal. This reduced large numbers of Indian women to the status of concubines (Palmer, 1957:70).

5.11 Muslims today in South Africa

The history of Muslims in South Africa is well expounded in this study. Although the history varies for the different ethnic grouping of Muslims, it has been established that they share a common historical past and belief system. This in many respects has helped to promote a sense of community amongst them and overcome the trials and tribulations of being a minority community in a foreign country. Given South Africa's legacy of apartheid, the Muslim community in many respects managed to survive the negative effects generally brought upon by marginalisation. It has managed to mobilise its resources with a distinct sense of permanence as a minority group in the country. The sections to follow, will help appraise the current social organisation of Muslims in the country.

5.11.1 Population

There is some disagreement about the exact Muslim population in South Africa (Harmon, 1992:3; Naude, 1992:17; Randeree, 1997:68; Tayob, 1998:43). Some estimates range from half a million to in excess of a million. The reason cited for this disagreement is the inability of past censuses especially during the apartheid era to record the number of converts to Islam and the number of immigrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique who have been classified as Africans (Harmon, 1992:3).

However, Tayob (1998:43) made an analysis of the Muslim population in South Africa between the period 1946 to 1991 having consulted all official population records in the Republic of South Africa. The table below presents an overview of the Muslim population for the four major race groups in South Africa.

Table 5.11.1 Muslim population in South Africa for the period 1946 – 1991 by race

Year	Total Muslim population	White	Coloured	Indian	African
1946	110 392	169	43 890	61 405	4 928
1951	146 829	200	63 216	78 787	4 626
1960	197 037	240	92 130	99 068	5 599
1970	269 915	945	134 087	125 987	8 896
1980	352 993	1 697	176 406	165 842	9 048
1991	338 142	1 756	157 815	166 585	11 986

(Source: Centre for Contemporary Islam – University of Cape Town 1998)

It should be noted from the table that there appears to be an apparent decline in the Muslim population between the period 1980 to 1991. The decline in the Muslim population during this period is not consistant with the growth rate of approximately 70% for the previous years. This discrepancy has been questioned by many authors (Randeree, 1997; Tayob, 1998; Haron, 1992 and Naude, 1992).

Of great significance is the decline in the number of Muslims for the Coloured community whereas for the White, Indian and African communities, a gradual increase in population over the years is noted.

5.11.2 Socio-economic position

Statistics on the socio-economic position of Muslims in South Africa are not readily available. However, according to the Islamic Council of South Africa (1984:21), it is estimated that about 20% of the Muslims in South Africa are actively engaged in Commerce, (traders, retail shopkeepers, wholesale merchants and industrialists), while another 40% are employed as skilled artisans. Professional persons, such as medical doctors, lecturers, attorneys, teachers, accountants, nurses and white-collar workers make up 15%. The remaining 25% are employed as semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

According to Mohammed (1998:10) the historical background of Muslims has had a significant impact on their contribution in the various regions of South Africa. For example, Muslim males in the Cape are largely employed as artisans whilst females are generally employed in the clothing sector. In KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, Muslims of passenger Indian origin, apart from their urban based businesses, have generally performed well in retail trade because of limited competition and their entrepreneurial skills (Mohammed, 1998:11). Muslims of indentured Indian origin are generally employed as skilled and semi-skilled workers.

Despite the impact of differences in the historical background of Muslims, their contribution as a minority group to the South African economy has been substantial. This is illustrated by the market capitalisation of Muslim owned firms at R410m, which represents 0.4 per cent of the total JSE market capitalisation of R 1 148 000m. This amount as compared to the population of Muslims who constitute between one and two percent of the total South African population, is a major achievement (Mohamed, 1998:11).

In terms of Islamic law, Muslims are prohibited from charging interest or accumulating interests from the conventional banking system. During the mid 1980s the first Islamic concept of public investment was formed through a company called Jaame Limited. Subsequently, the first Islamic national bank was set up. However both investment companies did not continue to realise their full economic potential, leading to the Islamic Bank crashing in 1997 and large numbers of shareholders losing their lifetime investment. However, the Al-Baraka bank with its large Muslim multinational support base has managed to pioneer the Islamic banking system in South Africa with much success. This year it celebrates its tenth anniversary in South Africa.

5.11.3 Social, religious, educational, cultural and community organisation of Muslims

The Muslim community in South Africa has many social, religious, educational and community based organisations. For a minority community it has a total of 1 328 organisations representing it's social, religious, educational and community needs.

It will be noted from Table 5.11.3 (a) that most of the community resources are located in Gauteng, Western Province and KwaZulu-Natal where there are large concentrations of Muslims.

In the sections to follow the social and community organisation of the Muslim will be discussed in greater detail.

Table 5.11.3(a) illustrates the distribution of community resources for Muslims in the different provinces.

Table 5.11.3 (a) Distribution of places of worship, social and educational institutions for South African Muslims by province

Number	Province	Places of worship	Social institutions	Community institutions
1	Free State	10	6	8
2	Gauteng	122	128	108
3	Mpumalanga	35	8	22
4	North West	25	6	19
5	Northern Cape	4	2	3
6	Western Cape	111	172	108
7	Eastern Cape	21	12	20
8	Northern Province	11	6	11
9	KwaZulu-Natal	116	125	109
	TOTAL	**455**	**465**	**408**

Source: Calculated from Murshid David's (1997) Directory of Muslim Institutions and Mosques in South Africa.

5.11.3.1 Places of worship

The mosque is the central place for worship as it promotes brotherhood, community and togetherness. During the colonial period, the first mosque was built in Cape Town in 1789, known as the *Auwal* Mosque.   As a result of the Group Areas Act, entire Muslim communities were removed from many areas in which they had built places of worship. Some good examples are the May Street Mosque in Block AK Durban, the Soofie Mosque in Durban North and Forty Fifth Cutting in Westville. The past three decades have seen the Muslim community redoubling its efforts at considerable costs to provide places of worship in areas into which they were forced to relocate by the apartheid government.

In every city, town and district where there is a presence of Muslims, the community managed to set up a place of worship. Places of worship vary from an elaborate Mosque to a plain building called *Jamaat Khana* (a place where the local congregation meets for its five daily prayers).   These *Jamaat Khanas* are often

privately owned premises and are made up of disused buildings in commercial areas, outbuildings and garages in residential areas. The purpose of setting up *Jamaat Khanas* is due to the following reasons:

- absence of a Mosque for the daily five time prayers;
- to cut down on the cost of building elaborate Mosques and maintaining these;
- provide easy access to prayer in congregation in the neighbourhood, and
- to cater for the needs of Muslims in an area where there is a small population.

Places of worship are built and maintained by the community.

5.11.3.2 Educational institutions

The ordinary state controlled, or state aided schools, are secular schools, and subject to certain exceptional cases in South Africa, these schools make no provision for imparting Islamic education to Muslim pupils. Consequently, the Muslim community in each area, has established and maintained separate Madressas to impart Islamic education. These Madressas are either home or mosque based, managed by community organisations in public schools or by Muslim private schools (Fataar, 1998:23-26). Nationally, there are 322 Madressas (Davids, 1997:115-168).

Generally, pupils attend secular school classes from 8.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. and thereafter go to Madressas for about two hours during the afternoon. The pupils are of primary school level and receive basic instruction on Islamic subjects including reading and reciting the Holy *Quran*. Most pupils discontinue their Madressa education once they graduate from primary school level because of the need to spend more time on their secular secondary education.

It is important to mention that during the early arrival of Muslims in South Africa and during the apartheid era, in the absence of state financed schools, the Muslims provided for their own secular education. During this period the Muslims built 24 schools, which were, either state aided or financed privately (Davids, 1997: 169:172).

In order to maintain a high standard of Islamic education, private Muslim schools began to mushroom throughout South Africa. The first private Muslim school was established in 1983 in the Cape. Today there are 13 such schools throughout South Africa (Adam, 1993:51). The unique feature of these schools is that along with sound academic standards, they have strong emphasis on the Islamic curriculum. In the post-apartheid era there is an increasing demand for this form of education in light of dropping educational standards in South African public schools.

Despite private schools becoming a popular form of education for Muslims, much controversy abounds as to whether poor Muslims could afford this form of education. Recently in Durban, the Orient Islamic Educational School was taken to the Supreme Court by the parents association on the privatisation of the school which was state funded, but built on private property. Despite the parents association losing the case in favour of the trustees of the schools, school fees amounting to nearly R5 000 per child per annum was beyond the affordability level of ordinary Muslims in the Durban CBD area (Daily News, 23 June1998).

In the 1980s representation was made to the Department of National Education to introduce Arabic as a language in schools with a predominantly Muslim student population. Arabic as a language was offered at both primary and secondary level at public schools. However, due to cuts in the national educational budget this has been withdrawn in the post-apartheid era.

Presently much controversy exists on religious education in public and state aided schools in the post-apartheid era in light of new and demanding priorities in the education system for the Government. In addition the governments education policy is unclear as to whether to opt for single faith, parallel or multi-faith religious education in public schools. However, the majority of the Muslims in KwaZulu-Natal have opted for single faith religious education and a pilot project in six schools is being undertaken with Islamic studies as part of the school syllabus (Dangor, 1997:21-23).

There are about 20 Islamic institutions, which offer higher learning education. The oldest is the Waterval Islamic Institute in Johannesburg established in 1957. These institutions train *Hafiz*, *Moulanas*, *Alims* and Islamic teachers. Many of these institutions prepare Islamic scholars to proceed overseas (India, Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia etc.) in order to qualify as *Ulema* (theologians) (Adam, 1993:48).

The University of Durban-Westville, Rand Afrikaans University, University of South Africa, University of Cape Town, and the University of Western Cape offer Islamic Studies, Arabic and other semitic languages at undergraduate and post-graduate level (Mahida, 1996:109-123).

5.11.3.3 Community based organisations

It is evident from Table 5.11.3(a) that the Muslims in South Africa are serviced by various institutions providing for their different social and community needs. These are made up of social welfare organisations, burial societies, culture and arts, socio-political groupings, women's groups, youth movements, media organisations, journals and digests; theological bodies; charitable and relief bodies and *Da'wah* (propagation) organisations.

Table 5.11.3(b) Breakdown of the number and types of community based Muslim organisations in South Africa

ORGANISATIONS	Social welfare	Charitable and relief	Bursaries	Propagation	Burial societies	Theological	Youth and student movements	Women's groups	Socio-political	Radio and electronic media	Culture and arts
NO.	64	44	38	35	31	29	45	22	18	10	7
%	16.0	11.2	9.6	8.9	7.9	7.3	10.4	5.6	4.5	2.5	1.7

(Source: Adapted from Davids M 1997 - Directory of Muslim Institutions and Mosques in South Africa)

An analysis of these categories of social and community institutions provides an important insight into the social organisation of the community. The Table below represents the national breakdown of community based organisations per category.

- **Social welfare**: The Muslim community has its own welfare agencies, which render social relief to needy Muslims through the payment of *Zakaat* (Islamic charity in keeping with the basic articles of faith). *Zakaat* is calculated on two and a half percent of the total surplus income of a Muslim and is normally discharged during the month of Ramadaan. *Zakaat* is payable on any item produced from earth, such as gold and silver (money), merchandise, animals and treasure trove. The purpose of Zakaat is to uplift the community and eradicate poverty (Gusau, 1996:11-14).

Prominent amongst the social welfare agencies is the Muslim Home for Orphans and Destitutes established in 1934. It is one of the largest welfare organisation in Durban and offers welfare services to needy Muslims and manages a children's and an old age home.

The South African National Zakaat Fund was established in the late 1970s and it is the largest nationally based welfare organisation, with regional offices in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. It has local offices in most major towns in the country. This organisation is known to collect and distribute the largest amount of *Zakaat* in the country. Its present capacity to collect and distribute *Zakaat* is in the region of R9 –R11m annually.

It must be noted that no research to date has been undertaken on the total contribution of *Zakaat* by the Muslim community in South Africa. Judging from the number of community based organisations amongst Muslims in South Africa and the economic potential of business entrepreneurs, some estimates are between R50m – R60m per annum.

- **Charitable and relief organisations:** As mentioned earlier, the payment of *Zakaat* is one of the basic articles of faith amongst Muslims. Muslims are not only required to adhere to this compulsory charity, but are also required to contribute their resources to humanitarian causes in the path of Almighty God. This form of charity falls in the category of *Lillah*, a form of charity not by compulsion, but by compassion for the betterment of humanity and the alleviation of human suffering. Their contribution to humanitarian causes, other than Muslim has not only benefited all South Africans but also people in other parts of the international community who have been victims of crises resulting from natural, social and political causes. Notable amongst these charitable organisations are:

  - the Africa Muslim Agency, a national organisation which helps combat poverty not only in the rural areas of South Africa, but also in parts of Africa;
  - Waqful-Waqifun Foundation (Gift of the Givers), an organisation helping communities experiencing political instability and unrest. This organisation is known to have made available mobile hospitals costing large sums of monies during the Bosnian crisis some two years ago. Most recently, this organisation is raising over a million rand to help victims in the Kosovo unrest; and
  - the Islamic Relief Agency (IRA), a national organisation helping communities who are victims of natural disaster, such as floods and drought. During the 1987 September floods in KwaZulu-Natal, this organisation is known to have offered relief to many victims of flood throughout the province. In addition, the IRA had been actively engaged in providing relief to victims of political violence before the transition to democracy and helped to alleviate the plight of Africans in the various squatter settlements on the peripheries of South African cities.

- **Scholarship and bursary funds:** A number of trusts exist that award financial assistance in the form of bursaries, scholarship and study grants, to poor meritorious Muslim students who wish to continue with their education at institutions of higher learning and universities. Here again, help is not confined to

Muslims alone. Many organisations extend assistance to non-Muslims from disadvantaged backgrounds.

As a result of major demands on non-profit making trusts and grant giving bodies for bursaries, the Islamic Development Bank-Loan Bursary Programme was set up in the mid 1990s.

Despite the fact that opportunities for bursaries and grants are open to all Muslims, there still remain certain trusts for descendants of particular ethnic groups. For example, the Kathor Madressa Fund, the Tadkeshvar Bursary Fund, the Kholvad Association, the Rander Mehfil Islamic Trust etc. all of which are based in Durban. Traditionally, these trusts were set up to uplift the educational status of descendants from their villages in India. This has been prevalent predominantly amongst the Muslims of passenger Indian background and they still exist today.

Leading businessmen and their families also set up educational trusts. Notable trusts in Durban are the Lockhat Charities Trust, the A.M. Moola Charities Trust, the A G Joosub Bursary Trust, the M A Motala Educational Trust and the K M Seedat Charitable Trust, to name just a few. Some of these trusts apart from being known to have made substantial contribution in the educational upliftment of individual members of the Muslim community have made magnanimous contribution to the educational upliftment of all South Africans. In testimony of their contribution, the University of Durban-Westville for example, which was predominantly built for Indians in the apartheid era, had been a major beneficiary. The M L Sultan Charitable Trust and the present M L Sultan Technikon is another example of the contribution of the Muslim community to national education in South Africa (Mohammed, 1997:86).

- **Propagation of the message of Islam:** A significant percentage of the community based organisations engage in the propagation of Islam at local,

national and international level. The propagation of the message of Islam is referred to as *Dawah*.

Whilst the early history of Islamic missionary work in South Africa is poorly researched, it is known that since the 1950s numerous groups began to form. In the 1980s many missionary organisations were formed due mainly to the socio-political crises in many parts of South Africa (Haron, 1992:1). Township violence began to escalate, squatter settlements mushroomed on the peripheries of the cities, boycotts and political resistance against the apartheid regime began to intensify and many other social-political upheavals challenged the South African nationalist government.

In response to some of the hardships brought about during this political era of South African history, locally based *Dawah* organisations became actively involved in informal settlements, townships and the remote parts of South Africa, not only for the propagation of Islam but to uplift the material condition of poor Africans. A religio-political approach was used to conscientise local communities and at the same time exalting the philosophy of Islam in so far as social justice, oppression and inequality are concerned. These philosophies are central to the socio-political teachings of Islam for the management of a democratic society. The proselytisation of Africans to Islam may largely be attributed to the exemplified Muslim empathy displayed by pro-liberation Muslim movements to the plight of Africans under the apartheid regime (Haron, 1992:8).

The propagation of Islam took a further turn during the mid eighties at both the national and international level. The propagation of Islam became co-ordinated and regionalised, with national structures being set up. Some of these organisations set up national offices, for example the Islamic Dawah Movement and the Southern Africa Dawah Movement with their head office in Durban and the Islamic Missionary Society in Johannesburg.

The Islamic Propagation Centre International, founded in 1959, is based in Durban. It is known both locally and internationally to promote Islam through debates on comparative religion. Due to its credibility amongst Muslims in many parts of the world, it managed to secure large amounts of financial support from the national and international community, more especially from the Middle East to propagate Islam. It is known to be well equipped with financial and technical resources to propagate Islam at a mass level.

The organisation is not known to be short of controversy from other religious groupings in South Africa and abroad on what they believe to be an attack on their religious practices and customs. Despite the organisations capacity to spread the message of Islam, it has been beleaguered since 1992 in court battles and investigations on its organisational legitimacy and R30 million operation to propagate Islam (Sunday Times, 26 April 1998).

- **Burial societies:** Muslims take care of their deceased as a community and a religious matter. In each town, city and suburb they manage burial societies as a service, and religious duty to the deceased member of their community. These societies are predominantly voluntary, non-profit organisations and are services to the community.

During funerals, these burial societies offer support to the bereaved families by ensuring that the necessary legal procedures are complied with for the deceased to be buried, arrange a grave site for the deceased, ensure that the deceased is in a state of ablution for burial and finally, they take the corpse to the mosque for the funeral prayer and thereafter burial. It must be noted that Muslims upon death are required to bury the deceased soon thereafter. Hence, burial societies offer a network of services for the timely burial of the deceased.

The presence of South African Muslims is largely in the metropolitan areas of the city. The preservation of grave space and the upkeep of cemeteries in the cities and suburbs are regarded as a community matter. Cemetery and burial societies

play an important role in ensuring that the deceased members of their community are given the dignity and respect when they pass on.

- **Theologians** *(Ulema)*:The *Ulema* play an active role in preserving, promoting and spreading the teachings of Islam. Most *Ulema* obtain their training in the various branches of Islamic knowledge at various overseas Islamic institutions.

The task of the *Ulema* has not been an easy one, because South Africa is a country dominated by western culture and civilisation. The Muslim community managed to contain itself from western influences and managed to preserve a sense of collective identity as South African Muslims. They lived through the atrocities of colonial rule to the hardship of the apartheid regime.

The difficulties of these times did not impact negatively on their belief as Muslims and the preservation of an Islamic sense of identity. This may be attributed to the important role of Muslim theologians who guide the community on the Islamic way of life as prescribed by the *Shariat* (Islamic Law). Because of the constraints of Muslims being a minority group in a non-Muslim state, the role of the theologians has not been to prescribe the *Shari'ah* as it would be in a Islamic state. However they are primarily "involved in the interpretation and application of Islamic Law, at both the individual and communal or national levels on all matters affecting Muslims including Muslim Personal Law" (Dangor, 1991:70).

The theologians have their own national and provincial religious councils to deal with matters which involve the interpretation of Islamic Law, rituals and religious practices.

However, despite the ability of the theologians to organise themselves at different levels of agreement on matters concerning Islam in terms of its fundamental practices and traditions, differences are prevalent in respect of certain interpretations and practices amongst South African Muslims. This maybe due to

the geographical distribution of Muslims in the different parts of South African cities, towns and suburbs.

Nationally the different theological organisations are distributed as follows:

Table 5.11.3(c)   National breakdown of Muslim theological organisations

Cape Town	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal
Muslim Judicial Council	Head Office – JU Transvaal	Durban – JU Head Office
Sunni Ulama Council	Azaadville- JU	Newcastle- JU
United Ulama Council	Benoni- JU	Pietermaritzburg-JU
Darul Waqaf Islamic Trust (E/Cape)	Klerksdorp- JU	Port Shepstone- JU
	Laudium- JU	Umzinto- JU
	Lenasia- JU	Stanger- JU
	Mpumulanga- JU	Sunni Jamiatul Ulama
	Waterval- JU	Sunni Ulama Council
	Middleburg- JU	Raza Islamic Council
	Roshnee- JU	
	Rustenburg- JU	
	Springs- JU	
	Warmbaths - JU	
	Waterval Islamic Council	
	Sunni Ulama Council	

(JU refers to Jamiatul Ulema)   (Source: Calculated from Murshid Davids (1997) Directory of Muslim Institutions and Mosques in South Africa).

It has been established from the history of Muslims in South Africa that they have different social, cultural, economic, ethnic and historical backgrounds. This has to a certain extent affected the homogeneity of the Muslim community on issues concerning certain religious matters, which is a form of contention amongst different religious groupings. For example in KwaZulu-Natal and the Gauteng Province there is a clear religious difference amongst the *Sunnis* and *Tablighs*.

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The *Sunnis* are predominantly made up of Urdu speaking Muslims whilst the *Tablighs* are predominantly made up of Gujerati speaking Muslims. In addition, the Urdu speaking Muslims are largely from indentured Indian descent whilst the Gujerati speaking Muslims are of passenger Indian backgrounds.

The theological guidance of the *Jamiatul Ulema* (JU) is highly respected amongst those Muslims who follow the *Tabligh* sect. Similarly the *Sunni Jamiatul Ulema* predominantly has a large following amongst Muslims of indentured Indian background. Theological differences such as offering salutations to the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) on ceremonius and religious occasions, issues pertaining to Saints and Muslim luminaries, differences in the interpretation of certain religious traditions and practices has caused fragmentation in the homogeneous make up of Muslims of Indian origin both in Kwa-Zulu Natal and Gauteng. The Muslim Judicial Council is known to be a popular theological organisation in offering religious guidance to Muslims in the Cape province.

It will be noted from Table 5.11.3(c) that the *Jamiatul Ulema* (JU) which serves the theological needs of the *Tabligh* Muslims in South Africa has a wide organisational structure dispersed in KwaZulu-Natal and the Gauteng Province. In Gauteng it has a headoffice and 12 branches in major towns, whilst in KwaZulu-Natal it has a headoffice and a further 5 branches in major towns.

- **Youth and student organisations:** Throughout the history of Muslims in South Africa, their youth were able to organise themselves locally, nationally and internationally. Ten percent of their community based organisations are made up of youth and student movements.

Muslim youth are well organised at community, tertiary and high school levels. The Muslim Student's Association (MSA) represents most universities and technikons in South Africa with Muslim populations.

Prominent amongst the youth movements is the Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa. It has played a significant national role in mobilising the youth against the apartheid regime. In addition, through its national newspaper called the *Al-Qalam*, it managed to educate the Muslim community on issues pertaining to social injustice, oppression and exploitation. Due to its strong anti-apartheid stand, the paper was banned on several occasions during the 1980s.

In the post-apartheid South Africa, youth movements in the form of Muslim Student's Associations are rapidly forming in most former model C schools (Fataar, 1998:19). This is most predominant in the Cape due to culture conflict, ostracism and alienation in a multicultural school environment. The MSA thus serves an important role in helping pupils to maintain their sense of Islamic identity.

- **Women's organisations**: Muslim women in South Africa have played a significant role in promoting Islamic culture, undertaking charitable and welfare work and promoting the interests of women. A total of 5.6% of Muslim community based organisations represent the interests of women.

- **Socio-political organisations:** Numerous socio-political organisations exist amongst South African Muslims. Approximately 4.5% of the community based organisations are socio-political in nature.

The Qibla Movement and the Call of Islam, both based in Cape Town, are known to have been very active in their fight against apartheid. The Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa, a nationally based organisation is also known to have maintained strong pro-liberation and anti-imperialist positions during the apartheid era. These organisations are known to have worked very closely with the then banned ANC leadership and played an active role in the United Democratic Front and the United Democratic Movement during the 1980s.

During the first democratic elections in 1994, an attempt was made to establish a Muslim Party. A Cape based Islamic Party and the national Africa Muslim Party contested the elections but failed to secure a single seat in parliament. Reasons cited for the failure of the party is attributed to a lack of unity and insufficient time to prepare to contest the national elections. Soon thereafter the Islamic Unity Convention was formed to help prepare for the launch of a party in order to organise Muslims for a bloc vote in the forthcoming 1999 national elections (Tayob, 1998:6).

However, despite the failure of the Muslim community in South Africa to be represented by a political party in the then Government of National Unity, the community has been successful in producing individuals who hold various key political positions in government, for example, the Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmall, the Minister of Tourism Mr Valli Moosa, and the Minister of Transport Mr Dullah Omar. Other prominent Muslim political leaders in the tri-partite alliance are Mr Ahmed Kathrada, former inmate in Robben Island with President Nelson Mandela, Mr Essop Pahad, Mr Ebrahim Ibrahim and Mr Ebrahim Rasool.

In the 1999 pre-election build up, the out-going President Nelson Mandela had the following to say :

"The Muslim community in this country has produced some of the most eminent heroes of this country. They are in the forefront of the struggle to liberate this country. The land on which schools were built, the building of schools, the equipment and furniture, the employment and payment of teachers were all done by religious bodies and the Muslim community who are a product of religious education, were in the forefront" (The Leader, 14 May 1999).

Notwithstanding the involvement of Muslims at different political levels, their ability to form themselves into social action groups on socio-political issues may be evidenced by organisations such as PAGAD (People Against Gangsterism and Drugs). PAGAD is primarily a Cape based Muslim interventionist group with a

small grouping in Durban, which emerged in the post-apartheid era in response to crime. This organisation has had a major effect on crime, police corruption and gangsterism.

PAGAD's open conflict with gangs, lack of co-operation with the state, open display and use of arms has negated its potential responsible partnership in a democratic South Africa (Tayob, 1998:8).

- **Professional organisations:** Many professional organisations have been formed by Muslims to promote research and academics. Some of them are the Islamic Medical Association, the Association for Muslim Chartered Accountants, the Association for Muslim Attorneys and the Muslim Teachers Association. These organisations allow the Muslim professional to practice their respective profession with an Islamic ethos, and at the same time giving its members an opportunity for self and professional development and to use their training and expertise for the betterment of the community.

- **Cultural activities:** The maintenance and promotion of culture and arts are undertaken through numerous organisations. According to Davids (1997), approximately ten cultural organisations serve the needs of Muslims in South Africa. These cultural organisations, however, do not represent the needs of the entire Muslim community in the country. Some of these cultural organisations meet the needs of certain religious groupings. For example, the *Sunni Razvi* Society of Laudium organises programmes and activities meeting the needs of *Sunni* Muslims, the South African Malay Cultural Society in Cape Town promotes the cultural needs of Muslims of the so-called Malay community, the *Buzme Ikwanus Saffa* based in Durban promotes the Urdu language and poetry especially amongst Muslims of Indo-Pak origin. Various organisations have been formed in different centres to cater for the needs of children, women and the youth generally. Prominent amongst them are the Muslim Youth Movement, the Islamic Women's Association, the Women's Cultural Group and the Arabic Study Circle.

- **Newspapers, print media, publishers and book agencies:** A few Muslim organisations as well as certain individuals publish newsletters, booklets, brochures and journals on Islamic subjects. It is estimated that there are approximately 21 Muslim publishers and book agencies in South Africa. In addition, newspapers and the print media total approximately 22 in number (Davids, 1996).

Distinguished Muslim scholars locally and from different parts of the world contribute their writings to many of these publications. The Muslim Views, which is published monthly in Cape Town and the Al-Qalam published monthly by the Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa in Durban, enjoy a reasonably wide circulation amongst Muslim readers nationally. The Muslim Digest, a magazine, is published monthly in Durban.

Most Muslim newspapers and newsletters are distributed free of charge. Issues of religious, cultural, socio-political and community importance is highlighted through this medium.

The academic journal *Arabic Studies* is published annually by the Department of Arabic, Urdu and Persian and *Al-'Ilm* by the Department of Islamic Studies at the University of Durban-Westville. The Rand Afrikaans University also publishes an annual *Journal for Islamic Studies* (Mahida, 1996:120-121). Most Islamic societies at South African universities publish quarterly newsletters.

- **Radio and Electronic Media:** In post-apartheid South Africa, the restructuring of the public broadcasting medium through community radio stations made Muslims more aware of matters pertaining to their religion, culture, community and socio-political issues. The Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) has approved of several community radio stations on temporary licenses. Approximately ten broadcasting licenses are issued by the IBA to the community either temporarily or on a permanent basis (Davids, 1996). In Cape Town, Radio 786 is most popular whereas in KwaZulu-Natal Radio *Al-Ansaar* has a wide listenership during the

holy month of Ramadaan. These radio stations are non-profit making, and the service is provided by members of the community on a voluntary basis.

5.12   Summary

The Chapter highlights the concept culture and more specifically examines what constitutes Islamic culture. It further examines the position of minority Muslims in other parts of the world and the various social and cultural problems experienced by this diaspora. The history of Muslims in South Africa is examined and the historical context and diversity has been established.

The social organisation of Muslims in South Africa not only highlights their permanence as a distinct minority community in the country, but also informs about their established roots within the diverse South African society. Their contribution to the country as a whole has also been established.

CHAPTER SIX

PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES USED IN THE GATHERING AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

6.1 Introduction

The focus of this Chapter is to report on the procedures and techniques used in the study. It focuses on the steps taken in the construction of a theoretical basis for the study, the methods of data collection and the choice of a locality for the study. In addition, procedures used in the selection of the sample and the sampling design are discussed.

The techniques used in the gathering of data are also examined. Decisions with regard to the choice of measurement technique, its construction, implementation and special precautions and limitations are examined.

Lastly, the different statistical procedures used for the analysis and interpretation of data are presented. This includes discussion on the choice of statistical tests, its application and scientific significance for a study of this nature.

6.2 Construction of a theoretical basis for the study

In Chapter two, three, four and five, relevant literature on the central concepts underlying the study is reviewed. It serves as a basis upon which theoretical assumptions are made about the phenomenon under study and enables one to establish a link between theory and empirical research. More importantly, the literature review makes it possible to explain the findings of the present study in terms of the theoretical propositions made (Creswell, 1994:21).

6.3 Consultation with authoritative sources of information

Literature pertaining to the nature and causes of marital breakdown amongst Indian Muslims in South Africa is scarce. This necessitated discussions with social workers in practice in order to gain insights into the nature and cause of the phenomenon at a local level. Discussions with the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare (KZN) provided much information on the general social, psychological and economic causes of the problem under investigation. Consultation with these authoritative sources helped to guide the theoretical framework of the study and in particular, provided valuable information for the contextualization of the phenomenon locally (Berg, 1998:25).

6.4 Methods of data collection

The interview schedule is the most widely used method of data collection in the social sciences. In this research, an interview schedule is formulated arising out of the literature study and discussions with authoritative sources of information.

The concept of marriage as conceived in the teachings and practice of Islam was operationalized through discussions with Muslim theologians and following on trends reported by social workers in practice. This enabled the formulation of criteria for the identification of the sample. The following criteria were used to determine a Muslim marriage:

- where one or both spouses belonged to the Muslim faith, or
- where marriage was consummated in keeping with Islamic teaching and tradition.

Concubine relationships were not considered to constitute a marriage.

The type of sampling technique used is purposive or judgmental in nature. This technique is considered in light of the peculiar nature of the population under study and to overcome problems of accessibility due to sensitivity, willingness of the respondents to participate in the study, and confidential considerations (Ellis,

1994:121). Further detail on sample selection is presented in a later section of the chapter.

The interview schedule contains four sections. Section A is made up of the demographic profile of respondents. Sections B and C are constructed on the basis of the theoretical literature reviewed and discussions with professional social workers in practice. Section D of the interview schedule is constructed from information on the consequences of marital breakdown on family life, especially children, obtained from the various Child Welfare Societies and children's homes in the Durban Metropolitan Area. A summated rating scale developed according to the Likert principles is used in Section B, C and D of the interview schedule.

In constructing the rating scale, face validity is ensured since the determinants of marital breakdown, as well as the consequences for family life, are taken into account. In so far as content validity is concerned, the items not only contain the common attitudes under study, but also cover a full range of attitudes and in a balanced way. It must be noted that the assessment of content validity, is essentially, a matter of judgement. This judgement was made by the researcher in collaboration with social workers in practice. In addition, the literature review served as an invaluable point of reference for the determination of content validity.

Each item in the interview schedule is analysed individually in order to eliminate non-discriminatory items. Items 1 - 14 in Section A are included to obtain descriptive information and to gain insight into the nature of the respondents. Section B comprise items 15 - 31 which aim to ascertain the attitudes of the respondents towards the various causes leading to marital breakdown. Items 32 - 39 in Section C ascertain the various determinants of role-fulfillment and role conflict. Lastly, items 40 - 51 in Section D were included to ascertain the attitudes of respondents towards the consequence of marital breakdown and its effects on children in the family.

Statements on each of the above determinants are listed and respondents were requested to express an attitude to any one of the five response categories i.e. strongly

agree, agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree. The purpose of using five response categories instead of dichotomizing responses into "agree" and "disagree", is to eliminate the effect of over-estimating the actual degree of attitude by pushing those who are in a neutral category toward either alternative. A dichotomized response category could result in a large number of neutral responses. However, five categories of responses allow for a greater variation of attitudes and they are likely to be more sensitive and informative than three response categories.

All statements in the interview schedule are scored as follows:

Strongly Agree 1

Agree 2

Undecided 3

Disagree 4

Strongly Disagree 5

The researcher was not permitted to directly interview respondents due to the confidential and sensitive nature of the study. However, through the support of the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare Society, permission was granted to undertake the social survey at its member agencies within the Durban Metropolitan area, provided that the interview was conducted by a full time social worker in their employ. The same principle applied for the Family and Marriage Society of Durban (FAMSA) and the South African National Zakaat Fund of Durban (SANZAF), a Muslim welfare agency.

Social workers are known to be trained in the art of professional interviewing and this helped to enhance the quality of data collected. The very fact that the respondents were clients of social workers helped to overcome the problem of rapport, enforced confidentiality and anonymity, and promoted clarity on any area which the respondents would have found ambiguous, had they attempted completing the questionnaires themselves.

The presence of skilled interviewers such as the social workers in the interview, further ensured that respondents who could not read or write were able to respond to the interview, and answer all questions in the schedule. In addition, the private consulting rooms of social workers promoted better control of the environment such as disturbances and the problem of confidentiality.

A further precaution taken to ensure that no ambiguities resulted in the uniform application of the interview schedule, each interviewer was briefed on the nature and purpose of the study, the type of respondent to be selected for an interview, and special instructions were provided for the implementation of the interview schedule. In addition, interviewers were instructed to ensure that all respondents participated in the study voluntarily.

Despite taking necessary steps to optimize the quality of data through the interview schedule, this technique is known to contain certain general limitations. Inherent limitations pertain to the over standardisation of the interview schedule, and eliciting fixed responses. By contrast, open interviews elicit greater detail on the social life and context of respondents. However, allowing greater flexibility in response categories in the Likert scale has compensated for the problem of over-standardisation.

6.5 The pilot study

The full-scale study was preceded by a pilot study resulting in the interview schedule being pre-tested for shortcomings. The pilot study comprised a total of ten interviews conducted by three social workers in practice at one social work agency. The respondents were purposively selected to represent the different strata expected to participate in the final study. In selecting the respondents, factors such as age, educational level, occupation and gender were taken into consideration.

Thereafter, discussions were held with the fieldworkers with regard to the administration of the interview schedule. Despite the fact that the response rate was 100%, field workers were of the opinion that it was time consuming as it demanded

constant probing in respect of the Likert scale statements. Further, respondents were suspicious about the purpose of the study resulting in reassurance on the issue of anonymity and confidentiality. Although this feedback from the pilot study led to no major revision of the interview schedule, it however necessitated greater briefing and preparation of fieldworkers in the main study.

The pilot study also resulted in a close examination for consistency in responses. This was undertaken through a comparison of all ten interview schedules completed in the pilot study. No significant difference in response rate was noted.

6.6 The choice of locale

The locality of the study was confined to the Durban Metropolitan Area in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. The large presence of Muslims of Indian origin in this region ensured representativeness of the study population. However, one agency from which a sample was drawn served the residents of Kwa Dukuza, formerly known as Stanger. A few respondents were drawn from this locality, which is adjacent to the DMA. A significantly large population of Muslims of Indian origin is inhabited in this area.

A map of the DMA is included depicting the various areas from which the sample was selected.

6.7 Selection of the sample

A total of eighty respondents were purposively selected from the study locality. Fifty respondents were selected from the different Child and Family Welfare Societies registered with the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare Societies in the DMA. In addition, ten respondents were selected from the Family and Marriage Society of South Africa (Durban) and the remaining twenty from the South African National Zakaat Fund (Durban).

Distribution of sample in the DMA

● STANGER
(Kwa-Dukuza)
8%

Tongaat River

Ballito

● TONGAAT
8%

Umhlati River

● VERULAM
8%

● PHOENIX
11%

Reservoir Hills

Newlands
Parlock

Umhlanga

Avoca
Effingham
Springfield
Clare Estate
Asherville
Overport

Westville

DURBAN
CENTRAL
29%

N2

MPUMALANGA

● PINETOWN
8%

N3

DURBAN

Umlaas River

● CHATSWORTH
15%

MEREBANK
3%

DURBAN
CENTRAL
29%

ISIPINGO ●
5%

N2

Amanzimtoti

N

UMZINTO ●
5%

Illovo River

Umkomaas

0	4	8	12	16	20 km

The following Child and Family Welfare Societies participated in the study:

- Child, Family and Community Care Centre of Durban (representing the areas of Durban Central and Isipingo);
- Stanger Child and Family Welfare Society;
- Tongaat and Disrict Child and Family Welfare Society;
- Verulam and District Child and Family Welfare Society;
- Chatsworth Child and Family Welfare Society;
- Umzinto Child and Family Welfare Society; and
- Pinetown Child and Family Welfare Society.

However, the Phoenix Child and Family Welfare Society declined to participate in the study due to other welfare priorities and the shortage of social workers to undertake interviews. Despite this, the area was represented from the case load of the South African National Zakaat Fund. A more detailed distribution of respondents from the different residential areas in the DMA is presented in Chapter Seven. In addition, it will be noted that Stanger (aka Kwa Dukuza) falls outside of the DMA. This area was included in the study in view of the presence of a significant number of Muslims in this area. In addition, this area falls under the jurisdiction of the National Council for Child and Family Welfare Societies.

6.8 Choice of sampling technique

The judgmental or purposive sampling technique is used in the study. A purposive sample is one in which the respondent is handpicked to ensure that specific elements are included. The high degree of selectivity accompanying this technique supposedly guarantees that all relevant strata are represented in the research design. Purposive samples are frequently called judgmental samples because the researcher exercises his judgement to include all elements that are presumed to be typical of a given population about which information is sought (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1987:185; Ellis, 1994:121).

Purposive sampling is used in the present research for the following reasons:

- the population under study is relatively small and only active cases are selected;

- the sample selected includes cases classified within the typified category of marital breakdown based on scientific assessments made within the diagnostic guidelines of the social work profession. As a consequence, the sample contains all likely characteristics of the subject, determined through the application of a scientific assessment and not by any pre-judgements made by the researcher;

- due to problems of accessibility and the sensitive nature of the study, a purposive selection of respondents is likely to ensure easy replacement in the event of resistance to participate in the study;

- the scope of the study is exploratory in nature and is confined to a particular social group with distinct characteristics. It is not the intention of this study to make generalizations beyond this social group hence sufficing the selection of respondents purposively; and

- the application of inferential statistics to non-probability samples is made possible through non-parametric tests, which has similar scientific significance, compared to those generated through parametric tests.

6.9 Choice of measurement

Since the research was designed to measure attitudes towards the nature and causes of marital breakdown from a typified sample of respondents, the Likert type of measurement is used. The Likert scale is a widely used measurement method in social research. The reason for its popularity includes the ease with which it may be applied in actual research situations and the simplicity of interpretation following data collection. Since attitudes are ordinal phenomena, the Likert scale is best suited for this study.

Likert measurement scales allow for the evaluation of the intensity with which an attitude is expressed. Individuals who possess some attitude more strongly than others will occupy a different position along the attitudinal continuum ranging from high to low. It then becomes possible to predict behavioural differences precisely due to the fact that individuals occupy different positions on the attitudinal dimension related to

the behaviour in question. The intensity of the attitude may be weighted by assigning numerical values to each response to a statement (Adams et al, 1991:158-161).

Weighting is a factor which imparts more importance to one value than to another. As such, the weighted mean ($\bar{x}W$) will be the basis on which the data obtained, will be analysed. The $\bar{x}W$ allows for the quantitative analysis of responses, which can be grouped. The $\bar{x}W$ also allows researchers to make general qualitative statements about quantitative data. This particular measure of central tendency is used especially when attitudes have to be judged or analysed. It makes it possible to suggest which is the most common attitude prevalent in a society or in a group.

Once weighted, the data will be presented in a matrix, in rank order. Data is presented in a matrix form in order to manage the voluminous amount of statistical information generated from the study, which otherwise would have been presented in a table form for each of the independent and dependent variables. A matrix helps to assemble, manage and analyze data effectively. In addition, once data is assembled, it makes it possible to rank order data so that trends and patterns are easily observed.

Data in the matrix will be analysed in two ways. Firstly, general relationships will be ascertained between the independent and dependent variables. This will be undertaken by analysing the mean of all scores across the independent variable for each of the dependent variables, which will be the basis for rank ordering the dependent variables. This process of rank ordering will help to isolate the most important factors contributing to marital breakdown and the consequences for family life in this study.

Secondly, the score for each of the dependent variable within the categories of the independent variable will be analysed to ascertain whether consistency exists within the distribution. These inter-category scores will be analysed to ascertain whether they are consistent as against the general finding which is rank ordered. In this way it becomes possible to ascertain to what extent scores within the distribution deviate from the mean score.

The extent to which mean scores deviate will be measured according to the following scale, typical for central tendency distributions.
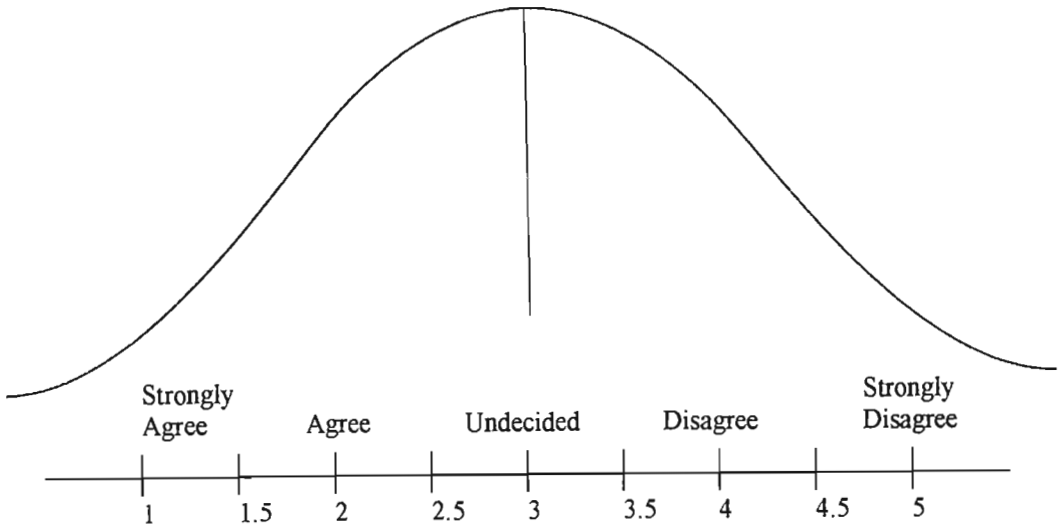
It will be observed from the measurement scale, responses are allowed to overlap, which is one of the positive sides to using the Likert scale of measurement. In this way responses are given different levels of degrees of freedom within the scale.

6.10 Summary

In this Chapter the techniques and procedures used in the gathering, analysis, interpretation and presentation of data are discussed. The various steps undertaken are expounded upon. The scope of the investigation has been delimited and strengths and weaknesses whether inherent in the techniques used or within the procedures adopted, have been highlighted. The measurement procedure for the analysis and interpretation of data is examined. Statistical procedures adopted and the motivation for its use are presented.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

7.1 Introduction

In this Chapter the results of the study are analysed and interpreted. The focus of this Chapter is broken into four parts. In the first section, the demographic profile of respondents are analysed and interpreted. Data is presented in graphs and the analysis attempts to establish gender relationships.

In the second section, the general causal factors leading to marital breakdown are analysed and interpreted. The analysis of the causal factors is undertaken against the independent variable of gender, age, education, occupation and income.

The third section focuses on appropriate role fulfilment and role enactment as a basis for marital breakdown. In this section the ability to fulfill and enact roles is analysed against the independent variable of gender, age, education, occupation and income. Similarly, the fourth section of the Chapter examines the consequences of marital breakdown on family life.

7.2 Part One: Demographic profile of respondents

The demographic profile of respondents are presented in this section. The data are analysed and interpreted and the major findings highlighted.

7.2.1 Gender distribution of respondents

The sample comprises both male and female respondents. Male respondents were underrepresented by 4.0%. This shortfall is considered insignificant in light of the fact that the study anticipated a fewer number of male respondents.

Graph 1 Distribution of male and female respondents

Female 54%

Male 46%
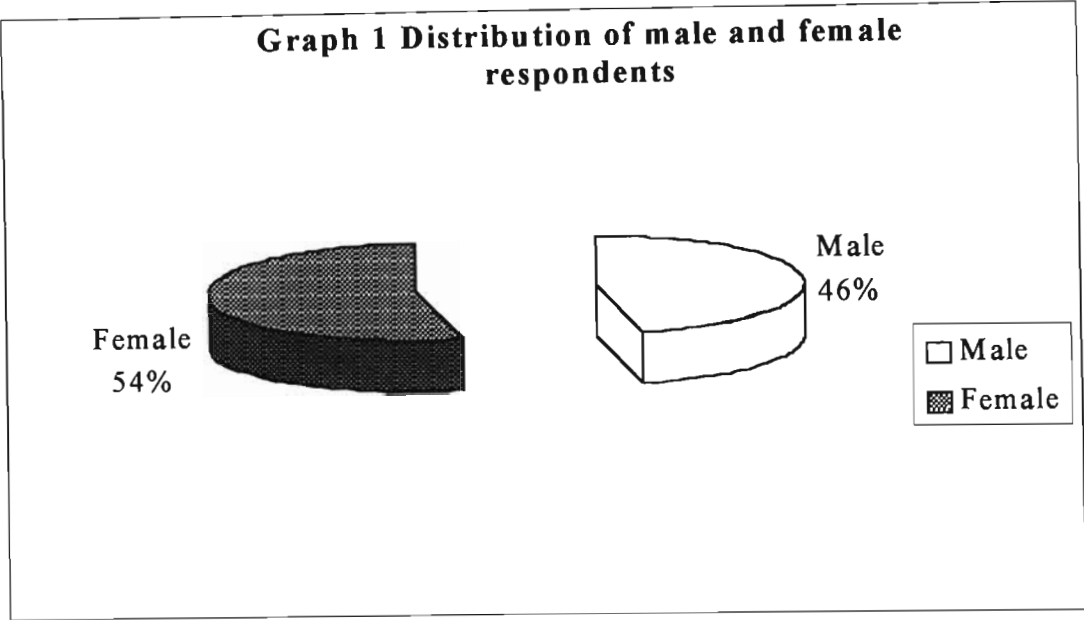
☐ Male
▦ Female

Men are reputed to shy away from family practice agencies whilst women are known to call at these agencies for social, psychological and physical assistance. The almost equal representation of male and female respondents in the sample contributes to the attitudinal confidence level of the study.

7.2.2 Age distribution of respondents

The age distribution of respondents is depicted in Graph 2. From Graph 2 it will be noted that 35 percent of the female respondents belong to the age category of 20 – 29 years compared to their male counterparts in the same age category who constitute 19 percent of the sample population. A significantly large percentage (54%) of the male respondents belong to the age category of 30 – 39 years compared to their female counterparts in the same age category who constitute only 35 percent of the sample

population. In the age category of 40 – 49 years, male respondents constitute 24 percent of the sample compared to females who constitute 23 percent of the sample. A small percentage (3%) of the male respondents belong to the age category 50 – 59 years, compared to 7 percent of the females in the similar age group.

Graph 2 Age distribution of respondents
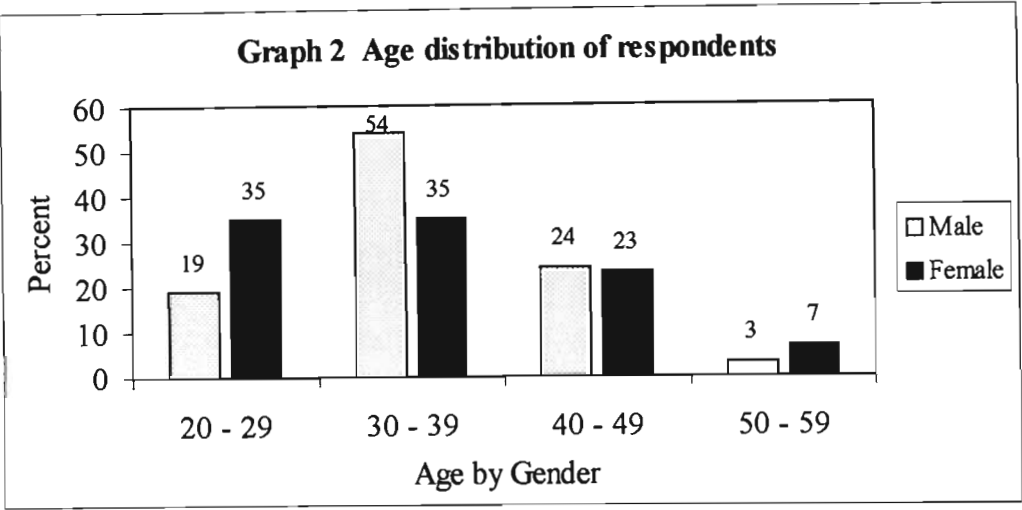
From the age and gender distribution of respondents it may be concluded that marital breakdown is most prevalent between the age group of 20 – 39 years. More significantly, marital breakdown is most prevalent for males in the age group of 30 – 39 years.

7.2.3 Educational status of respondents

The educational distribution of respondents by gender is noted in Graph 3. A significant difference in educational status exists between male and female respondents. Male respondents are better educated than their female counterparts. A total of 3 percent of males and female respondents had no education at all. A further 3 percent of the male respondents had other forms of education such as religious and vernacular only.

Graph 3 Educational status of respondents
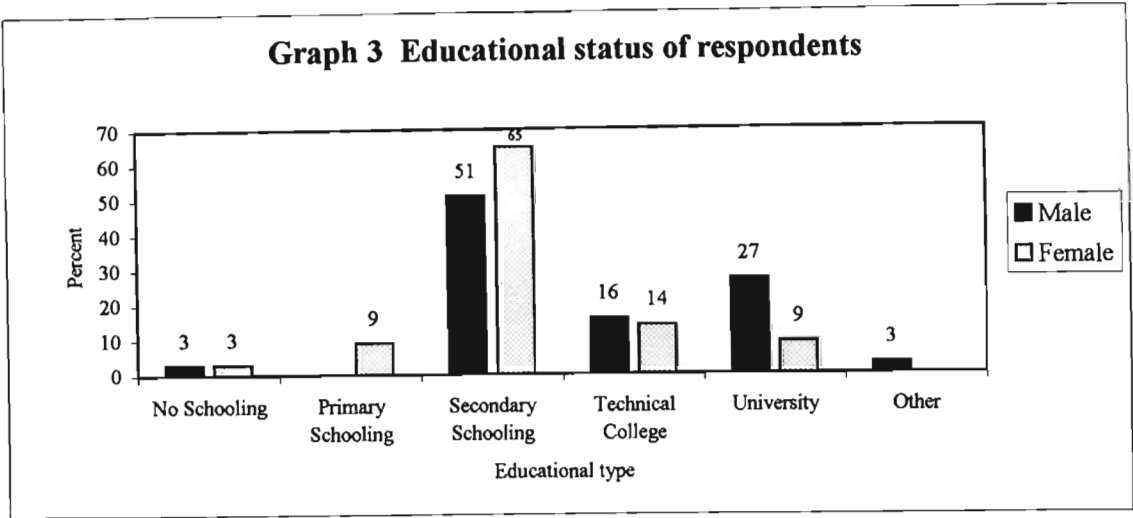
It is further evident from Graph 3 that although 65 percent of the female respondents had secondary school education, fewer (9 percent) only managed to further their education at university level. Comparatively, 27 percent of the male respondents managed to attain a university level of education.

7.2.4 Occupational status of respondents

The occupational status of respondents varies for males and females. From Graph 4 it will be noted that 30 percent of the male respondents occupy professional jobs compared to female respondents who make up only 21 percent of the sample population in this occupational category.

Significantly, unemployment rates tend to be higher for female respondents (30%) compared to male respondents (19%). Cumulatively, almost 25 percent of the sample population are unemployed. Clerical employment is the second largest occupational category for female respondents with a labour market absorption rate of 19 percent.

Graph 4 Occupational distribution of respondents

■ Male
□ Female

Occupational category
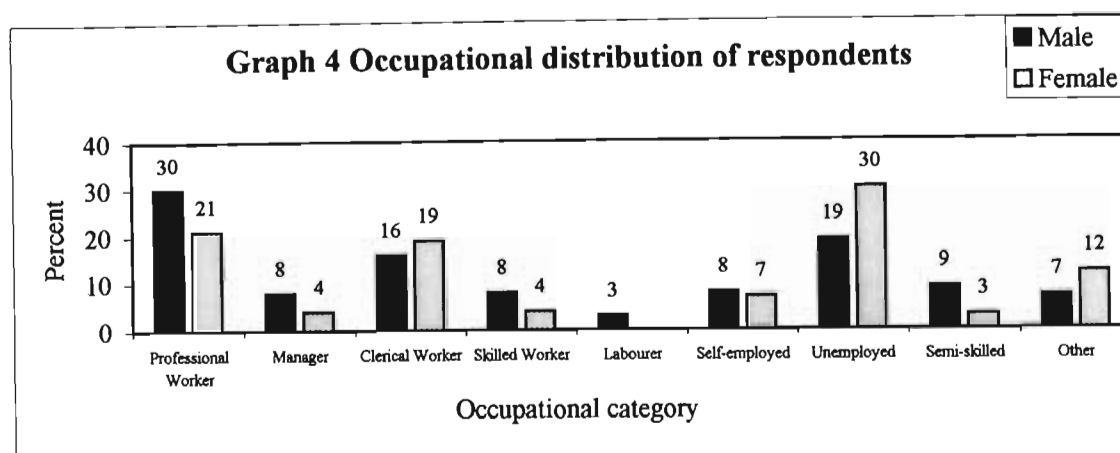
In the occupational category of manager, male respondents constitute only 8 percent of the sample population compared to female respondents who only make up 4 percent of the sample population in this category.

7.2.5 Annual income of respondents

The annual income distribution varies for both male and female respondents. From Graph 5 it will be noted that 30 percent of male respondents and 37 percent of female respondents earn an annual income of R2 499 and less. However, 32 percent of the male and 12 percent of the female respondents earn an annual income of R45 000 and above.

It will be noted that for both male and female respondents, the annual income is highest on the two ends of the distribution table. Of great significance, is the poor income level of female respondents compared to males.

Graph 5 Annual income distribution of respondents

Annual income	Female	Male
R45 000 and Above	12	32
R40 000 - R44 999	4	3
R35 000 - R39 999	2	5
R30 000 - R34 999	5	11
R25 000 - R24 999	5	
R20 000 - R19 999	7	
R10 000 - R14 999	7	5
R 5 000 - R 9 999	12	3
R 2 500 - R 4 999	9	11
R 2 499 and Less	37	30

Percent (0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40)
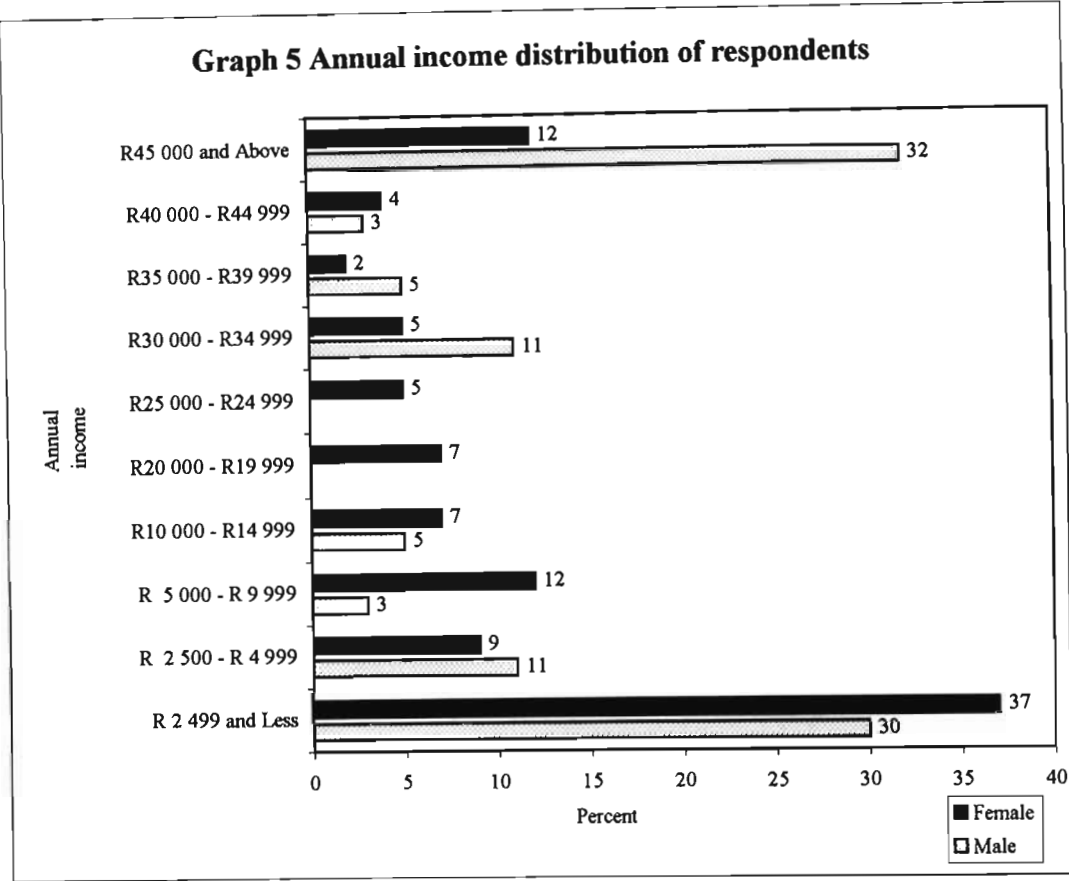
7.2.6 Religious affiliation of respondents

7.2.6.1 Female

A very significant percentage (83%) of the female respondents were married through religious homogamy. However, those respondents who consummated marriage outside their religion were married to Christian (4%) and Hindu (8%) males. A small percentage (5%) of female respondents chose to be anonymous. This is represented in the category "other".

Graph 6 Religious affiliation of husband

Hindu
8%

Other
5%

Christian
4%

Muslim
83%

- Muslim
- Christian
- Hindu
- Other
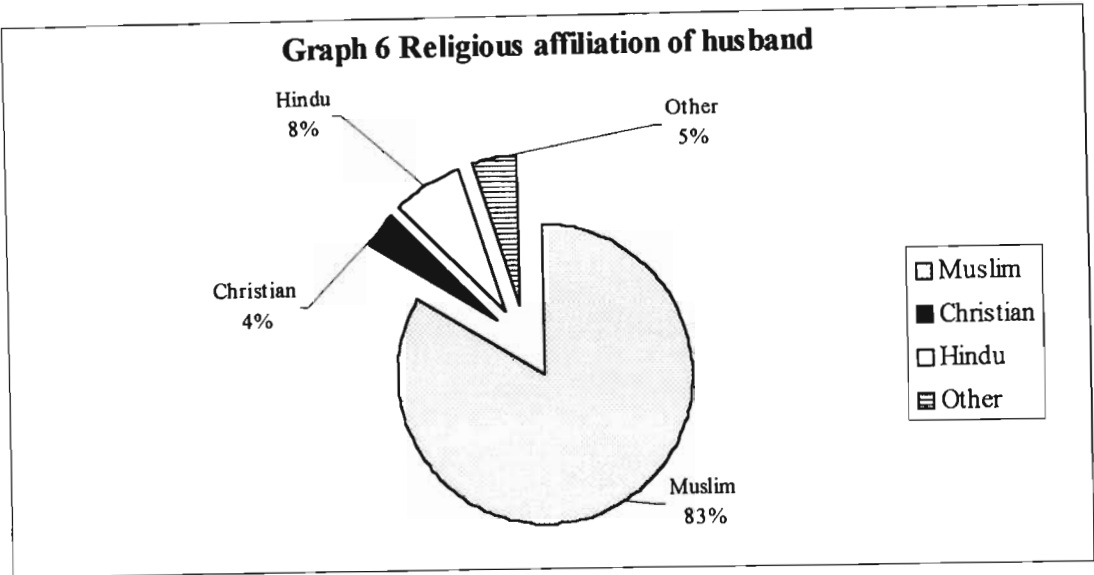
7.2.6.2 Male

A similar homagamous marital trend is noted for the male respondents. From Graph 7 it will be noted that 82 percent of the male respondents were married to women who where Muslim in origin.

Graph 7 Religious affiliation of wife

Other
3%

Hindu
9%

Christian
6%

Muslim
82%

- Muslim
- Christian
- Hindu
- Other
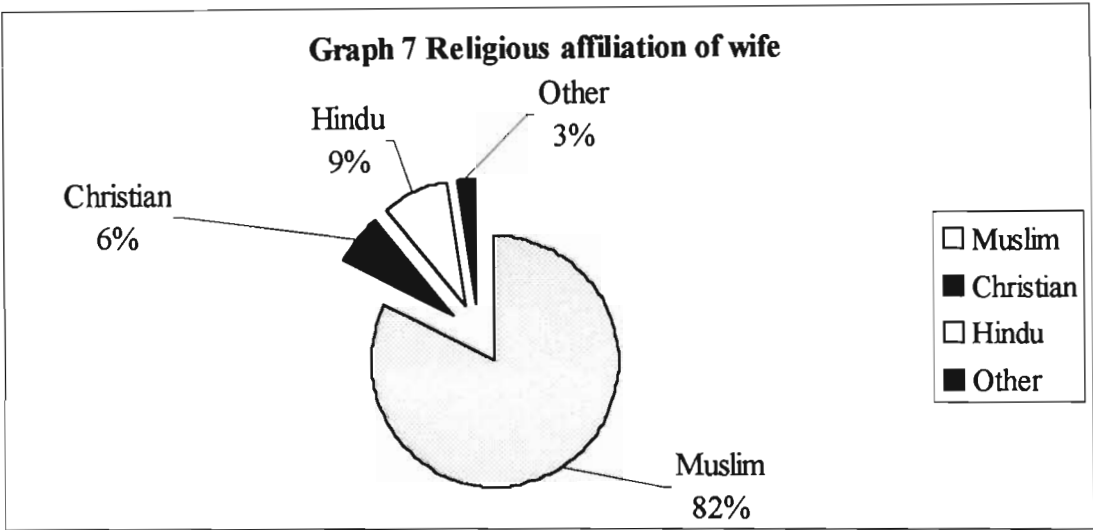
A small percentage was married to Christian (6%) and Hindu (9%) females. A three percent of the male respondents chose to remain anonymous about the religious affiliation of their spouse, which is recorded in the category "other". The finding

confirms that marital trends amongst Muslims in this study are generally religiously homogamous for both male and female respondents. No significant trend in extra-religious marriages amongst male and female respondents may be concluded.

7.2.7 Home language of respondents

The language spoken by respondents is depicted in Graph 8. It will be noted that almost sixty percent (59%) of the male respondents did not speak their home language (Urdu and Gujerati) compared to 42 percent of the female respondents. The distribution of home language for male and female respondents suggests that females, more than their male

Graph 8 Distribution of home languages spoken by respondents
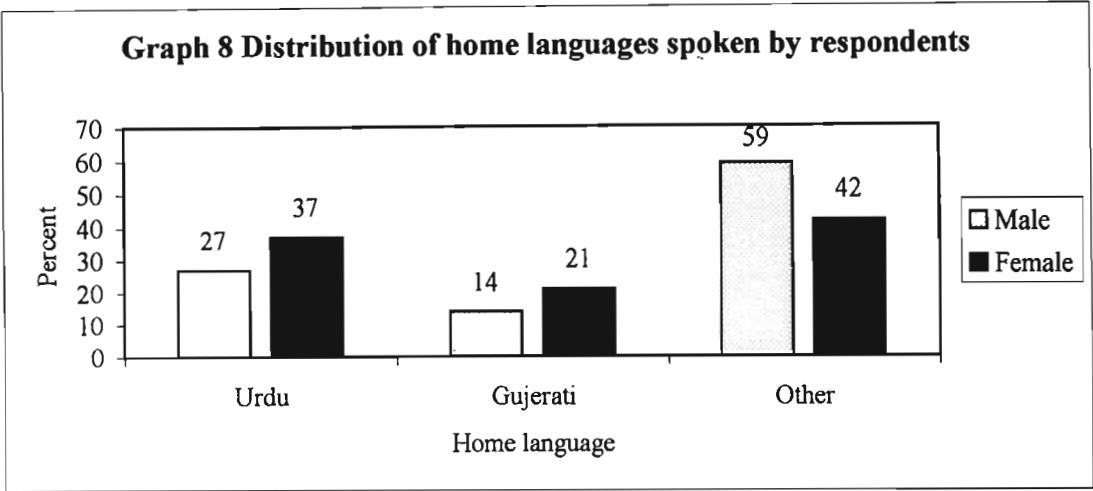
counterparts, tend to prefer speaking in their home language. This is evidenced by 37 and 21 percent of the female respondents who had confirmed speaking Urdu or Gujerati respectively at home, compared to male respondents who constitute 27 and 14 percent of the sample population.

7.2.8 Residential distribution of sample

The percentage distribution of respondents per residential area in the Metropolitan area of Durban is depicted in Graph 9.

Graph 9 Residential distribution of respondents in the DMA
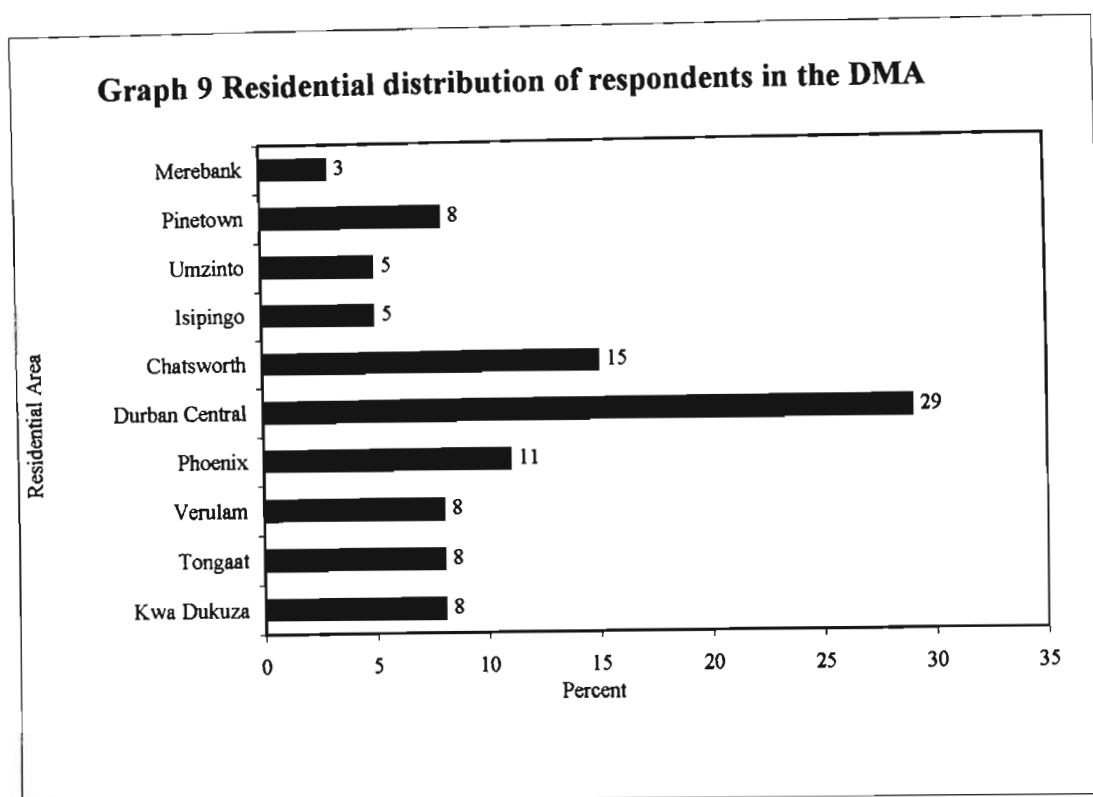
It will be noted that the sample is well distributed throughout the metropolitan area, with large concentrations to be found in the Phoenix (11%), Durban Central (29%) and Chatsworth (15%) areas. These areas when combined constitute 55 percent of the sample population, suggesting that a significant percentage of the sample population reside within close proximity of the city.

7.2.9 Type of dwelling occupied by respondents

The finding suggests that male respondents enjoy a slightly better choice in housing type compared to female respondents. Although the distribution of dwelling type is almost similar for male and female respondents, it will be noted from Graph 10 that female respondents constitute the highest percentage in the category of sublet housing type.

Graph 10 Type of dwelling occupied by respondents
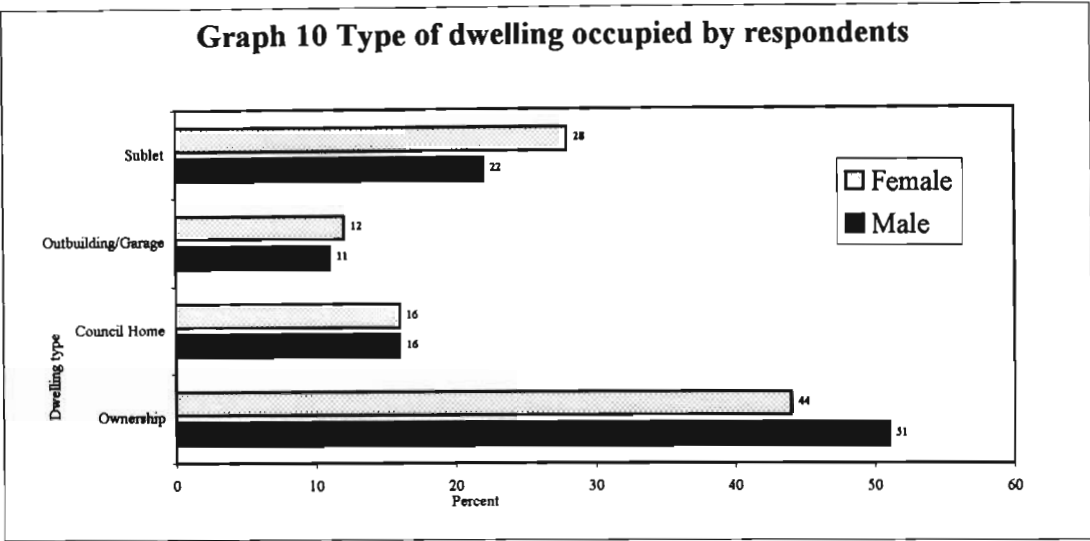
The combined totals of sublet housing for male and female respondent's amount to 25 percent of the sample population. This suggests that a significant percentage of the sample population do not enjoy the stability of permanent housing. The total percentage (11%) of male and female respondents living in outbuilding and garages, if added to the above, inflates the number of respondents living in non-permanent housing types to 36 percent.

7.2.10 Respondent's family composition and size

7.2.10.1 Number of children

The distribution of children as depicted in Graph 11 suggests the family composition of respondents. A total of 86% of the respondents reported having between one and three children in their family. This finding suggests that the average family size for

Graph 11 Distribution of children amongst respondents
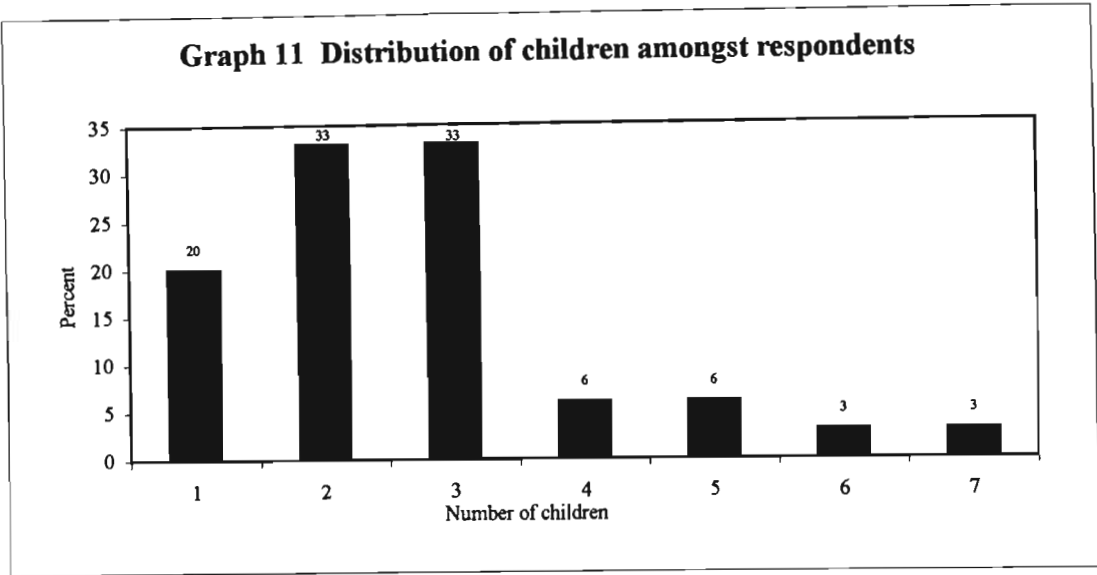
respondents in the study corresponds to the nuclear family type to be found in the more developed world.

7.2.10.2 Other family members living in household

A total of 64 and 14 percent of the respondents reported that one and two other members respectively lived with them and their children. Cumulatively this amounts to 78 percent of the sample population.

The finding suggests that a significantly large portion (78%) of the respondents have some other person living with them and their children. However, despite this large percentage response it will be noted from Graph 12 that the tendency throughout the sample population was for at least one other member to live with the respondent and their family. No conclusion may be drawn from this trend.

Graph 12 Distribution of other members living with respondents
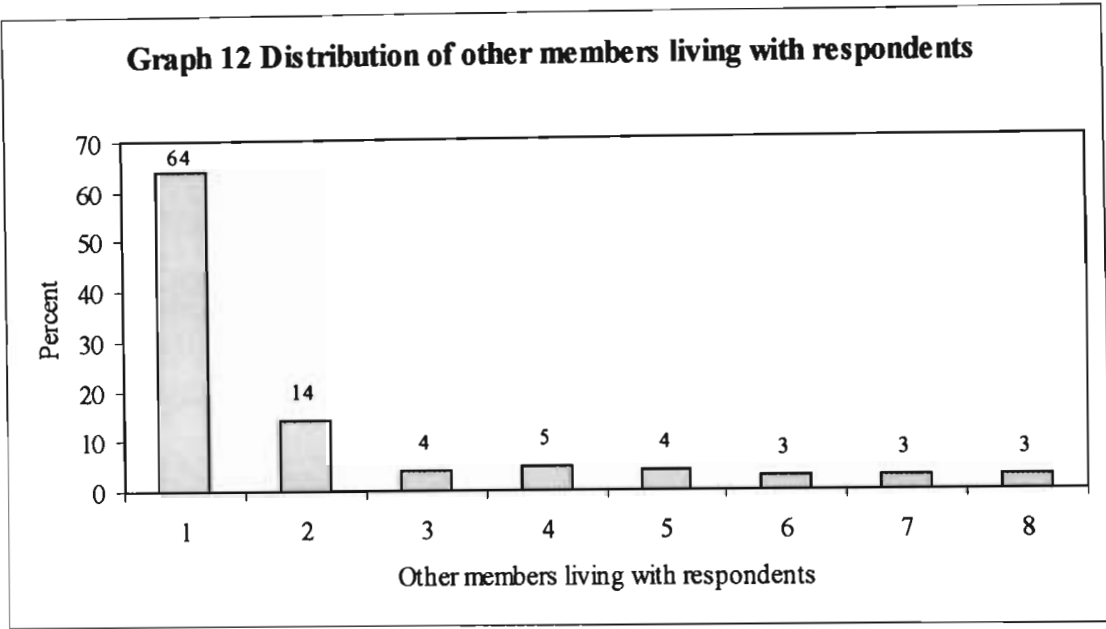
7.2.11 Confirmation of marriage

Graph 13 suggests that over half of the respondents (58%) validated their marriage through both secular and religious means. However, almost a third of the respondents (33%) validated their marriage through a religious ceremony only, referred to as the *Nikah*. A small percentage (9%) married in terms of secular law only.

Graph 13 Distribution of respondents' confirmation of marriage
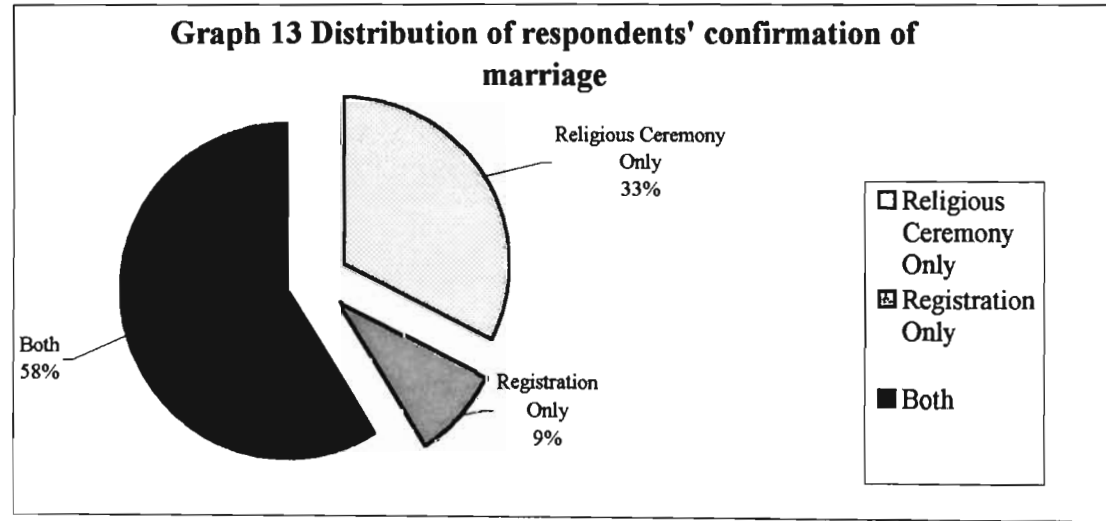
The findings suggest that a significantly large (91%) percentage of the respondents consider the *Nikah* as an important way of legitimating marital relationships compared to 9% percent of the respondents who did not.

7.2.12 Type of marriage

Graph 14 depicts the marital type of respondents in keeping with the law of the country. A total of 72 percent of the respondents married in terms of the community of property type of marital contract, compared to 27 percent who had married in terms of the ante-nuptial contract.

Graph 14 Distribution of respondents per marital type

Community of Property 72%

☐ Antenumptial Contract
☐ Community of Property

Antenumptial Contract 28%
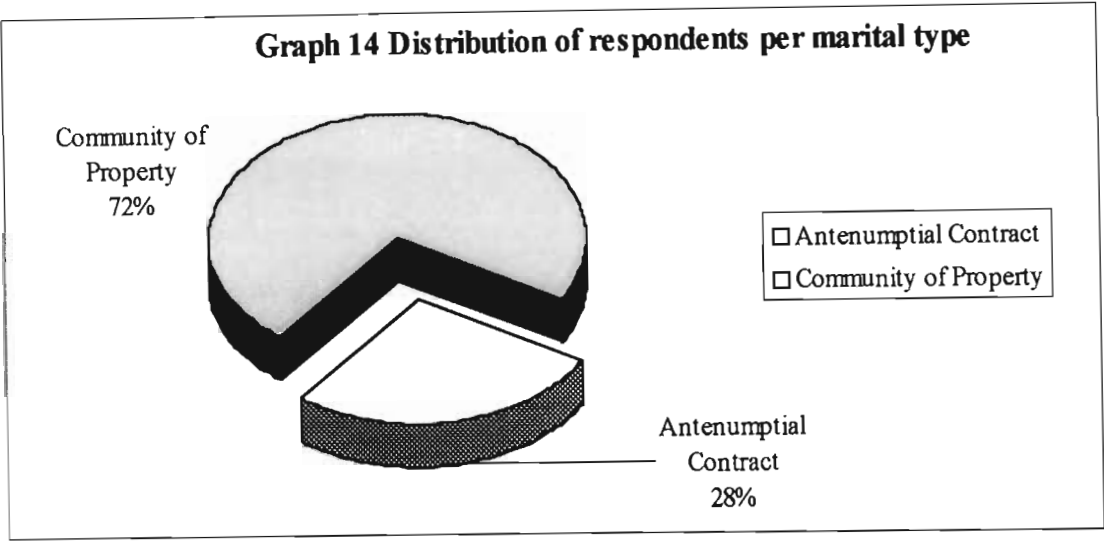
The finding suggests that there is a greater preference for community of property type of marriages amongst the respondents compared to ante-nuptial contract type of marriage.

7.2.13 Decision to marry

From Graph 15 it will be noted that 27 and 37 percent of the male and female respondents respectively decided to enter a marital relationship through an arrangement. A large percentage (73 percent of male respondents and 63 percent of female respondents) entered their marital relationship after courting each other. The

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finding suggests that a significantly large proportion of the sample population made a decision to marry only after courtship.

However, a definite trend emerges for male and female respondents in respect of their decision to marry. It may be concluded from Graph 15 that male respondents are less likely to marry through arrangement and more likely to consider courtship marriages compared to female respondents. On the contrary, female respondents are more likely to have decided to marry through arrangement and less through courtship compared to their male counterparts.

Graph 15 Distribution of respondents' decision to marry
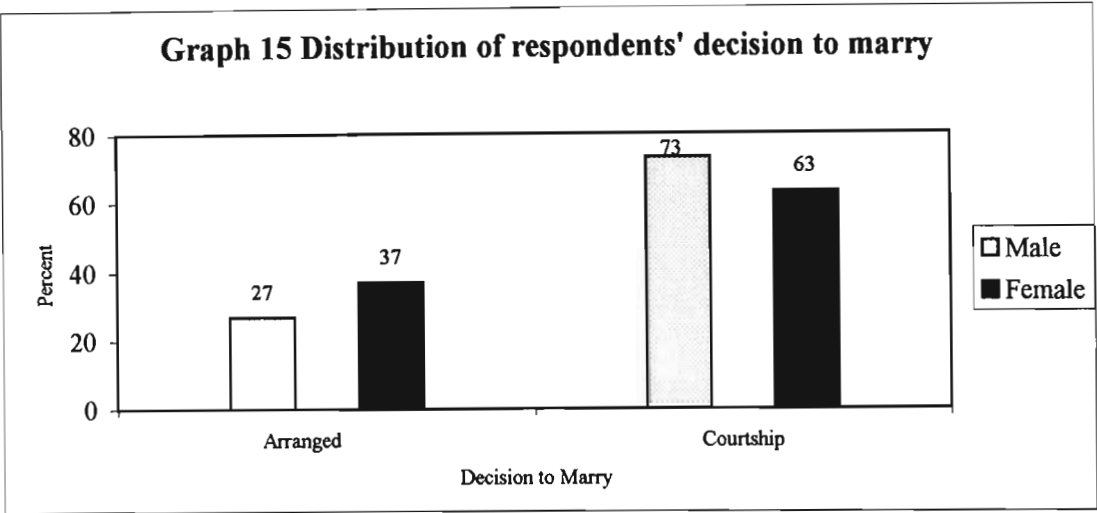
7.2.14   Age at marriage

The distribution of age at which respondents consummate marriage is depicted in Graph 16. It will be noted that 11 and 28 percent of the male and female respondents consummated marriage between the ages of 15 – 19 years, whereas in the age category of 20 – 24 years, 45 and 51 percent of the male and the female respondents respectively married in this age category. These findings suggest that both male and female respondents married early in life. Gender differences in the age at which marriage was consummated is also noted. Trends in Graph 16 denote that more female respondents married at an earlier age than the male respondents. Despite the

significant gender differences in the age categories of 15 – 19 years and 20 – 24 years, it will be noted that fewer female respondents than males married at a later stage in their lives. For example, for the age category of 25 – 29 years, only 12 percent of the female respondents married in this age bracket compared to 22 percent of the male respondents. Similar patterns may be noted for age categories 30 – 34 years and 35 years and over.

Graph 16 Distribution of age at which respondents consummated marriage
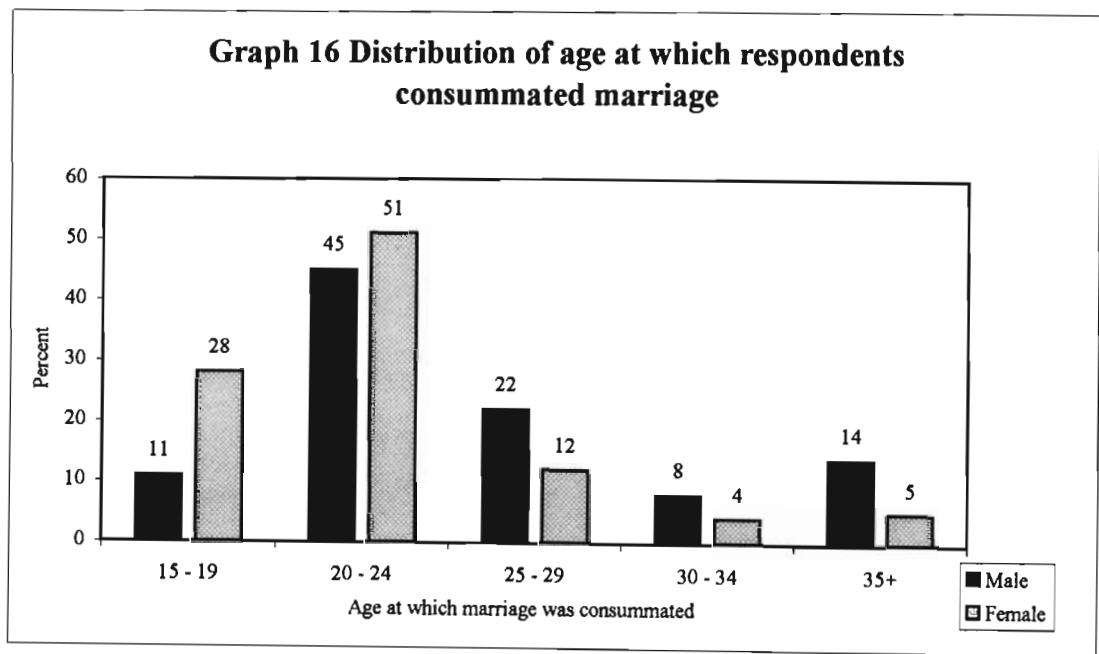
7.2.15 Duration of marital stability

The duration of marital stability experienced by respondents in the different age cohorts appears in Graph 17. It will be noted that marital instability is prevalent in all age cohorts.

However, the incidence of marital instability has been reported to be more prevalent in the age cohort of 0 – 1 year (30%) and 5 – 9 years (31%). The tendency for marital instability to drop as age increases is noted. This finding supports the supposition that marital instability is more prevalent during the early years of marriage.

Graph 17 Distribution of respondents' marital stability

Duration of marital stability	Percent
20+ years	5
15 - 19 years	5
10 - 14 years	11
5 - 9 years	31
2 - 4 years	18
0 - 1 year	30
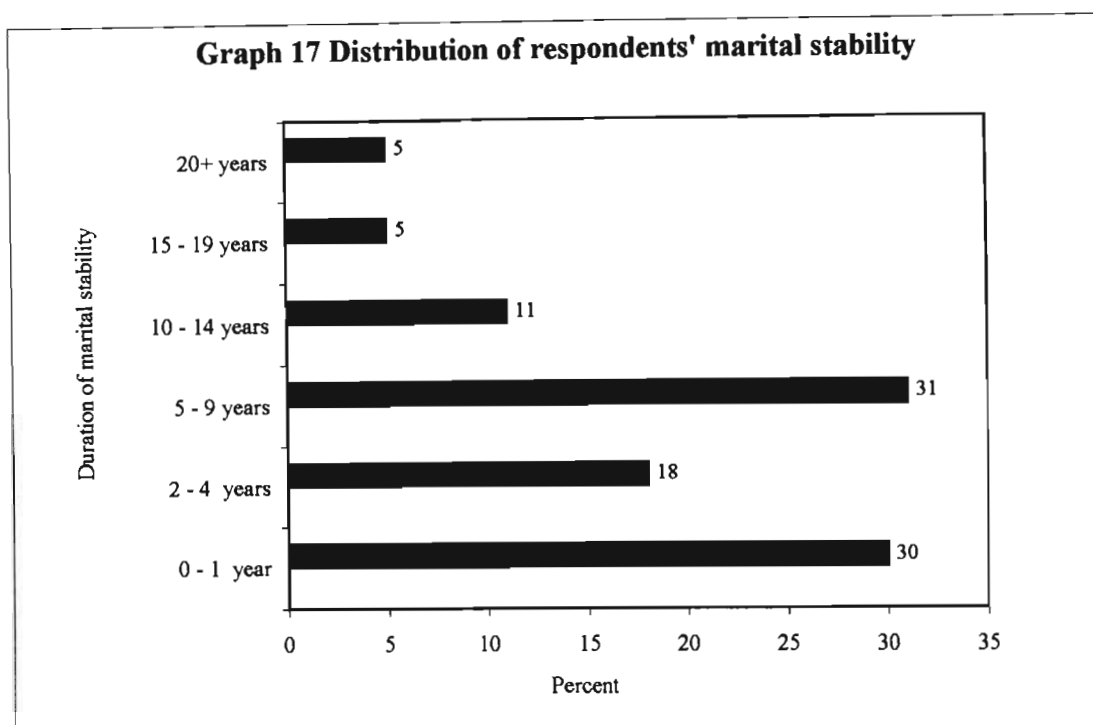
7.3 Part Two: Causal factors leading to marital breakdown

The causal factors leading to marital breakdown are multiple in nature. In this section it is intended to establish whether a relationship exists between the causal factors (dependent variable) and gender, age, educational level, occupational status and income level (independent variable) of respondents. The purpose is to establish whether the perception of respondents to factors leading to marital breakdown is consistent amongst the different independent variables.

The responses to factors leading to marital breakdown is weighted against each of the independent variable and presented in a matrix. The mean score is ranked in order to determine which factors are perceived by the respondents to contribute more strongly to marital breakdown.

The following discussion is divided into three sections. In the first section the causal factors leading to marital breakdown is measured and ranked against each of the independent variable. Similar procedure is used in section two, which more specifically examines the perception of respondents to appropriate role fulfilment and

marital breakdown. In section three the perception of respondents in respect of consequences of marital breakdown on family life is examined.

7.3.1 Gender and attitude towards the causes of marital breakdown

The attitudes of male and female respondents to the causes of marital breakdown are rank ordered in Table 7.3.1. A cursory examination of the scores indicate that both male and female respondents hold very strong perceptions ($\overline{x}w \leq 1.5$) that infidelity is a major cause in marital breakdown. For the remaining factors, responses range from ($\overline{x}w\ 1.7$) to ($\overline{x}w\ 3.8$) suggesting a spread of perception between general agreement to disagreement. Each one of these factors will be analyzed to ascertain whether any relationship exists between gender and the perception of causal factors leading to marital breakdown.

- *Infidelity*

Generally respondents perceived very strongly ($\overline{x}w\ 1.5 \leq 1.5$) that infidelity is a causal factor in marital breakdown. However, female respondents perceived much more strongly ($\overline{x}w\ 1.3 \leq 1.5$) than their male counterparts ($\overline{x}w\ 1.7 \geq 1.5$). Despite this difference, it does not affect the general finding that a strong relationship exists amongst male and female respondents that infidelity causes loss of trust resulting in marital breakdown

- *Alcohol abuse*

The perception that when one or both spouses abuse alcohol resulting in marital breakdown was widely agreed upon by both male and female respondents with a ($\overline{x}w\ 1.7 \leq 2.0$). Despite this perception, differences in response are observed.

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Table 7.3.1 Distribution of responses to the causal factors leading to marital breakdown by gender

Number	Causal factors leading to marital breakdown	$\overline{x}W$ Male	$\overline{x}W$ Female	Mean score
		N =37 46.3%	N =43 53.7%	N =80 100%
1	Infidelity	1.7	1.3	1.5
2	Alcohol abuse	1.9	1.6	1.7
3	Drug abuse	2.1	1.5	1.8
4	Religious differences	2.2	1.9	2.0
5	In-law interference	2.2	1.9	2.0
6	Personality problems	2.1	2.0	2.0
7	Personality change	2.4	1.9	2.1
8	Communication	2.6	2.0	2.3
9	Working mothers	2.2	2.5	2.3
10	Insufficient income	2.4	2.3	2.3
11	Sexual issues	2.4	2.4	2.4
12	Childlessness	2.6	2.4	2.5
13	Sex for procreation	2.9	2.2	2.5
14	Women's liberation	2.5	2.9	2.7
15	Early marriages	2.5	3.2	2.8
16	Birth of a baby	3.2	2.8	2.9
17	Premarital sex	3.7	4.0	3.8

Female respondents held slightly stronger perception ($\overline{x}w$ $1.6 \leq 2.0$) than their male counterparts ($\overline{x}w$ $1.9 \leq 2.0$). However, the difference in responses is relatively small suggesting that a relationship exists between alcohol abuse and marital breakdown.

- *Drug abuse*

Both male and female respondents generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 1.8 ≤ 2.0) that drug abuse causes wife battering, resulting in marital breakdown. Female respondents perceived very strongly ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 2.0) compared to their male counterparts ($\bar{x}$w 2.1 ≥ 2.0) that drug abuse causes wife battering resulting in marital breakdown. Despite this difference, the finding suggests that a definite relationship exist between drug abuse and marital breakdown.

- *Religious differences*

A general agreement exists ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0) for both male and female respondents in their perception that religious differences are always a point of conflict with married couples leading to marital breakdown. No major differences are observed for both male and female respondents suggesting that a relationship exist between religious differences amongst spouses and marital breakdown.

- *In- law interference*

The perception that in-laws tend to prescribe standards of behaviour for married couples thus often causing marital breakdown received wide agreement amongst male and female respondents ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0). No major differences in perception are observed, suggesting that the finding is conclusive that a relationship exists between in-law interference in spouse's marital relationship and marital breakdown.

- *Personality problems*

Both male and female respondents generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0) that personality problems are a cause of marital breakdown. No major differences are observed for both male and female respondents suggesting that the finding is conclusive that a relationship exists between personality problems and marital breakdown.

- *Personality change*

The responses for male ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5) and female ($\bar{x}w$ 1.9 $\leq$ 2.5) respondents vary in their perception that, after marriage, changes in personality occur which disturb marital accord, leading to marital breakdown. Despite this difference, a general agreement exists ($\bar{x}w$ 2.1 $\leq$ 2.5) for male and female respondents, suggesting that the finding is significant to conclude that personality changes after marriage disturb marital accord between spouses causing marital breakdown.

- *Communication*

The finding that married couples lack adequate communication with each other in a large family leading to marital breakdown was not conclusive despite a general agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) amongst respondents. Male respondents were largely undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) compared to their female counterparts ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 $\leq$ 2.5). The finding suggests that no conclusion may be drawn on the perception that a lack of communication amongst spouses and marital breakdown in view of the significantly undecided response from male respondents.

- *Working mothers*

The perception that working mothers find it difficult to cope with the demands of marriage leading to marital breakdown was generally agreed upon by both male and female respondents ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5). The finding suggests that a relationship exists between the ability of working mothers to cope with the demands of marriage and marital breakdown.

- *Insufficient income*

A general agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) is observed amongst male and female respondents in their perception that insufficient income is a source of poor marital relationships, leading to marital breakdown. No major gender differences in perception are noted,

suggesting that a definite relationship exists between insufficient income and marital breakdown

- *Sexual issues*

Both male and female respondents generally perceive ($\overline{x}$w 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5) that matters concerning sex are often a source of argument and discord in marriage, leading to marital breakdown. Both male and female respondents were unanimous in their perception suggesting that the finding is conclusive that a relationship does exist between matters concerning sex amongst spouses and marital breakdown.

- *Childlessness*

The finding that the inability to have children makes married couples feel inadequate leading to marital breakdown is not conclusive despite an overall agreed response ($\overline{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) between male and female respondents. Male respondents were undecided ($\overline{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) compared to female respondents who expressed a more definitive response ($\overline{x}$w 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5). In view of this difference in perception, the finding suggests that the perception that childless couples feel inadequate leading to marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Sex for procreation*

The perception that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure, causing marital breakdown is not conclusive despite the prevalence of an agreed response ($\overline{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) amongst respondents. Male respondents were undecided ($\overline{x}$w 2.9 $\geq$ 2.5) compared to their female counterparts who had a more definite perception ($\overline{x}$w 2.2 $\leq$ 2.5). In view of the large number of male respondents being undecided, the finding suggests that the perception that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure, causing marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Women's liberation*

Generally both male and female respondents were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) in their perception that many married couples experience marital breakdown because of women's liberation. However, despite this general tendency for undecided responses, male respondents were in agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) compared to their female counterparts who responded with indecision ($\bar{x}w$ 2.9 $\geq$ 2.5). This difference in response suggests that no major conclusion may be drawn on the perception that marriages break down because of women's liberation.

- *Early marriages*

The perception that persons who marry young are prone to marital breakdown is generally viewed with indecision by respondents ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5). Despite this undecided response, male respondents were more definite in their perception ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) than their female counterparts ($\bar{x}w$ 3.2 $\geq$ 2.5). This major difference in response suggests that the finding is not conclusive that persons who marry young are prone to marital breakdown.

- *Birth of a baby*

Both male ($\bar{x}w$ 3.2 $\geq$ 2.5) and female respondents ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5) were undecided in their perception that married couples first experience marital breakdown once a baby is born. No conclusion may be drawn from this finding.

- *Premarital sex*

The perception that premarital sex is important for gaining experience allowing couples greater marital stability was viewed with disagreement ($\bar{x}w$ 3.8 $\geq$ 2.5) by both male and female respondents. From the finding, it may be concluded that no relationship exists between premarital sex and marital stability.

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7.3.2 Age and attitude towards the causes of marital breakdown

The attitude of respondents to the causal factors leading to marital breakdown in terms of age is rank ordered in Table 7.3.2. It will be noted from this Table that infidelity is strongly perceived ($\bar{x}w$ 1.5 ≤ 1.5) to contribute to marital breakdown compared to the other factors. In respect of the other factors, the responses range between ($\bar{x}w$ 1.7) to ($\bar{x}w$ 3.9). However, each one of these factors will be discussed in-depth to establish whether the perception of causal factors leading to marital breakdown is consistent within the different age groups.

- ***Infidelity***

Respondents across all age groups strongly perceived ($\bar{x}w$ 1.5 ≤ 1.5) infidelity to cause the loss of trust amongst spouses leading to marital breakdown. Despite this strong perception, respondents in the age category of 50-59 years comprising 5.0% of the sample population, agreed to a lesser extent ($\bar{x}w$ 1.8 ≥ 1.5) compared to their counterparts in the other age categories. However, this variation in response is negligibly small to have any significant influence on the general finding. The finding is therefore conclusive that a relationship exists between infidelity and marital breakdown.

- ***Drug abuse***

The perception that drug abuse causes wife battering leading to marital breakdown was viewed with agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 1.7 ≤ 2.0) amongst respondents across all age groups. However, a slight variation, although not very significant, is noted for those respondents in the age category of 40 - 49 (24.0%) with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.1 ≥ 2.0). Despite this difference, it may be concluded that a significant relationship exists between drug abuse and marital breakdown.

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Table 7.3.2 Distribution of responses to the causal factors leading to marital breakdown by age

Number	Causal factors leading to marital breakdown	x̄w Per age category					
		15 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	Mean score
		N=0 0 %	N=22 27.0 %	N=35 44.0 %	N=19 24.0 %	N=4 5.0 %	N=80 100 %
1	Infidelity		1.4	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.5
2	Drug abuse		1.5	1.8	2.1	1.7	1.7
3	Alcohol abuse		1.5	1.8	1.9	2.2	1.8
4	Religious differences		1.7	2.0	2.4	2.0	2.0
5	In-law interference		1.6	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.0
6	Personality change		2.3	2.0	2.6	1.7	2.1
7	Insufficient income		2.4	2.3	2.5	1.7	2.2
8	Working mothers		2.5	2.1	2.6	1.7	2.2
9	Personality problems		1.9	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0
10	Sexual issues		2.8	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.3
11	Early marriages		2.4	2.6	2.3	2.5	2.4
12	Communication		2.2	2.6	2.3	2.5	2.4
13	Childlessness		2.6	2.3	2.7	2.7	2.5
14	Sex for procreation		2.3	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.5
15	Women's liberation		2.5	2.7	3.1	2.2	2.6
16	Birth of a baby		3.1	3.2	2.7	2.6	2.9
17	Premarital sex		4.1	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.9

- *Alcohol abuse*

Generally respondents across all age groups perceive (x̄w $1.8 \leq 2.0$) that when one or both spouses abuse alcohol marital breakdown is likely to result. Despite this definitive response, respondents in the age category of 50-59 years, comprising 5.0% of the sample population agreed to a lesser extent (x̄w $2.2 \geq 2.0$). The relatively

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small sample size in this age category has very little effect on the general finding that a significant relationship exists between alcohol abuse and marital breakdown.

- *Religious differences*

Insofar as religious differences amongst spouses leading to marital breakdown are concerned, respondents across all age categories perceived it to be a causal factor ($\overline{x}w$ 2.0 ≤ 2.0). However, a significant percentage (27.%) of the respondents in the age category of 20-29 years felt more strongly ($\overline{x}w$ 1.7 ≤ 2.0) compared to respondents in the other age categories. In addition, respondents in the age category of 40 - 49 years, comprising 24.0% of the sample population, felt less strongly ($\overline{x}w$ 2.4 ≥ 2.0). Despite these differences, the general perception of respondents supports the finding that a relationship exists between religious differences amongst spouses and marital breakdown.

- *In-law interference*

The perception that in-laws tend to prescribe standards of behaviour for married couples causing marital breakdown was agreed upon amongst respondents across all age groups ($\overline{x}w$ 2.0 ≤ 2.0). However, 27.0% of the respondents in the age category of 20-29 years held stronger perceptions ($\overline{x}w$ 1.6 ≤ 2.0) about in-law interference and marital breakdown compared to those in other age categories. A further observation is that respondents in the age category of 30 - 39 years, comprising 44.0% of the sample population were in lesser agreement ($\overline{x}w$ 2.4 ≥ 2.0). However these differences in response do not deviate significantly from the general perception that a relationship exists between in-law interference and marital breakdown.

- *Personality change*

A general agreement ($\overline{x}w$ 2.1 ≤ 2.5) exists across all age groups that after marriage changes in personality occur disturbing the marital relationship. Despite this general perception, respondents in the age category of 40 - 49 years, comprising 24.0% of the

sample population, were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.0). Despite this variation in response, the perceptions of the remaining 76.0% respondents are significant in drawing the conclusion that a relationship exists between changes in personality after marriage and marital breakdown.

- *Insufficient income*

Respondents across all age groups agree ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 ≤ 2.5) that insufficient income is a source of poor marital relationship leading to marital breakdown. The finding suggests a relationship exists between insufficient income and marital breakdown.

- *Working mothers*

The perception that working mothers find it difficult to cope with the demands of marriage was generally agreed upon amongst respondents across all age groups ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 ≤ 2.5). However, respondents in the age category of 40 – 49, years comprising 24.0% of the sample population, were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.0). Despite this difference in response, it does not affect the perceptions of the remaining 74.0% who in fact confirm the finding that a relationship exists between the ability of working mothers to cope with the demands of marriage and marital breakdown.

- *Personality problems*

Generally respondents across all age groups perceive that personality problems are often a source of marital breakdown ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 ≤ 2.0). Despite this general agreement, respondents in the age category of 20 – 29, comprising 27.0% of the sample population, were slightly in lesser agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 ≥ 2.0) compared to their counterparts in the other age categories. However, this deviation in perception is not very significant from the general perception of respondents. The finding therefore suggests a significant relationship between personality problems and marital breakdown.

- *Sexual Issues*

Respondents across all age groups generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 ≤ 2.5) that matters concerning sex are often a source of argument and discord in a marriage, causing marital breakdown to occur. Despite this general agreement, respondents in the age category of 20 - 29 years, comprising 27.0% of the sample population were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 ≥ 2.5). Based on the response of the remaining 73.0% of the respondents who had a more definitive perception, it may be concluded that a significant relationship does exist between matters concerning sex in a marriage and marital breakdown.

- *Early marriages*

The perception that persons who marry young are prone to marital breakdown is not conclusive. Despite a general agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) amongst respondents across all age groups, respondents in the age category of 30 - 39 years, comprising 44.0% of the sample population, were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.5). This finding suggests that only 56.0% of the sample population were in agreement. Based on this finding it may be concluded that no significant relationship exists between early marriages and marital breakdown.

- *Communication*

Generally respondents across all age groups agree ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) that married couples who lack adequate communication with each other in a large family predispose them to marital breakdown. Despite this general perception, respondents in the age category of 30 – 39 years, comprising 44.0% of the sample population, were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.5). In view of such a large number of respondents being undecided, the finding that the lack of adequate communication between spouses leads to marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Childlessness*

Respondents generally agree ($\overline{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5) that the inability to have children makes married couples feel inadequate leading to marital breakdown. Despite this general perception amongst respondents, respondents in the age category of 20 – 29 years (29.0%), 40 – 49 years (24.0%) and those in the 50 – 59 (5.0%) years category were undecided ($\overline{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 2.7 ≥ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 2.7 ≥ 2.5) respectively. The total number of respondents with an undecided response constitute 58.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the finding that the inability to have children makes married couples feel inadequate leading to marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Sex for procreation*

The perception that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure often causes marital breakdown, was not conclusive for all age groups despite a general agreement ($\overline{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5) across age groups is evident. Respondents in the age category of 30 – 39 years (27.0%) and those in the 30 – 39 years age group (44.0%) were undecided with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 2.7 ≥ 2.5) respectively. Cumulatively, this constitutes 71.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the finding is not conclusive.

- *Women's liberation*

The perception that women's liberation is a cause of marital breakdown received little agreement ($\overline{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.5) amongst respondents across all age groups. Respondents in the age category of 30 – 39 years (44.0%) and those in the 40 – 49 year age group (24.0%) were undecided with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 3.1 ≥ 2.5) respectively. This constitutes 68.0% of the total sample population, suggesting strongly that the finding that a relationship exists between women's liberation and marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Birth of a baby*

Generally respondents across all age groups were undecided ($\overline{x}w$ 2.9 ≥ 2.5) in their perception that marital couples first experience marital discord once a baby is born, leading to marital breakdown. No major conclusion may be drawn from this finding in view of the large number of undecided responses.

- *Premarital sex*

Respondents in all age groups disagreed ($\overline{x}w$ 3.9 ≥ 2.5) that premarital sex is important for gaining experience which allows married couples greater marital stability. The finding suggests that premarital sex is a causal factor in marital breakdown.

7.3.3 Education and attitude towards the causes of marital breakdown

The attitude of respondents towards the causal factors leading to marital breakdown by education is presented in rank order in Table 7.3.3. A cursory examination of this Table indicates that infidelity and drug abuse was very strongly perceived ($\overline{x}w$ ≤1.5) to be a causal factor in marital breakdown compared to others. These and the remaining factors appearing in Table 7.3.3 will be analyzed in depth to ascertain whether the perception of respondents by educational level is consistent for all of the dependent variables.

- *Infidelity*

A very strong perception ($\overline{x}w$ 1.4 ≤ 1.5) exists amongst respondents across all educational categories that infidelity causes loss of trust and often causes marital breakdown. Despite this very strong perception, respondents with no schooling (2.0%), technical college level of education (15.0%) and with university levels of education (18.0%) perceived it to be less strongly with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.0 ≥ 1.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 1.7 ≥ 1.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 1.7 ≥ 1.5) respectively. Despite this variation in response, the overall

finding suggests strongly that a relationship exists between infidelity and marital breakdown.

Table 7.3.3 Distribution of responses to the causal factors leading to marital breakdown by education

Number	Causal factors leading to marital breakdown	$\overline{x}W$ Per educational category						
		No schooling	Primary school	Secondary school	Technical college	University	Other	Mean score
		N=2 2.0%	N=4 5.0%	N=47 59.0%	N=12 15.0%	N=14 18.0%	N=1 1.0%	N=80 100%
1	Infidelity	2.0	1.0	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.0	1.4
2	Drug abuse	2.0	1.0	1.6	1.5	2.3	1.0	1.5
3	Alcohol abuse	2.0	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.0	1.6
4	Religious differences	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.2	2.2	1.0	1.6
5	In-law interference	2.0	1.2	2.2	1.7	2.2	2.0	1.8
6	Personality problems	2.0	1.5	2.1	2.2	1.9	2.0	1.9
7	Insufficient income	2.0	2.2	2.3	1.5	2.3	2.0	2.0
8	Sexual issues	2.0	1.7	2.4	2.2	2.6	2.0	2.1
9	Communication	3.0	1.2	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.0	2.2
10	Personality change	2.0	1.5	2.2	1.9	4.2	2.0	2.3
11	Women's liberation	2.0	1.5	2.9	2.6	3.1	2.0	2.3
12	Birth of a baby	2.5	2.0	2.8	3.5	3.0	1.0	2.4
13	Early marriages	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.8	2.4	2.0	2.4
14	Working mothers	3.0	1.7	2.2	2.5	2.9	3.0	2.5
15	Childlessness	2.0	1.7	2.5	2.2	2.7	4.0	2.5
16	Sex for procreation	2.0	1.7	2.5	2.4	3.0	4.0	2.9
17	Premarital sex	4.0	3.5	4.0	3.7	3.9	4.0	3.8

- *Drug abuse*

A very strong perception ($\bar{x}w$ 1.5 $\leq$ 1.5) exists amongst respondents across all educational groups that drug abuse causes wife battering leading to marital breakdown. Despite this widely held perception, respondents with university levels of education (18.0%) held much lesser perceptions ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\geq$ 1.5) compared to respondents in other educational categories. However, this variation in response does not deviate from the generally held perception that a strong relationship exists between drug abuse and marital breakdown.

- *Alcohol abuse*

Generally respondents across all educational groups are in agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 1.6 $\leq$ 2.0) that when one or both spouses abuse alcohol marital breakdown results. Despite this perception, a small percentage (1.0%) of the respondents in the educational category of other (religious education only) expressed a much stronger perception ($\bar{x}w$ 1.0 $\leq$ 1.5) compared to respondents in the other educational categories. However, the finding strongly suggests a relationship exists between alcohol abuse and marital breakdown.

- *Religious differences*

Respondents in all educational categories perceived ($\bar{x}w$ 1.6 $\leq$ 2.0) that religious differences are always points of conflict with married couples leading to marital breakdown. However, respondents with no schooling and those in the educational category of other (religious education only), representing 2.0% and 1.0% of the sample population, respectively expressed a much stronger attitude ($\bar{x}w$ 1.0 $\leq$ 2.0). In addition, respondents with a technical levels of education (15.0%) and university levels of education (18.0%) felt less strongly with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 $\geq$ 2.0) respectively. Despite this variation in response, the findings suggest that a relationship exists between religious differences and marital breakdown.

- ***In-law interference***

A general agreement ($\bar{x}$w 1.8 ≤ 2.0) exists amongst respondents across all educational groups that in-laws tend to prescribe standards of behaviour for married couples thus causing marital breakdown. Despite this perception, respondents with secondary levels of education (59.0%) and university levels education (18.0%) held slightly lesser perceptions ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≥ 2.0) respectively compared to respondents in the other educational categories. Despite this difference, the responses do not deviate very significantly from the generally held perception that in-law interference is a causal factor in marital breakdown. The finding is therefore conclusive.

- ***Personality problems***

Generally respondents in all educational categories perceived ($\bar{x}$w 1.9 ≤ 2.0) that personality problems are often a source of marital breakdown. However, respondents with technical college levels of education (15.0%) held slightly lesser perceptions ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≥ 2.0) compared to respondents in other educational categories. Despite this difference, the responses do not deviate very significantly from the generally held perception, which supports the conclusion that a definite relationship exists between personality problems and marital breakdown.

- ***Insufficient income***

The perception that insufficient income is a source of poor marital relationships, leading to marital breakdown was widely agreed upon ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0) amongst respondents across all educational categories. However, respondents in the educational category of primary school (5.0%), secondary levels of education (59.0%) and university levels of education (18.0%) were in lesser agreement with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≥ 2.0), ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 ≥ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 ≥ 2.0) respectively. This constitutes 82.0% of the sample population. The minor variation in response does not deviate significantly from the generally held perception that a significant relationship exists between insufficient income and marital breakdown.

- *Sexual issues*

The perception that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure often causes marital breakdown was generally agreed upon ($\bar{x}w$ 2.1 ≤ 2.5) amongst respondents across all educational groups. However, respondents with university levels of education comprising 18.0% of the sample population were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.5). However, this variation in response does not affect significantly the perception held by the remaining 82.0% of respondents who perceive that when sex is regarded for procreation only to be a cause of marital breakdown. It may therefore be concluded that a significant relationship exists between the perception that when sex is considered for procreation only instead of pleasure and marital breakdown.

- *Communication*

Generally, respondents perceive ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 ≤ 2.5) that married couples who lack adequate communication with each other in a large family leads to marital breakdown. However, a small percentage of respondents (2.0%) in the educational category of no schooling were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 ≥ 2.5). This minor variation in response does not affect significantly the widely held perception amongst the remaining 98.0% of the respondents that inadequate communication is a cause of marital breakdown

- *Personality change*

Although general agreement exists ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 ≤ 2.5) amongst respondents across all educational categories that personality change after marriage is a causal factor in marital breakdown, responses are not altogether consistent for each of these educational categories. A total of 18.0% of the respondents with university levels of education disagreed ($\bar{x}w$ 4.2 ≥ 2.5) that personality change is a causal factor in marital breakdown. Despite this variation in response, 82.0% of the sample population

expressed a very definitive perception that after marriage changes in personality do occur leading to marital breakdown. This suggests that the finding is conclusive.

- *Women's liberation*

Women's liberation was perceived to be a causal factor in marital breakdown amongst respondents across all educational categories ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5). Despite this general agreement, some differences in perception are noted for those respondents with secondary school and university levels education. A total of 59% of the respondents with secondary level of education ($\bar{x}w$ 2.9 $\geq$ 2.5) and 18.0% with university levels of education were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 3.1 $\geq$ 2.5). This constitutes 77.0% of the total sample population, strongly suggesting that the finding that women's liberation causes marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Birth of a baby*

Respondents across all educational categories generally agree ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5) that married couples first experience marital discord once a baby is born, leading to marital breakdown. Despite this agreement, significant variations exist amongst respondents in the different educational categories. Respondents with secondary school education (59.0%), technical college education (15.0%) and university levels education (18.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}w$ 3.5 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. This constitutes 92.0% of the sample population, strongly suggesting that the finding is not conclusive.

- *Early marriages*

The perception that early marriage is a causal factor in marital breakdown is agreed upon by respondents across all educational categories with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5). Despite this general agreement, a variation in response is noted amongst respondents in the different educational categories. Respondents with no schooling (2.0%) and those with secondary level of education (59.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}w$ of 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5)

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and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 ≥ 2.5) respectively. This comprises 61.0% of the sample population suggesting that the perception that a relationship exists between early marriage and marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Working mothers*

A general agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all educational categories that working mothers find it difficult to cope with the demands of marriage thus contributing to marital breakdown. However, this perception is not conclusive since certain variations in response are noted for certain educational categories. Respondents with no schooling (2.0%), university levels of education (18.0%) and those in the educational category of other (1.0%) (religious education only) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 ≥ 2.5), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.9 ≥ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 ≥ 2.5) respectively. Cumulatively, respondents in these educational categories constitute 21.0% of the sample population. However, this difference in response rate, when compared to the remaining 79.0% of the sample population who hold more definitive perceptions, makes the finding conclusive that a relationship exists between the inability of working mothers to cope with the demands of marriage and marital breakdown.

- *Childlessness*

The perception that the inability to have children makes married couples feel inadequate, often causing a breakdown in marriage was agreed upon by respondents across all educational categories ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5). Despite this general agreement, variation in response is noted for certain educational categories. Respondents with university levels of education (18.0%) and those in the category of other (1.0%) perceived differently with the former being undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 ≥ 2.5) and the latter being in disagreement (4.0 ≥ 2.5). This constitutes 19.0% of the sample population. Despite this difference, it may be concluded that the remaining 81.0% of the sample population do perceive definitively that the inability to have children is a causal factor in marital breakdown.

- *Sex for procreation*

Respondents were generally undecided ($\overline{x}w$ 2.9 ≥ 2.5) across all educational categories in their perception that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure, it often causes marital breakdown. However respondents with secondary school (59.0%) and technical college level of education (15.0%) were in general agreement with an ($\overline{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 2.4 ≤ 2.5) respectively. In addition, much stronger responses are noted for those with no schooling (2.0%) and those with primary levels of education (5.0%) with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.0 ≤ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 1.7 ≤ 2.5) respectively. Only an insignificant 1.0% of the respondents in the educational category was in disagreement. The finding suggests that although an undecided response is recorded for respondents across all educational categories, within the different educational categories respondents do in fact perceive that sex for procreation only instead of pleasure is a causal factor in marital breakdown. This finding is considered to be conclusive.

- *Premarital sex*

A general disagreement ($\overline{x}w$ 3.8 ≥ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all educational categories that premarital sex is important for gaining experience which allows married couples greater marital stability. The finding strongly suggests that premarital sex is a causal factor in marital breakdown.

7.3.4 Occupation and attitude towards the causes of marital breakdown

The perception of respondents to the causes of marital breakdown by occupation is rank ordered in Table 7.3.4. It will be noted from the distribution, very strong perception ($\overline{x}w$ 1.5 ≤ 15) is expressed by respondents in so far as infidelity being a cause of marital breakdown. This, together with the other factors appearing in Table 7.3.4, will be analyzed to ascertain whether the responses are consistent for each of the occupational categories and whether a relationship exists between these factors and marital breakdown.

Table 7.3.4 Distribution of responses to the causal factors leading to marital breakdown by occupation

Number	Causal factors leading to marital breakdown	$\bar{x}$w By occupational category									
		Professional worker	Manager	Clerical worker	Skilled worker	Labourer	Self-employed	Unemployed	Semi-skilled	Other	Mean score
		N=20 25.0%	N=4 4.0%	N=14 18.0%	N=5 6.0%	N=2 3.0%	N=4 5.0%	N=20 25.0%	N=4 5.0%	N=7 9.0%	N=80 100%
1	Infidelity	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.7	1.4	2.0	1.1	1.5
2	Alcohol abuse	1.9	1.0	1.6	1.8	1.0	2.5	1.7	1.2	2.2	1.6
3	Drug abuse	2.1	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.0	2.7	1.6	1.0	2.0	1.6
4	Personality problems	2.2	2.0	2.2	1.8	2.0	2.2	1.4	1.2	1.7	1.8
5	Religious differences	2.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.2	1.8	1.2	1.5	1.9
6	In-law interference	2.2	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.5	3.0	2.0	1.2	2.4	1.9
7	Personality change	2.3	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.0	2.7	2.2	1.5	1.8	2.0
8	Working mothers	2.8	1.5	2.7	2.2	1.0	2.0	2.3	1.5	2.1	2.0
9	Insufficient income	2.4	1.7	2.5	3.0	1.0	2.7	2.3	2.0	2.0	2.1
10	Sexual issues	2.4	1.7	2.3	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.2
11	Childlessness	2.9	2.0	2.7	1.4	2.0	3.0	2.4	1.7	2.3	2.2
12	Communication	2.5	2.7	2.1	2.2	4.0	2.5	2.2	1.3	2.0	2.3
13	Sex for procreation	2.9	2.0	2.4	3.0	2.5	2.7	2.3	1.5	2.4	2.3
14	Women's liberation	3.1	2.2	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.0	2.6	2.0	2.5	2.4
15	Early marriages	2.7	3.0	2.5	2.6	1.5	2.7	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.4
16	Birth of a baby	3.3	2.5	3.6	1.6	4.5	3.2	3.9	3.2	3.2	3.2
17	Premarital sex	3.9	2.5	3.7	3.6	4.0	4.2	4.2	3.7	4.0	3.7

- *Infidelity*

A strong agreement ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 1.5) exists amongst respondents across all occupational groups in their perception that infidelity causes loss of trust and often causes marital breakdown. Despite this very strong agreement, a variation in

responses is noted for certain occupational categories. Those respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), manager (4.0%), self-employed (5.0%) and semi-skilled (5.0%) expressed slightly less strongly perceptions with a ($\bar{x}$w 1.8 ≥ 1.5), ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≥ 1.5), ($\bar{x}$w 1.7 ≥ 1.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≥ 1.5) respectively. However, these responses do not deviate very significantly from the general perception amongst respondents that infidelity is a causal factor in marital breakdown. The finding is therefore conclusive that a very strong relationship exists between infidelity and marital breakdown.

- *Alcohol abuse*

Generally respondents across all occupational categories ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 2.0) perceived that in a marriage situation when one or both spouses abuse alcohol marital breakdown is likely to result. However, respondents in the occupational category of self-employed (5.0%) and those in the occupational category of other (9.0%) perceived less strongly ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 ≥ 1.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≥ 1.5) respectively, compared to respondents in the other occupational groups. This difference in response, however does not deviate very significantly from the general finding that alcohol abuse is a causal factor in marital breakdown. The finding suggests that a definite relationship exists between alcohol abuse and marital breakdown.

- *Drug abuse*

Drug abuse is perceived by respondents across all occupational categories to cause wife battering leading to marital breakdown ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 2.0). A small percentage of respondents (5.0%) in the occupational category of self-employed were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.0). This small variation in response, however, does not affect the general finding that a definite relationship exists between drug abuse and marital breakdown.

- *Personality problems*

The perception that personality problems are often a source of marital breakdown was widely perceived by respondents across all occupational categories ($\bar{x}w$ 1.8 ≤ 2.0). Despite this general perception, respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), clerical worker (18.0%) and self-employed (5.0%) had a slightly lesser perception compared to respondents in the other occupational groups. A ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 ≥ 2.0) respectively is observed for each of the occupational categories mentioned above. It will be noted that these responses do not deviate very significantly from the general perception of respondents. It may therefore be concluded that a significant relationship exists between personality problems and marital breakdown.

- *Religious differences*

Respondents across all occupational groups generally agree ($\bar{x}w$ 1.9 ≤ 2.0) that religious differences are always a source of conflict with married couples leading to marital breakdown. However, 25.0% of the respondents in the occupational category of professional worker and 5.0% of respondents in the occupational category of seem-skilled worker were in lesser agreement with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 ≥ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 ≥ 2.0) respectively. In addition, 3.0% of the respondents in the occupational category of labourer were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 ≥ 2.0). These variations in response do not significantly affect the general finding that a definite relationship exists between religious differences amongst spouses and marital breakdown.

- *In-law interference*

The perception that in-laws tend to prescribe standards of behaviour for married couples thus causing marital breakdown was widely agreed upon by respondents across all occupational groups ($\bar{x}w$ 1.9 ≤ 2.0). However, it is observed that respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%) and those in the occupational category of other were in lesser agreement with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 ≥ 2.0) and

($\overline{x}$w 2.4 ≥ 2.0) respectively. In addition, a small percentage (5.0%) of the respondents in the occupational category of self-employed were undecided ($\overline{x}$w 3.0 ≥ 2.0). Although slight variations in response are noted, they do not affect the overall finding that a significant relationship exists between in-law interference and marital breakdown.

- *Personality change*

Respondents across all occupational groups generally perceived ($\overline{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0) that after marriage changes in personality do occur, disturbing marital relationships and causing breakdown. Despite this general perception, a variation in response is noted for respondents in certain occupational groups. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%) and those unemployed (25.0%) had lesser perceptions compared to respondents in other occupational categories. A response of ($\overline{x}$w 2.3 ≥ 2.0) and ($\overline{x}$w 2.2 ≥ 2.0) is noted, which does not deviate very significantly from the generally held perceptions by respondents across all occupational groups. An insignificantly small percentage (5.0%) of respondents in the occupational category of self-employed were undecided ($\overline{x}$w 3.7 ≥ 2.0). From the finding it may be concluded that a significant relationship exists between personality change after marriage and marital breakdown.

- *Working mothers*

A general agreement ($\overline{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0) exists amongst respondents across all occupational groups that working mothers find it difficult to cope with the demands of marriage. However, a deviation in response is noted for respondents in certain occupational groups which affects the general finding. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%) and clerical worker (18.0%) were undecided ($\overline{x}$w 2.8 ≥ 2.0) and ($\overline{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.0) respectively. This constitutes 43.0% of the total sample population. In addition, respondents in the occupational category of skilled worker (6.0%) and those unemployed (25.0%) were in lesser agreement with a ($\overline{x}$w 2.2 ≥ 2.0) and ($\overline{x}$w 2.3 ≥ 2.0) respectively. In view of a large

number of respondents being undecided, no major conclusions may be drawn from this finding.

- **Insufficient income**

Generally respondents across all occupational groups are in agreement $(\overline{x}w\ 2.1 \leq 2.5)$ that insufficient income is a source of poor marital relationship leading to breakdown. A small percentage of respondents in the occupational category of semi-skilled worker (6.0%) and those self-employed (5.0%) were undecided with a $(\overline{x}w\ 3.0 \geq 2.0)$ and $(\overline{x}w\ 2.7 \geq 2.0)$ respectively. This variation in response does not affect the conclusion that insufficient income is indeed a source of marital breakdown.

- **Sexual issues**

The perception that matters concerning sex are often a source of argument and discord in marriage was generally agreed upon amongst respondents across all occupational groups $(\overline{x}w\ 2.2 \leq 2.5)$. However, a small percentage (9.0%) of respondents in the occupational category of other were undecided $(\overline{x}w\ 2.7 \geq 2.5)$. Despite this minor variation in response, the finding suggests conclusively that a relationship exists between matters concerning sexual issues and marital breakdown

- **Childlessness**

Although general agreement $(\overline{x}w\ 2.2 \leq 2.5)$ exists amongst respondents across all occupational groups that the inability to have children makes married couples feel inadequate and often causes marital breakdown, this finding is not conclusive. Respondents in the occupational categories of professional worker (25.0%), clerical worker (18.0%) and those self-employed (5.0%) were undecided in their perception with a $(\overline{x}w\ 2.9 \geq 2.5)$, $(\overline{x}w\ 2.7 \geq 2.5)$ and $(\overline{x}w\ 3.0 \geq 2.5)$ respectively. This constitutes 48.0% of the total sample population with an undecided response. This suggests that the finding that childlessness is a causal factor in marital breakdown is not conclusive.

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- *Communication*

The perception that married couples lack adequate communication with each other in a large family causing marital breakdown was widely perceived ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) amongst respondents across all occupational groups, with minor variation in responses. Respondents in the occupational category of manager (4.0%) were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) and those in the occupational category of labourer (3.0%) expressed disagreement ($\bar{x}$w 4.0 $\geq$ 2.5). These differences in response are not significant enough to preclude the conclusion that a definite relationship does exist between lack of adequate communication amongst married couples and marital breakdown.

- *Sex for procreation*

Respondents across all occupational groups generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure, it often causes marital breakdown. Whilst a general agreement exists, respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), skilled worker (6.0%) and self-employed (5.0%) were undecided with ($\bar{x}$w 2.9 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. This constitutes 36.0% of the total sample population, which suggests that, the finding that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure is not conclusive as a causal factor in marital breakdown.

- *Women's liberation*

A general agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all occupational categories that women's liberation is a cause of marital breakdown. However, despite this general perception, a variation in response for certain occupational categories is noted. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), clerical worker (18.0%) and those unemployed (25.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 3.1 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively.

This comprises 68.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the finding that women's liberation is a causal factor in marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- **Early marriages**

The perception that persons who marry young are prone to marital breakdown was generally perceived ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5) by respondents across all occupational groups to be a causal factor in marital breakdown. However, the response for the different occupational categories is not conclusive. Professional workers constituting 25.0% of the sample population, manager (4.0%), skilled worker (6.0%) and self employed (5.0%) were undecided. A ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively is observed for the above-mentioned occupational groups. Cumulatively, this comprised 40.0% of the total sample population, suggesting that the finding is not conclusive that a relationship exists between early marriages and marital breakdown.

- **Birth of a baby**

A general response of indecisiveness ($\bar{x}w$ 3.2 $\geq$ 2.5) is observed for respondents in all occupational categories in their perception that married couples first experience marital discord once a baby is born, leading to marital breakdown. However, a small number of respondents (3.0%) in the occupational category of labourer disagreed ($\bar{x}w$ 4.5 $\geq$ 2.5), which has no significant effect on the general finding. In view of the general undecided response, no significant conclusion may be drawn from this finding.

- **Premarital sex**

The perception that premarital sex is important for gaining experience which allows married couples greater marital stability drew wide disagreement ($\bar{x}w$ 4.5 $\geq$ 2.5) amongst respondents across all occupational groups. An insignificant 4.0% of the respondents in the occupational category of manager, however expressed some

agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 ≤ 2.5). The finding suggests that a relationship does exist between premarital sex and marital breakdown.

7.3.5 Annual income and attitude towards the causes of marital breakdown

The perception of respondents to the causes of marital breakdown by income is rank ordered in Table 7.3.5. It will be noted from the distribution that a very strong perception ($\bar{x}$w ≤ 1.5) is expressed by respondents regarding infidelity and alcohol abuse as causal factors in marital breakdown. These, together with other causal factors appearing in Table 7.3.5 are analyzed in some detail to establish whether any relationship exist between and across income groups in respondent's perceptions of the causes of marital breakdown.

- *Infidelity*

A very strong agreement ($\bar{x}$w 1.3 ≤ 1.5) exists amongst respondents across all income groups that infidelity causes loss of trust and often causes marital breakdown. However, respondents in the income category of R45 000 and above per annum, comprising 21.0% of the sample population, perceived less strongly ($\bar{x}$w 2.1 ≥ 1.5) compared to respondents in the other income categories. The finding strongly suggests that a relationship exists between infidelity and marital breakdown.

- *Alcohol abuse*

Respondents across all income groups perceived very strongly ($\bar{x}$w 1.4 ≤ 1.5) that when one or both spouses abuse alcohol, marital breakdown is likely to result. Despite this very strong perception, differences are noted for respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%); R40 000 - R44 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) who perceived less strongly that alcohol abuse is a factor in marital breakdown. A ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 ≥ 1.5), ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≥ 1.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≥ 1.5) respectively is observed for the above-mentioned income groups. Despite this variation in response,

Table 7.3.5 Distribution of responses to the causal factors leading to marital breakdown by income

Number	Causal factors leading to marital breakdown	R2 499 and Less N=27 34.0% x̄w	R2 500 - R4 999 N=8 10% x̄w	R5 000 - R9 999 N=6 8.0% x̄w	R10 000 - R14 999 N=5 6.0% x̄w	R15 000 - R19 999 N=3 3.0% x̄w	R20 000 - R24 999 N=2 2.5% x̄w	R25 000 - R29 999 N=2 2.5% x̄w	R30 999 - R34 999 N=6 8.0% x̄w	R35 000 - R39 999 N=2 2.5% x̄w	R40 000 - R44 999 N=2 2.5% x̄w	R45 000 and above N=17 21% x̄w	Mean score N=80 100% x̄w
1	Infidelity	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.4	1.5	1.0	2.1	1.3
2	Alcohol abuse	1.7	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.8	2.5	2.0	2.4	1.4
3	Drug abuse	1.5	1.6	1.4	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.8	3.0	1.5	2.6	1.6
4	Personality change	2.2	2.1	1.7	1.4	1.7	1.5	2.0	2.2	3.0	1.5	2.5	1.9
5	Religious differences	1.7	1.2	1.2	1.8	1.4	2.5	3.5	1.8	3.0	1.0	2.5	1.9
6	Personality problems	2.1	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.5	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.3	1.9
7	In-law interference	2.1	1.7	1.9	1.6	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.2	3.0	1.5	2.5	2.0
8	Childlessness	2.3	2.6	1.9	1.8	2.4	2.5	3.0	2.4	3.5	2.0	2.9	2.4
9	Sex for procreation	2.4	1.6	2.9	2.2	2.0	2.0	3.5	2.2	4.0	2.0	2.6	2.4
10	Communication	2.0	1.7	1.7	2.0	1.4	3.5	1.5	3.2	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.4
11	Insufficient income	2.1	2.5	1.7	1.8	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.4	4.0	3.0	2.6	2.6
12	Sexual issues	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.8	1.7	2.0	3.0	2.5	3.5	3.5	3.2	2.6
13	Early marriages	2.3	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.7	3.0	3.0	2.4	4.0	3.0	3.2	2.6
14	Working mothers	2.1	2.6	1.9	2.0	2.4	4.0	3.5	2.4	4.0	3.5	2.1	2.7
15	Women's liberation	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.2	3.0	3.0	4.5	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.9	2.9
16	Birth of a baby	2.8	2.3	3.2	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.5	3.0	3.6	2.9
17	Premarital sex	3.2	3.7	3.3	3.4	4.4	4.0	4.5	3.7	4.5	4.0	3.7	3.8

it does not deviate significantly from the generally strong perception held amongst respondents that alcohol abuse is indeed a causal factor in marital breakdown.

- *Drug abuse*

A general agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 1.6 $\leq$ 2.0) exists across all income groups that drug abuse causes wife battering, leading to marital breakdown. However, a difference in perception is observed for respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) with a ($\bar{x}w$3.0 $\geq$ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.0) respectively, suggesting an undecided response. Cumulatively this comprises 23.5% of the total sample population. The finding suggests that whilst a significant number of respondents were undecided, the perceptions of the remaining 76.5% are significant in support of the conclusion that a relationship exists between drug abuse and marital breakdown.

- *Personality problems*

Respondents ($\bar{x}w$ 1.9 $\leq$ 2.0) across all income groups generally agree that personality problems are often a source of marital breakdown. However, respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R30 999 - R34 999 (6.0%), R35 000 - R39 999 (2.0%), R40 000 -R44 999 (2.0%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) were in lesser agreement with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.1 $\geq$ 2.0), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 $\geq$ 2.0), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 $\geq$ 2.0), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 $\geq$ 2.0), and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\geq$ 2.0) respectively for each of the income categories mentioned above. Cumulatively this comprises 61.0% of the sample population. Despite this variation in response, overall the finding suggests that a relationship exists between personality problems and marital breakdown.

- *Personality change*

The perception that personality change after marriage is a causal factor in marital breakdown is agreed upon by respondents across all income groups with a ($\bar{x}w$1.9 $\leq$ 2.0) except for 2.5% of the respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999 who are undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 $\geq$ 2.0). The relatively small sample size does not have any significant influence on the general finding. In addition, it is observed that 21.0% of the respondents in the income category of R45 000 and above were in lesser

agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 ≥ 2.0) than their counterparts in other income categories. However, this difference in response does not deviate significantly from the general perception that personality change after marriage is a causal factor in marital breakdown.

- **_Religious differences_**

Respondents across all income groups generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 1.9 ≤ 2.0) that religious differences are always a source of conflict with married couples leading to marital breakdown. Despite this generally held perception, respondents in the income category of R20 000 - R24 999 (2.0%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) were in lesser agreement with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 ≥ 2.0) respectively. This constitutes 23.0% of the total sample population. In addition, respondents in the income categories of R25 000 - R29 999 (2.0%) and R35 00 - R39 999 (2.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 3.5 ≥ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 ≥ 2.0) respectively. It becomes evident from the finding that despite minor variation in responses, the general perception that religious differences is a source of conflict with married couples leading to marital breakdown is conclusive.

- **_In-law interference_**

A general agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all income groups that in-laws tend to prescribe standards of behaviour for married couples often causing marital breakdown. However, with the exception of 2.5% of the respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999, a response of undecided ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 ≥ 2.0) is noted. The relatively small sample size does not make any difference to the general perception that a relationship does exist between in-law interference and marital breakdown.

- **_Communication_**

The perception that married couples lack adequate communication with each other in a large family causing marital breakdown is generally agreed upon amongst

respondents across all income groups ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) with variations in responses being noted for certain income groups. Respondents in the income category of R20 000 - R24 999 (2.5%), R30 999 - R34 999 (8.0%), R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 (21.0%) and above were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 3.5 ≥ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.2 ≥ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 ≥ 2.5), and ($\bar{x}$w 2.9 ≥ 2.5) respectively. Cumulatively, the undecided responses constitute 34.0% of the sample population. It may be concluded that despite a general agreement that communication is a causal factor in marital breakdown, only two thirds (66.0%) of the sample population are in full agreement.

- *Childlessness*

A general agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all income groups that the inability to have children makes married couples feel inadequate and often causes breakdown in marriage. Despite this perception, variation in response is observed for certain income groups. Respondents in the R25 000 - R29 999 (2.5%), R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 ≥ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.5 ≥ 2.5), and ($\bar{x}$w 2.9 ≥ 2.5) respectively. Cumulatively this constitutes 26.0% of the sample population with an undecided response. The findings, however, suggest that the remaining 74.0% of the sample population are in general agreement, confirming that a significant relationship exits between childlessness and marital breakdown.

- *Sex for procreation*

The perception that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure, often leads to marital breakdown is agreed upon ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) amongst respondents across all income groups with minor variation in response for certain income categories. Respondents in the income category of R5000 - R9 999 (8.0%) and R25 000 - R29 999 (2.5%), R45 000 and above (21.0%), constituting 31.5% of the sample population, were undecided. An insignificant 2.5% of the sample population in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999 disagreed that sex for procreation instead of pleasure is a causal factor in marital breakdown. In view of the

large number of respondents being undecided, the perception that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure is not conclusive.

- *Sexual issues*

Respondents were generally undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) in their perception that matters concerning sex are often a source of argument and discord in marriage leading to marital breakdown. Despite a general undecided response from respondents, it is observed that those in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R2 500 - R4 999 (8.0%), R5 000 - R9 999 (6.0%), R15 000 - R19 999 (3.0%), R20 000 - R24 999 (2.0%) and R30 000 - R34 999 (6.0%) agree ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) in varying degrees. This constitutes 59.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the finding is not conclusive that a relationship exists between arguments over sexual issues amongst spouses and marital breakdown.

- *Early marriages*

Generally respondents were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) in their perception that persons who marry young are prone to marital breakdown. Despite this, respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R2 500 - R4 999 (8.0%), R5 000 - R9 999 (6.0%), R10 000 - R14 999 (3.0%) and R30 000 - R34 999 (6.0) constituting 57.0% of the sample population expressed their perceptions in varying levels of agreement ($\bar{x}$w 1.9 $\leq$ 2.5). This strongly suggests that the finding that persons who marry young are prone to marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Insufficient income*

The perception that insufficient income is a source of poor marital relationships leading to marital breakdown was perceived with indecisiveness ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) by respondents across all income groups. Despite this generally undecided response, variation in responses between income groups is observed. Respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R2 500 - R4 999 (8.0%), R5 000 - R9 999

(6.0%), R10 00 - R14 999 (5.0%), R15 000 - R19 999 (3.0%) and R30 000 - R34 999 (6.0%) comprising (62.0%) of the total sample population were in general agreement with varying degrees of responses ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5). In addition, respondents in the income category of R20 000 - R24 999 (2.5%) and R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%), constituting 5.0% of the sample population, were in disagreement ($\bar{x}$w 4.0 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. This major variation in response for the different income groups strongly suggests that the finding that insufficient income is a source of poor marital relationship leading to marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Working mothers*

Respondents across all income groups were generally undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) in their perception that working mothers find it difficult to cope with the demands of marriage, leading to marital breakdown. However, a variation in response is noted for respondents in certain income categories. Respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R5000 - R9 999 (6.0%), R10 000 - R14 999 (5.0%), R15 000 - R19 999 (3.0%), R30 000 - R34 999 (6.0%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%), constituting 75.0% of the sample population, were in agreement, but with varying degrees of responses ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5). The finding suggests that a relationship exists between the inability of working mothers to cope with the demands of marriage and marital breakdown.

- *Women's liberation*

A ($\bar{x}$w 2.9 $\geq$ 2.5) across all income groups suggests that respondents are generally undecided in their perception that marriages are experiencing breakdown because of women's liberation. However, respondents in the income category of R5 000 - R9 999 (8.0%); R10 000 - R14 999 (6.0%) and R30 000 - R39 999 (8.0%), constituting 22.0% of the sample population, were in agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 $\leq$ 2.5) that women's liberation is in fact a causal factor in marital breakdown. It may be concluded from the finding that no significant relationships exist between women's liberation and marital breakdown.

- *Birth of a baby*

Respondents across all income groups were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.9 $\geq$ 2.5) in their perception that married couples first experience marital discord once a baby is born, leading to marital breakdown. Despite this perception, it is observed that respondents in the income category of R2 500 – R4 999 (10.0%), R20 000 – R24 999 (2.5%) and R25 000 – R29 999 (2.5%), comprised of 15.0% of the sample population, do in fact perceive ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 $\leq$ 2.5) that the birth of a baby leads to marital breakdown. This difference in perception, however, suggests that the finding is not conclusive.

- *Premarital sex*

The perception that premarital sex is important for gaining experience which allows couples greater marital stability was viewed with disagreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.9 $\geq$ 2.5) by respondents across all income groups. Despite this perception, respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R5 000 – R9 999 (8.0%) and R10 000 – R14 999 (6.0%), remained undecided. Cumulatively, this constitutes 48.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the finding that premarital sex leads to marital breakdown is not conclusive.

7.4 Part Three: Role enactment and marital stability

In this section the effects of role enactment on marital stability is analyzed. The ability to fulfil marital roles is analyzed against the independent variables gender, age, education, occupation and income. The purpose of this analysis is to establish whether the ability to enact marital role is consistent within the five independent variables mentioned earlier.

7.4.1 Gender and attitude towards role enactment and marital stability

In Table 7.4.1 the perception of respondents by gender is rank ordered. It will be noted that the perception of respondents could hardly be considered to be strong ($\bar{x}$w

≤ 1.5). In fact, the mean scores in this Table range from ($\bar{x}$w 2.2) to ($\bar{x}$w 3.4), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these role factors will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any gender relationships exists amongst respondents in their perception of role enactment and the causes of marital breakdown.

Table 7.4.1 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards role enactment and marital stability by gender

Number	Role enactment and marital stability	$\bar{x}$W By gender		
		Male	Female	Mean score
		N=37 46.3%	N=43 53.7%	N=80 100%
1	Marriage and status enhancement	2.0	2.4	2.2
2	Stereotyped marital roles	2.4	2.0	2.3
3	Role differentiation	2.4	2.4	2.4
4	Family background and role preparation	2.6	2.2	2.4
5	Role reversal	2.6	2.2	2.5
6	Domestic role of women and work	2.7	2.5	2.6
7	Role fulfillment by working mothers	2.5	3.1	2.8
8	Male dominance	3.5	3.4	3.4

- *Marriage and status enhancement*

Generally, respondents perceive that being married adds a new status in life thus strengthening marital relationships. This is supported by a ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 $\le$ 2.5). Despite this agreement, a difference in perception is observed for both male and female respondents. Male respondents tended to hold a much stronger ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 $\le$ 1.5) perception than their female counterparts ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 $\ge$ 2.0), suggesting that male

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respondents are more inclined to concern themselves with the new status brought about by marriage.

- *Stereotyped marital roles*

Respondents generally perceive ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 ≤ 2.5) that married couples experience difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and attempts at retaining their individuality causes marital breakdown. Despite this general agreement amongst respondents, variations in responses for males and females are observed. Female respondents agreed more strongly ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.5) than their male counterparts ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5). The finding suggests that females are more likely to hold stronger perceptions on stereotyped marital roles compared to males.

- *Role differentiation*

A insignificant ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) perception is observed amongst respondents on the problem of married couple's ability to differentiate between the different roles they have to fulfil, thus causing discrepancies in role expectations by their spouses. In fact, a ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) is observed for both male and female respondents. The finding suggests that role differentiation amongst respondents could hardly be considered as a cause of marital breakdown.

- *Family background and role preparation*

There was not a very strong perception ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) amongst respondents in their attitude that married couples who come from broken homes experience difficulty in adjusting to married life. However, variance in perception is observed for both male and female respondents. Female respondents perceived much strongly ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≤ 2.5) compared to their male counterparts ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.5) that married couples coming from broken homes are more likely to experience difficulty in adjusting to married life. The finding suggests that the perception that married couples from broken homes have difficulty in adjusting to married life is not conclusive.

- *Role reversal*

Generally, a weak ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) perception was held amongst the respondents that after marriage spouses tend to revert to the roles they used to play when single, thus breaking down marriage relationships. Despite this perception, significant differences are observed between male and female respondents. Female respondents felt more strongly ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 $\leq$ 2.5) compared to the male respondents ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) that spouses revert to the roles they used to play when single, thus causing a breakdown in the marital relationship. The finding suggests that the perception of role reversal after marriage and marital breakdown is not conclusive.

- *Domestic role of women and work*

The response as to whether husbands felt that the women's place is in the home and her insistence to work outside of it leads to marital breakdown received little agreement amongst respondents ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5). Male responses were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5), whilst females responded more definitively ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5). This difference in finding suggests that there is not an overwhelming support for the conclusion that the women's place is in the home and that her insistence on working outside of it leads to marital breakdown.

- *Role fulfilment by working mothers*

The perception that mothers have too many roles to fulfil and tend to neglect their families, causing marital breakdown was viewed with indecision ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5). Males had a more definitive ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) response than the female respondents who were largely undecided ($\bar{x}$w 3.1 $\geq$ 2.5). The difference in responses suggests that the above perception is inconclusive.

- *Male dominance*

Generally respondents were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 3.4 $\geq$ 2.5) as to whether the male partner

should play a dominant role in the marriage for marital harmony. Very little difference in perception is observed between male ($\overline{x}$w $3.5 \le 3.5$) and female ($\overline{x}$w $3.4 \le 3.5$) respondents. Due to the overwhelmingly high undecided responses from both male and female respondents, no significant conclusions may be drawn from the finding.

7.4.2   Age and attitude towards role enactment and marital stability

In Table 7.4.2 the perception of respondents by age is rank ordered. It will be noted that the perception of respondents could hardly be considered strong ($\overline{x}$w ≤ 1.5).   In fact, the mean scores in this Table range from ($\overline{x}$w 2.0) to ($\overline{x}$w 2.8), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these role factors will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any relationships between age groups exist amongst respondents in their perception of role enactment and the causes of marital breakdown.

- *Stereotyped marital roles*

Strong perception ($\overline{x}$w $2.0 \le 2.0$) exist amongst respondents across all age group that married couples experience difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and attempts at retaining their individuality causes marital breakdown. However, respondents in the age category of 30 -39 (44.0%) years and 40 - 49 (24.0%) years perceived less strongly that the acceptance of stereotyped marital roles and attempts at retaining individuality is a causal factor in marital breakdown. A response of ($\overline{x}$w $2.4 \le 2.5$) and ($\overline{x}$w $2.3 \le 2.5$) respectively is observed for the above-mentioned age categories.   The finding suggests that despite a generally strong perception amongst respondents, variations in perception do exist between age groups.   It may be concluded that the above perception cannot be considered conclusive due to variations in perception by age.

Table 7.4.2 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards role enactment and marital stability by age

Number	Role enactment and marital stability	$\bar{x}$W Age					
		15 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	Mean score
		N=0 0%	N=22 27.0%	N=35 44.0%	N=19 24.0%	N=4 5.0%	N=80 100%
1	Stereotyped marital roles		2.0	2.4	2.3	1.7	2.0
2	Role differentiation		2.2	2.4	2.3	2.0	2.2
3	Role reversal		2.4	2.4	2.3	1.7	2.2
4	Marriage and status enhancement		1.9	2.2	2.4	2.7	2.3
5	Domestic role of women and work		2.7	2.4	2.7	2.5	2.5
6	Role fulfillment by working mothers		2.7	2.9	2.8	2.0	2.6
7	Family background and role		3.0	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.7
8	Male dominance		3.1	3.3	3.1	2.0	2.8

- *Role Differentiation*

General agreement ($\bar{x}$w $2.2 \le 2.5$) exists amongst respondents across all age groups that married couples have a problem in differentiating between the different roles they have to fulfil, causing discrepancies in role expectations, leading to marital breakdown. However, respondents in the age category of 50 - 59 years (5.0%) perceived more strongly ($\bar{x}$w $2.0 \le 2.5$), as compared to their counterparts in the other age categories. The relatively small sample size does not make any significant conclusion possible. The finding suggests a relationship between the inability of married couples to differentiate between the different roles they have to fulfil, coupled with discrepancies in role expectations and marital breakdown.

- *Role reversal*

Respondents ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 $\leq$ 2.5) across all age groups generally agreed that after marriage spouses tend to revert to the roles they used to play when single, causing marital breakdown. However, respondents in the age category of 50 - 59 years (5.0%) perceived more strongly ($\bar{x}$w 1.7 $\leq$ 2.0) as compared to their counterparts in the other age categories. The relatively small sample size does not make any significant conclusion possible. The finding suggests a relationship between spouse's tendency to revert to the roles they used to play when single and marital breakdown.

- *Marriage and status enhancement*

General agreement exists ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) amongst respondents across all age categories that being married adds a new status in the life of married couples and enhances marriage bonds. However, respondents in the age category of 50 - 59 years, constituting 5.0% of the sample population, were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5). The relatively small sample size does not make any significant conclusion possible. It is further observed that respondents in the age category of 20 - 29 years, constituting 27.0% of the sample population, perceived strongly ($\bar{x}$w 1.9 $\leq$ 2.5) that being married adds a new status in the life of the married couples which enhances marital bonds, compared to their counterparts in the other age categories. The finding suggests that despite the existence of general agreement, differences in perception do exist between the different age groupings.

- *Domestic role of women and work*

Respondents across all age categories generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) that husbands feel that the woman's role is in the home and that her insistence on working outside of it causes discord, leading to marital breakdown. Despite this general agreement, respondents in the age category of 20 - 29 years (27.0%) and 40 - 49 years (24.0%) were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5). Cumulatively this constitutes 51.0% of the sample

population suggesting that the finding is not consistent for all age groups. It may be concluded that this is not conclusive.

- *Role fulfilment by working mothers*

A general response of undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) is observed amongst respondents across all age categories that working mothers have too many roles to fulfil and that they tend to neglect their families, causing marital breakdown. Despite this, respondents in the age category of 50 - 59 years, constituting 5.0% of the sample population, responded more definitively ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 $\leq$ 2.5). The relatively small sample size does not make any significant conclusion possible. However, the finding is not conclusive on the relationship between working mothers having too many roles to fulfil, neglect of their families and marital breakdown due to the high rate of undecided responses across all age groups.

- *Family background and role preparation*

Respondents across all age categories were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) on the perception that married couples who come from broken homes have difficulty adjusting to married life. However, 5.0% of the respondents in the age category of 50 - 59 years were in agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5). The relatively small sample size of respondents in this age category makes no significant conclusion possible. However, it may be concluded from the finding that due to the overwhelmingly high numbers of respondents who were undecided, no significant relationship exists on the above perception and marital breakdown.

- *Male dominance*

Generally, respondents across all age groups perceived indecisively ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5) that the man should play a dominant role in the marriage for marital harmony. However, an insignificantly small percentage (5.0%) of the respondents in the age category of 50 -59 years were in agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5). It may be concluded from

the finding that no relationship exists between this perception and marital breakdown. The overwhelmingly high undecided response makes the finding inconclusive.

7.4.3 Education and attitude towards role enactment and marital stability

In Table 7.4.3 the perception of respondents by education is rank ordered. It will be noted that the perception of respondents could hardly be considered as being very strong ($\bar{x}$w ≤ 1.5). In fact, the mean scores in this Table range from ($\bar{x}$w 1.9) to ($\bar{x}$w 2.8), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these role factors will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any relationships exist between the educational of respondents in their perception of role enactment and the causes of marital breakdown.

- *Marriage and status enhancement*

There is general agreement ($\bar{x}$w $1.9 \leq 2.5$) amongst respondents across all educational groups that being married adds a new status in the life of married couples which enhances the marital bond. Despite this perception, respondents with no schooling, comprising of 2.0% of the sample population, felt very strongly ($\bar{x}$w $1.0 \leq 1.5$) that the new status brought about by marriage do in fact enhance marital bonds. This definitive response does not make it possible to make any significant conclusion due to the relatively small sample size. However, the finding suggests a strong relationship between the perception that marriage adds a new status in the life of married couples, enhancing marital bonds and marital stability.

- *Stereotyped marital roles*

Respondents across all educational levels generally agree ($\bar{x}$w $1.9 \leq 2.5$) that couples who have difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and their attempts at retaining individuality causes marital breakdown. A small number of respondents (2.0%) in the educational category of no schooling had much stronger perceptions ($\bar{x}$w $1.0 \leq 1.5$)

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compared to their counterparts in other educational categories. The relatively small sample of respondents does not make any firm conclusion possible. However, the finding generally suggests a relationship between married couple's inability to accept stereotyped roles and their attempts at retaining individuality to be a cause of marital breakdown.

Table 7.4.3 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards role enactment and marital stability by education

Role enactment and Marital stability	1. Marriage and status enhancement	2. Stereotyped marital roles	3. Domestic role of women and work	4. Role differentiation	5. Role fulfilment by working mothers	6. Role reversal	7. Family background and role preparation	8. Male dominance
Mean score N=80 100%	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.8
$\bar{x}w$ Other N=1 1.0%	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
$\bar{x}w$ University N=14 18.0%	2.3	2.2	2.6	2.3	3.1	2.3	2.4	3.4
$\bar{x}w$ Technical college N=12 15.0%	1.8	2.2	2.8	2.3	2.8	2.5	3.2	3.7
$\bar{x}w$ Secondary school N=47 59.0%	2.4	2.3	2.6	2.3	2.8	2.4	2.8	2.9
$\bar{x}w$ Primary school N=4 5.0%	2.0	1.7	1.2	2.0	2.2	1.7	2.2	4.0
$\bar{x}w$ No schooling N=2 2.0%	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.0

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- *Domestic role of women and work*

A general agreement exists ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 $\leq$ 2.0) amongst respondents across all educational levels that husbands generally feel that the woman's role is in the home and that her insistence on working outside of it causes discord, leading to marital breakdown. Despite this definitive response, variation in response is observed for respondents in the different educational levels. Primary school respondents, constituting 59.0% of the sample population, and respondents with university levels of education (18.0%) bordered on undecided with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. Cumulatively this constitutes 77.0% of the sample population. A further observation is that 15.0% of the respondents with technical college level of education were undecided with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5). In addition, very strong perceptions are noted for respondents with no schooling (2.0%) and primary level education (5.0%) with a ($\bar{x}w$ 1.0 $\leq$ 1.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 1.0 $\leq$ 1.5) respectively. The finding suggests that the perception that husbands generally feel that the woman's role is in the home and her insistence on working outside of it causes discord, leading to marital breakdown is not conclusive. The high-undecided response rate makes no significant conclusion possible.

- *Role differentiation*

Respondents across all educational levels perceived definitively ($\bar{x}w$ 2.1 $\leq$ 2.5) that the inability of married couples to differentiate between the different roles they have to fulfil and the ensuing discrepancy in the role expectations of their spouse, is a causal factor in marital breakdown. This finding is consistent for all educational categories and it may be concluded that the inability for married couples to differentiate between the different roles they have to fulfil and the ensuing role expectations of their spouse, is a causal factor in marital breakdown.

- *Role fulfilment by working mothers*

A ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) response from respondents across all educational categories suggests that working mothers who have too many roles to fulfil, tend to neglect their

families causing marital breakdown enjoy some agreement. Despite this general agreement, variances in response for certain educational categories is observed. Respondents with secondary school education (59.0%), technical college level (15.0%) and university levels education (18.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5); ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.1 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. Cumulatively, this constitutes 92.0% of the sample population. The finding suggests that despite general agreement across all educational groups, it is not altogether conclusive that working mothers who have too many roles to fulfil tend to neglect their families causing marital breakdown.

- *Role reversal*

A general agreement exists ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) amongst respondents across all educational levels that spouses who tend to revert to the roles they used to play when single are predisposed to marital breakdown. A small percentage (1.0%) of respondents in the educational category of other (religious education) was undecided ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5). The small sample population makes any conclusion insignificant. However, generally the finding suggests that a relationship exists between role reversal and marital breakdown.

- *Family background and role preparation*

General agreement exists ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5) amongst respondents across all educational categories that married couples who come from broken homes have difficulty adjusting to married life. Despite this definitive perception, differences are observed for respondents in the different educational groupings. Respondents with secondary school (59.0%) and technical college (15.0%) education expressed indecision with an ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.2 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. Cumulatively, this constitutes 74.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the findings are not conclusive.

- *Male dominance*

Generally respondents were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5) across all educational levels that for marital harmony, the man should play a dominant role in the marriage. A small number of respondents in the educational category of no schooling (2.0%) and in the category of other (1.0%) (religious education only), constituting 3.0% of the sample population, expressed some agreement with a response of ($\bar{x}w$ 1.0 $\leq$ 1.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 $\leq$ 2.0). In addition, 5.0% of respondents in the educational category of primary school expressed disagreement ($\bar{x}w$ 4.0 $\geq$ 4.0). Despite this difference, almost 90.0% of the respondents were undecided, and consequently, no major conclusion could be drawn on the perception that the man should play a dominant role in the marriage for marital harmony.

7.4.4 Occupation and attitudes towards role enactment and marital stability

In Table 7.4.4 the perception of respondents by occupation is rank ordered. It will be noted that the perception of respondents could hardly be considered as being very strong ($\bar{x}w$ $\leq$ 1.5). In fact, the mean scores in this Table range from ($\bar{x}w$ 2.1) to ($\bar{x}w$ 2.9), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these role factors will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any relationships between occupational status exist amongst respondents in their perception of role enactment and the causes of marital breakdown.

- *Marriage and status enhancement*

Respondents generally agreed ($\bar{x}w$ 2.1 $\leq$ 2.5) across all occupational groups that being married adds a new status to the life of married couples, thus strengthening the marriage bond. Despite this definitive response, certain variation in responses is observed. Respondents in the occupational category of other (9.0%) (those in receipt of state grants and pensions) held much stronger perceptions ($\bar{x}w$ 1.5 $\leq$ 1.5) compared to their counterparts in other occupational categories. However, the small sample size

does not make it possible to make any significant conclusion. The finding suggests that a relationship exist on being married and the new status it accords married couples and marital stability.

Table 7.4.4 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards role enactment and marital stability by occupation

Role enactment and marital stability	Marriage and status enhancement	Stereotyped marital roles	Role reversal	Role differentiation	Domestic role of women and work	Role fulfilment by working mothers	Family background and role preparation	Male dominance
Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
$\bar{x}w$ Professional worker N=20 25.0%	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.8	3.3	3.0	3.7
$\bar{x}w$ Manager N=4 5.0%	2.2	2	1.5	1.7	2.5	1.5	2.5	3.2
$\bar{x}w$ Clerical worker N=14 18.0%	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.0
$\bar{x}w$ Skilled worker N=5 6.0%	2.0	2.6	2.2	2.0	3.2	1.6	2.2	3.4
$\bar{x}w$ Labourer N=2 3.0%	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.5	1.5	3.0	3.0	2.0
$\bar{x}w$ Self-employed N=4 5.0%	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.5	3.0	3.5	2.5
$\bar{x}w$ Unemployed N=20 25.0%	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.5	3.0
$\bar{x}w$ Semi-skilled N=4 5.0%	1.5	1.5	2.7	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.7	3.7
$\bar{x}w$ Other N=7 9.0%	2.1	1.7	3.0	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.8	2.0
Mean score N=80 100%	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.9

- *Stereotyped marital roles*

The perception that married couples generally have difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and their attempts at retaining individuality causes marital breakdown was generally agreed upon by respondents across all occupational groups ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≤ 2.5). However, a much stronger perception is noted for those respondents in the occupational category of semi-skilled (5.0%) and those classified in the category of other (9.0%) (respondents in receipt of state grants and pensions), compared to respondents in other occupational categories. This is supported by ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 1.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 1.7 ≤ 2.0) respectively. A small percentage (6.0%) of respondents in the occupational category of skilled worker bordered on undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.5). Despite this minor variation in response, the majority of the respondents perceives that stereotyped marital roles is a causal factor in marital breakdown. From the finding it may be concluded that a significant relationship exists between the inability of accepting stereotyped roles by respondents in an attempt to retain individuality and marital breakdown.

- *Role differentiation*

The perception that married couples experience problems in differentiating between the different roles they have to fulfil, thus causing a discrepancy in the role expectations of the spouse, was widely agreed upon by respondents across all occupation groups ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≤ 2.5). Respondents in the occupational category of manager, comprising 5.0% of the sample population, however felt slightly stronger than their counterparts in the other occupational groups with a ($\bar{x}$w 1.7 ≤ 2.2). However, the finding suggests a relationship between the inability of married couples to differentiate between the roles they have to fulfil coupled with discrepancies in role expectations and marital breakdown.

- *Role reversal*

Respondents across all income categories generally agreed ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 $\leq$ 2.5) that married couples tend to revert to roles they are accustomed to when single thus harming marital stability. However, respondents in the occupational categories of semi-skilled (5.0%) and other (9.0%) (those in receipt of state pensions and grants) constituting 14.0% of the sample population, were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. Despite these differences in perception, the overall finding, however, suggests a significant relationship exists across all occupational categories that role reversal after marriage is a causal factor in marital breakdown.

- *Role fulfilment by working mothers*

The perception that working mothers have too many roles to fulfil and tend to neglect their families, thus causing breakdown was not consistent amongst respondents in all occupational categories. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), clerical worker (18.0%), labourer (3.0%), self-employed (5.0%) and semi-skilled (5.0%) were undecided, with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.2 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. The above constitutes 51.0% of the sample population. In light of such a large percentage of the sample population being undecided, it becomes impossible to make any significant conclusion from the finding.

- *Domestic role of women and work*

Generally respondents agree ($\bar{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) that husbands are likely to feel that the woman's role is in the home and her insistence on working outside of it causes discord, leading to marital breakdown. This finding, however, is not altogether conclusive in view of a large number of respondents who had been undecided. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), clerical worker (18.0%), skilled worker (6.0%), and self-employed (5.0%) responded with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.1 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.2 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.5 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. These

responses constitute 54.0% of the sample population who had an undecided response. The finding suggests that the perception that husbands generally feel that the woman's role is in the home and her insistence on working outside of it causes discord, leading to marital breakdown, is inconclusive.

- *Family background and role preparation*

The perception across all occupational groups that married couples who come from broken homes have difficulty adjusting to married life is not conclusive. This is supported by a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.8 ≥ 2.5) suggesting that respondents across all occupational groups were undecided. Despite this general undecided response rate, respondents in the occupational categories of manager (5.0%), skilled worker (6.0%) and those unemployed (25.0%) were in agreement with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 2.2 ≤ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5) respectively. This constitutes 36.0% of the sample population. The finding suggests that the perception that married couples who come form broken homes have difficulty adjusting to married life is not conclusive.

- *Male dominance*

Male dominance for marital harmony was generally perceived with indecision ($\overline{x}w$ 2.8 ≥ 2.5) amongst respondents across all occupational groups. However, respondents in the occupational category of labourer (3.0%), self-employed (5.0%) and other (9.0%) (those who are in receipt of state grants and pensions), constituting 17.0% of the sample population, were in agreement with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.0 ≤ 2.0), ($\overline{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5) and (2.0 ≤ 2.0). The relatively small sample size does not make it possible to draw any significant conclusion. However, it may be concluded that due to the high undecided response rate, the above perception is not conclusive.

7.4.5 Annual income and attitude towards role enactment and marital stability

In Table 7.4.5 the perception of respondents by occupation is rank ordered. It will be noted that the perception of respondents could hardly be considered as being very

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strong ($\overline{x}w \leq 1.5$). In fact, the mean scores in this Table range from ($\overline{x}w$ 2.1) to ($\overline{x}w$ 3.4), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these role factors will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any relationships exist between the income level of respondents in their perception of role enactment and the causes of marital breakdown.

- *Role reversal*

A general agreement ($\overline{x}w$ 2.1 $\leq$ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all income categories that after marriage spouses tend to revert to the roles they used to play when single, thus breaking down marital relationships. Despite this definitive response, respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%) and R40 000 - R44 999 (2.5%) comprising 39.0% of the sample population were undecided with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. The large number of undecided respondents suggests that the finding that spouses tend to revert to the roles they used to play when single, causing marital breakdown, is inconclusive.

- *Stereotyped marital roles*

The perception that married couples have difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and their attempts at retaining individuality causes marital breakdown was generally agreed upon by respondents across all income groups ($\overline{x}w$ 2.1 $\leq$ 2.5). However, a small percentage of respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%) and R40 000 - R44 999 were undecided with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. This difference does not affect the finding for the majority of the sample population who perceived that married couples have difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and their attempts at retaining individuality causes marital breakdown. The finding is therefore significant.

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Table 7.4.5 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards role enactment and marital stability by income

Number	Role enactment and marital stability	x̄w R2 499 and Less N=27 34.0%	x̄w R2 500 – R4 999 N=8 10.0%	x̄w R5 000 – R9 999 N=6 8.0%	x̄w R10 000 – R14 999 N=5 6.0%	x̄w R15 000 – R19 999 N=3 3.0%	x̄w R20 000 – R24 999 N=2 2.5%	x̄w R25 000 – R29 999 N=2 2.5%	x̄w R30 999 – R34 999 N=6 8.0%	x̄w R35 000 – R39 999 N=2 2.5%	x̄w R40 000 - R44 999 N=2 2.5%	x̄w R45 00 and above N=17 21.0%	Mean Score N=80 100%
1	Role reversal	2.7	1.7	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.5	1.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.4	2.1
2	Stereotyped marital roles	2.2	1.9	1.8	2.0	1.7	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.8	3.0	2.5	2.2
3	Role differentiation	2.3	2.0	2.2	1.6	1.4	2.0	3.0	2.2	3.0	3.0	2.6	2.3
4	Marriage and status enhancement	1.8	2.6	2.2	2.4	4.0	1.5	1.5	2.8	2.0	3.0	2.3	2.3
5	Domestic role of women and work	2.5	2.1	2.4	1.6	2.0	4.0	3.0	2.4	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.6
6	Family background and role preparation	2.8	2.1	2.8	2.2	3.0	3.5	3.0	2.8	3.0	2.5	2.9	2.7
7	Role fulfilment by working mother s	2.4	2.3	2.4	3.2	2.7	4.0	4.5	2.7	4.0	3.0	3.2	3.1
8	Male dominance	2.6	3.7	2.8	3.4	3.3	3.0	4.0	2.7	4.0	4.5	3.4	3.4

- *Role differentiation*

A general agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all income categories that married couples experience problems in differentiating between the different roles they have to fulfil, causing a discrepancy in the role expectations of their spouse and marital breakdown. However, a variation in responses is observed in certain income categories. Respondents in the income category of R25 000 - R29 999 (2.5%), R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%), R40 000 - R44 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) comprising of 28.5% of the sample population were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively.

However, a major proportion of the sample population (71.5%) generally perceived that married couples who experience problems in differentiating between the different roles they have to fulfil, are predisposed to marital breakdown.

- *Marriage and status enhancement*

Generally respondents across all income categories agreed ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) that being married adds a new status in the life of married couples, thus strengthening the marriage bond. A variation in response, however is noted for respondents in the income category of R2 500 – R4 499 (10.0%), R30 999 – R34 999 (8.0%) and R40 000 – R44 999 (2.5%) who were undecided. This comprises 20.5% of the total sample population, with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively for the aforementioned income groups. In addition, 3.0% of the respondents in the income category of R15 000 – R19 999 disagreed ($\bar{x}$w 4.0 $\geq$ 2.5) with their counterparts in the other income categories. Despite these variations in response, the finding suggests that a significant 76.5% of the respondents perceived that being married adds a new status to the life of married couples and strengthens marital bonds.

- *Domestic role of women and work*

The perception that husbands generally feel that the woman's role is in the home and her insistence on working outside of it caused discord, leading to marital breakdown, was indecisively perceived by respondents across all income groups ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.5). A small number of respondents comprising 2.5% of the sample population in the income group of R20 000 – R29 999 were in disagreement.

Significantly, respondents ranging between the income groups of R2 499 and less to R15 000 – R19 999, and those in the income group of R30 999 – R3 999, comprising 69.0% of the sample population, perceived that the insistence of women working outside the home caused discord, leading to marital breakdown. The discrepancy in results suggests that the finding is not conclusive.

- *Family background and role preparation*

Respondents across all income groups perceived with indecision ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.5) that married couples who come from broken homes have difficulty adjusting to married life. However, respondents in the income category of R2 500 – R4 999 (10.0%) and R10 000 – R14 999 (6.0%) comprising 16.0% of the total sample population, were in agreement, recording a ($\bar{x}$w 2.1 ≤ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≤ 2.5) respectively. The discrepancy in response does not make any significant conclusion possible.

- *Role fulfilment by working mothers*

Generally, respondents across all income groups were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 3.1 ≥ 2.5) in their perception that working mothers have too many roles to fulfil and tend to neglect their families thus causing breakdown in marriages. Despite this perception, variation in response for certain income categories is observed. Respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R2 500 – R4 999 (10.0%) and R5 000 – R9 999 (8.0%) comprising 52.0% of the sample population, were in agreement with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5), ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 ≤ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≤ 2.5) respectively. A small sample of respondents

(2.5%) in the income category of R20 000 – R24 999 expressed disagreement ($\bar{x}$w 4.0 ≥ 2.5). These findings suggest that the perception that working mothers have too many roles to fulfil and tend to neglect their families thus causing a breakdown in marriage is inconclusive.

- ***Male dominance***

The perception that the man should play a dominant role in the marriage for marital harmony was indecisively viewed by respondents across all income groups ($\bar{x}$w 3.4 ≥ 2.5). However, respondents in the income category of R25 000 – R29 999 (2.5%), R35 000 – R39 999 (2.5%) and R40 000 – R44 999 (2.5%) comprising 7.5% of the population, disagreed. The relatively small sample size does not make any significant conclusion possible. In view of the large number of respondents expressing disagreement, the perception that the man should play a dominant role in the marriage for marital harmony is not conclusive.

7.5   Part Four: Consequences of marital breakdown for family life

In this section the consequences of marital breakdown on family life are analyzed against the independent variables gender, age, education, occupation and income. The purpose of this analysis is to establish whether the consequences present are consistent within the five independent variables mentioned earlier.

7.5.1   Gender and attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown for family life

The perception of respondents by gender is rank ordered in Table 7.5.1 A cursory examination of Table 7.5.1 reveals that the perception of respondents in only two instances tends to be very strong ($\bar{x}$w ≤1.5). In the case of other variables, the perception range from ($\bar{x}$w 1.9) to ($\bar{x}$w 2.6) suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these variables will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any

relationship exists between the gender orientation of respondents in their perception of consequences of marital breakdown for family life.

Table 7.5.1 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown on family life by gender

Number	Marital breakdown and consequences for family life	$\bar{x}$W By gender		
		Male	Female	Mean score
		N=37 46.3%	N=43 53.7%	N=80 100%
1	Children as victims of marital breakdown	1.5	1.5	1.5
2	Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings	1.5	1.5	1.5
3	Poor school performance amongst children	2.0	1.8	1.9
4	Financial difficulty and neglect of children	1.7	2.1	1.9
5	Loss of trust in parents	2.0	2.0	2.0
6	Displaced anger on children	2.1	2.3	2.2
7	Breakdown in discipline amongst children	2.1	2.4	2.2
8	Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby	2.4	2.4	2.4
9	Placement of children in foster care	2.5	2.7	2.6
10	Emotional support from children	2.5	2.8	2.6
11	Poor parental role models for children	2.4	2.8	2.6
12	Placement of children in children's homes	2.6	2.7	2.6

- *Children as victims of marital breakdown*

The perception that children usually suffer the most from marital breakdown was strongly agreed upon by both male and female respondents ($\bar{x}$w $1.5 \leq 1.5$). No differences in perception are noted between the two sexes. The finding strongly suggests a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the plight of children.

- *Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings*

Both male and female respondents strongly perceived $(\overline{x}w\ 1.5 \le 1.5)$ that marital breakdown disturbs the social relationships among the children in the family. No gender difference in response is noted. The finding strongly suggests a significant relationship between marital breakdown and the disturbed social relationships amongst siblings.

- *Financial difficulty and neglect of children*

Respondents generally agree $(\overline{x}w\ 1.9 \le 2.0)$ that marital breakdown brings about severe financial strains on the family making it impossible to care properly for the children. Despite this general agreement, male respondents perceived this to be the case much more strongly $(\overline{x}w\ 1.7 \le 2.0)$ than their female counterparts $(\overline{x}w\ 2.1 \ge 2.0)$. The finding suggests a significant gender difference in the perception that marital breakdown causes severe financial strains on the family, making it impossible to care properly for children.

- *Poor school performance amongst children*

The perception that the effects of marital breakdown leads to children performing poorly at school was generally agreed upon $(\overline{x}w\ 1.9 \le 2.0)$ by both male and female respondents. However, a slight variation in response is noted for males and females. Female respondents perceived much more strongly $(\overline{x}w\ 1.8 \le 2.0)$ than their male $(\overline{x}w\ 2.0 \le 2.0)$ counterparts that the effects of marital breakdown leads to children performing poorly at school. Although the difference in response is not very large, the finding suggests some gender difference in the perception of marital breakdown and consequences for children's school performance

- *Loss of trust in parents*

The perception that children reared in an environment of severe marital breakdown often lose trust in their parents, harming their own future marital relationships, was viewed by corresponding levels of agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0) between male and female respondents. The finding suggests that a relationship exists between marital breakdown, the loss of trust by children in their parents and their future marital relationship.

- *Breakdown in discipline amongst children*

Both male and female respondents generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0) that marital breakdown leads to poor discipline among children thus increasing the crisis in the family. However, a slight variation in perception is observed between male and female respondents. The perception of male respondents tended to be slightly stronger ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0) than their female counterparts ($\bar{x}$w 2.4 ≥ 2.0). Despite this variation in response, the general perceptions are not significantly dissimilar, suggesting that the finding that marital breakdown leads to poor discipline amongst children thus increasing the crisis in the family, is significant.

- *Displaced anger on children*

General agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.2 ≤ 2.5) exists for male and female respondents that parents experiencing marital breakdown tend to displace their anger onto their children, thus heightening the family crisis. However, a variation in perception is observed for male and female respondents, with the former perception being slightly stronger ($\bar{x}$w 2.1 ≤ 2.5) than the latter ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 ≤ 2.5). Although a variation in response exists for both male and female respondents, the general perceptions are not significantly dissimilar, suggesting that the finding that parents experiencing marital breakdown tend to displace their anger onto their children, thus heightening the family crisis, is conclusive.

- *Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby*

The perception that childless couples experiencing marital breakdown believe that a new born child would save their marriage was similarly perceived ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5) by both male and female respondents. The finding suggests a relationship between the perception that a new born baby would save the marriage of a childless couple and marital stability.

- *Emotional support from children*

The perception that parents experiencing marital breakdown seek the emotional support of their children thus harming sound family relationships was generally viewed with indecision ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5). Although no significant conclusion may be drawn from an undecided response, it is observed that male respondents tended to agree to some extent ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) compared to their female counterparts who are undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 $\geq$ 2.5). In light of the fact that this major difference in response exists, the finding suggests that the perception that parents experiencing marital breakdown seek the emotional support of their children, thus harming sound family relationships, is not conclusive.

- *Placement of children in children's home*

An undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) response for both male and female respondents is observed on the perception that the consequences of marital breakdown lead to children being placed in residential care, perpetuating family instability into the next generation. No major conclusion may be drawn from this finding.

- *Placement of children in foster care*

The perception that foster care in happy homes be considered for children who are exposed to severe marital breakdown because it could prevent the perpetuation of family instability was viewed with indecision ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5). Despite this undecided

response, male respondents were in slight agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5) compared to their female counterparts who were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2. 7 ≥ 2.5). The dissimilar response for male and female respondents suggests that the finding is inconclusive.

- **_Poor parental role models for children_**

Generally, respondents were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.5) in their perception that marital breakdown does not allow parents to be good role models for their children thus perpetuating marital breakdown. However, a slight variation in response is observed for the male and female respondents. Male respondents tended to be in agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 ≤ 2.5) compared to their female counterparts who were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 ≤ 2.5). The discrepancy in response for male and female respondents suggests that the finding is not conclusive.

7.5.2 Age and attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown for family life

The perception of respondents by gender is rank ordered in Table 7.5.2. A cursory examination of the Table indicates that the perception of respondents in only one instance tends to be very strong ($\bar{x}w$ ≤ 1.5). In the case of the other variables, perceptions range from ($\bar{x}w$ 1.7) to ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these variables will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any relationship exists between the ages of respondents in their perception of the consequences of marital breakdown for family life.

- **_Children as victims of marital breakdown_**

Respondents across all age groups very strongly perceived ($\bar{x}w$ 1.5 ≤ 1.5) that children suffer the most from marital breakdown. Despite this generally held strong perception, respondents in the age category of 40 - 49 years (24.0%) and 50 - 59 years (5.0%) perceived less strongly, with a ($\bar{x}w$ 1.7 ≥ 1.5) for the respective age

categories. However, the slight variation in response does not impact significantly on the finding that children suffer the most from marital breakdown.

Table 7.5.2 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown on family life by age

Number	Marital breakdown and consequences for family life	xW By age				
		20 – 29	30 – 39	40 – 49	50 – 59	Mean score
		N=22 27.0%	N=35 44.0%	N=19 24.0%	N=4 5.0%	N=80 100%
1	Children as victims of marital breakdown	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.5
2	Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.7	1.6
3	Poor school performance amongst children	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7
4	Financial difficulties and neglect of children	1.9	2.0	2.2	1.7	1.9
5	Placement of children in children's homes	2.2	2.5	1.4	2.5	2.1
6	Breakdown in discipline amongst children	2.3	2.1	2.6	1.7	2.1
7	Loss of trust in parents	2.2	1.8	2.5	2.0	2.1
8	Displaced anger on children	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.2
9	Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby	2.5	2.2	2.6	2.2	2.3
10	Emotional abuse of children	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
11	Placement of children in foster care	3.0	2.7	2.3	2.0	2.5
12	Poor parental role models for children	3.3	2.6	2.8	2.0	2.6

- *Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings*

A strong perception ($\overline{x}$w 1.6 $\leq$ 2.0) is observed amongst respondents across all age groups that marital breakdown disturbs the social relationships among the children in the family. Despite this general observation, respondents in the age category of 30 -

39 years, comprising 44.0% of the sample population, had stronger perceptions $(\overline{x}w$ $1.3 \leq 1.5)$ than their counterparts in the other age categories. This finding further supports the conclusion that a significant relationship exists between marital breakdown and disturbed social relationships among the children in the family.

- *Poor school performance amongst children*

Poor school performance amongst children was perceived to be a consequence of marital breakdown across all age groups with a $(\overline{x}w \; 1.7 \leq 2.0)$. No significant difference in response is observed amongst the different age categories. The finding suggests a relationship between poor school performance amongst children and marital breakdown.

- *Financial difficulty and neglect of children*

The perception that marital breakdown brings about severe financial strain on the family making it impossible to care properly for children was generally agreed upon by respondents across all age groups with a $(\overline{x}w \; 1.9 \leq 2.0)$. However, respondents in the age category of 40 - 49 years (24.0%) and those in the category of 50 - 59 years (5.0%) vary slightly in their perception. In the case of the former, a $(\overline{x}w \; 2.2 \geq 2.0)$ is observed, suggesting a slightly less stronger perception, and with the latter, a $(\overline{x}w \; 1.7$ $\leq 2.0)$ is noted, suggesting a slightly stronger perception. The differences in response do not vary significantly and as such, it may be concluded that severe financial strain do impact negatively on the family making it impossible to care properly for children.

- *Placement of children in children's home*

Although general agreement $(\overline{x}w \; 2.1 \leq 2.5)$ exists for respondents across all age groups in their perception that the consequence of marital breakdown often leads to children being placed in residential care thereby perpetuating instability into the next generation, variation in the extent to which respondents agree is noted for the different age groups. A significant 24.0% of the respondents in the age category of 40 - 49

years perceived very strongly ($\bar{x}$w $1.4 \leq 1.5$), compared to respondents in the other age categories. This finding lends greater support to the conclusion that a significant relationship exists between marital breakdown and children being placed in residential care, perpetuating instability into the next generation.

- *Breakdown in discipline amongst children*

The perception that marital breakdown leads to poor discipline among children thus increasing the crisis in the family received agreement ($\bar{x}$w $2.1 \leq 2.5$) amongst respondents across all age groups, with certain exceptional variations. Respondents in the age category of 40 - 49 years, comprising 24.0% of the sample population, expressed indecision ($\bar{x}$w $2.6 \geq 2.5$). Although the undecided response appears to be high, a total of 74.0% of the respondents are, however, in agreement. It may therefore be concluded that the finding that marital breakdown leads to poor discipline among children, perpetuating further crisis in the family, is significant.

- *Loss of trust in parents*

A general agreement exists ($\bar{x}$w $2.1 \leq 2.5$) across all age groups that children reared in an environment of severe marital breakdown often lose trust in their parents, harming their own future marital relation. However, much stronger ($\bar{x}$w $1.8 \leq 2.5$) perception is observed for those respondents in the age category of 30 – 39 years, constituting 44.0% of the sample population, compared to respondents in the other age categories. This finding further supports the conclusion that a definite relationship exists between marital breakdown and the loss of trust in parents by children, harming their own future marital relationships.

- *Displaced anger on children*

Respondents generally agree across all age groups ($\bar{x}$w $2.1 \leq 2.5$) that parents experiencing marital breakdown tend to displace their anger onto their children, thus heightening their family crisis. Those respondents in the age category of 20 – 29

years, constituting 27.0% of the sample population, however, felt much stronger ($\overline{x}$w 1.9 $\leq$ 2.5) in their perception, compared to respondents in the other age categories. The findings are therefore conclusive that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the displacement of anger by parents onto their children, thus perpetuating the family crisis.

- *Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby*

The perception that childless couples experiencing marital breakdown believe that a new born child would save their marriage received general agreement ($\overline{x}$w 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) amongst respondents across all age groups. Despite this general agreement, variation in response is noted ($\overline{x}$w 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) amongst respondents in the age category of 40 – 49 years, comprising 24.0% of the sample population, who were undecided. However, the very fact that the remaining 76.0% of the respondents display a more definitive response, suggests that a relationship exits between childless couples experiencing marital breakdown and the belief that a new born child will save their marriage.

- *Placement of children in foster care*

Although general agreement ($\overline{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all age groups that foster care in happy homes should be considered for children who are exposed to severe marital breakdown in order to prevent the perpetuation of further family instability, this finding is not conclusive. Respondents in the age categories of 20 – 29 years (27.0%) and 30 – 39 years (44.0%) were undecided with a ($\overline{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}$w 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5). In view of the large number of respondents being undecided (71.0%), no significant conclusions may be drawn from this finding.

- *Emotional abuse of children*

A general agreement ($\overline{x}$w 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all age groups that parents experiencing marital breakdown seek the emotional support of their children, thus harming sound family relationships. Despite this widespread

perception, 27.0% of the respondents in the age category of 20 – 29 were undecided ($\overline{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.5). Considering the fact that the remaining 73.0% of the respondents held definitive perceptions, it may be concluded that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and parents seeking the emotional support of their children, thus harming sound family relationships.

- **Poor parental role models for children**

Respondents across all age groups were generally undecided (2.6 ≥ 2.5) on the perception that marital breakdown does not allow parents to be role models for their children, thus perpetuating marital discord. However, respondents in the age category of 50 – 59, years comprising 5.0% of the sample population, were in agreement ($\overline{x}$w 2.0 ≤ 2.0). Despite this variation in response, the sample size does not make it possible to draw any significant conclusion. In addition, the general undecided trend in responses suggests that no significant conclusion may be drawn from this finding.

7.5.3 Education and attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown for family life

The perception of respondents by education is rank ordered in Table 7.5.3. A cursory examination of Table 7.5.3 indicates that the perception of respondents in only two instances tend to be very strong ($\overline{x}$w ≤ 1.5). In the case of the other variables, the perception ranges from ($\overline{x}$w 1.9) to ($\overline{x}$w 2.6), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these variables will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any relationship exists between the educational level of respondents and their perception of the consequences of marital breakdown for family life.

- **Children as victims of marital breakdown**

The perception that children usually suffer the most from marital breakdown was very strongly perceived ($\overline{x}$w 1.3 ≤ 1.5) amongst respondents across all educational groups. It is observed, however, that respondents in the educational categories of technical

Table 7.5.3 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown on family life by education

Number	Marital breakdown and consequences for family life	No Schooling N=2 2.0% $\overline{x}W$	Primary School N=4 5.0% $\overline{x}W$	Secondary School N=47 59.0% $\overline{x}W$	Technical college N=12 15% $\overline{x}W$	University N=14 18=% $\overline{x}W$	Other N=1 1.0% $\overline{x}W$	Mean score N= 80 100%
1	Children as victims of marital breakdown	1.0	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.8	1.0	1.3
2	Disturbed social Relationships amongst siblings	1.0	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.9	2.0	1.5
3	Financial difficulties and neglect of children	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.8	2.4	2.0	1.9
4	Poor school performance amongst children	2.0	1.7	1.7	2.0	2.3	2.0	1.9
5	Placement of children in children's homes	2.0	3.0	2.6	1.9	2.7	2.0	2.3
6	Placement of children in foster care	4.0	2.0	2.9	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.6
7	Poor parental role models for children	2.0	2.2	2.7	3.0	1.7	4.0	2.6
8	Breakdown in discipline amongst children	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.7	2.4	2.0	2.2
9	Loss of trust in parents	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.7	2.1	2.0	2.0
10	Emotional support of children	2.0	1.5	2.7	2.7	2.2	3.0	2.3
11	Displaced anger on children	2.0	1.5	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0
12	Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby	1.0	1.7	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.0	2.0

college education (15.0%) and university levels of education (18.0%) perceived less strongly ($\overline{x}w$ 1.6 ≥ 1.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 1.8 ≥ 1.5) respectively, compared to respondents in the other educational categories. Despite this variation, the finding suggests conclusively that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the social, psychological and economic welfare of children.

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- *Disturbed social relationships amongst children*

A very strong perception ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 1.5) exists amongst respondents across all educational categories that marital breakdown disturbs the social relationships among the children in the family. However, a less stronger perception is observed amongst respondents with university levels of education (18.0%) and those in the category of other (1.0%) (religious education only) with a ($\bar{x}$w 1.9 ≥ 1.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.0 ≥ 1.5) respectively. Despite this variation in response, the finding suggests almost conclusively a strong relationship exists between marital breakdown and disturbed social relationships among the children in the family.

- *Financial difficulties and neglect of children*

The perception that marital breakdown brings about severe financial strain on the family, making it impossible to care properly for the children, was widely agreed upon by respondents across all educational categories ($\bar{x}$w 1.9 ≤ 2.0). However, respondents with primary levels of education (5.0%) perceived it to be more strongly ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 2.0), compared to their counterparts in the other educational categories. The finding suggests, conclusively, that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the consequent financial strain brought upon to bear on the proper care of children.

- *Poor school performance amongst children*

Generally, respondents ($\bar{x}$w 1.9 ≤ 2.0) across all educational categories perceived that the consequence of marital breakdown lead to children performing poorly at school. Despite this general perception, respondents with university level education (18.0%) perceived it to be less strongly ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 ≥ 2.0) compared to respondents in the other educational categories. However, this difference does not affect the general conclusion that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and consequences for the scholastic performance of children in school.

- *Displaced anger on Children*

The perception that parents experiencing marital breakdown tend to displace their anger onto their children, thus heightening the family crisis, was widely agreed upon by respondents across all educational groups ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 ≤ 2.5). The finding suggests a relationship between marital breakdown and a tendency for parents to displace their anger on their children, heightening the family crisis.

- *Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby*

The finding that childless couples experience marital breakdown believe that a new born child could save their marriage, is not consistent across all educational categories, although a general agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 ≤ 2.0) exists. Respondents with university level education, comprising 18.0% of the sample population, were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.0). In addition, respondents in the educational categories of secondary levels of education (59.0%) and technical college graduates (15.0%) held less stronger perceptions with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 ≥ 2.0) respectively. However, these differences do not deviate very significantly from the general perception that childless couples believe that a new born child could save their marriage.

- *Loss of trust in parents*

With the exception of respondents with technical college levels of education (15.0%) who were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 ≥ 2.0), respondents in all other educational categories generally agreed that children reared in an environment of severe marital breakdown often lose trust in their parents, harming their own future marital relationships. It may be concluded that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the loss of trust by children in their parents, harming their future marital relationships.

- *Breakdown of discipline amongst children*

Although respondents across all educational categories generally perceived ($\bar{x}w$ 2.2 $\le$ 2.5) that children reared in an environment of severe marital breakdown often lose trust in their parents, harming their future marital relationships, variation in responses are observed in certain educational categories. Respondents with technical college levels of education, comprising 15.0% of the sample population, were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 $\ge$ 2.5). Despite this difference, an overwhelming majority of the respondents (85.0%) are in agreement that children reared in an environment of severe marital discord lose their trust in their parents, harming their future marital relationships. This suggests that the finding is conclusive.

- *Placement of children in children's homes*

The perception that the consequence of marital breakdown often leads to children being placed in residential care and thus perpetuating family instability into the next generation is not conclusive, despite the presence of an attitude of general agreement across all educational groups ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\le$ 2.5). Respondents with primary levels of education (5.0%), secondary school (59.0%) and university levels of education (18.0%) were undecided, with a ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 $\ge$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 $\ge$ 2.5) and (2.7 $\ge$ 2.5) respectively for each of the educational categories mentioned. Cumulatively, this constitutes 82.0% of the sample population, suggesting that no significant conclusion may be made.

- *Emotional support of children*

Despite a general perception ($\bar{x}w$ 2.3 $\le$ 2.5) across all educational categories that parents experiencing marital breakdown seek the emotional support of their children, harming sound family relationships, this finding is not conclusive due to the large number of undecided responses. Respondents with secondary school levels of education (59.0%), technical college (15.0%) and those in the category of other (1.0%) (religious education only) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 $\ge$ 2.5), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 $\ge$

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2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 ≥ 2.5) respectively for the above-mentioned educational categories. Cumulatively, this constitutes 75.0% of the sample population with an undecided response rate, suggesting that the finding is inconclusive.

- *Placement of children in foster care*

Respondents across all educational levels were generally undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.5) that foster care in happy homes should be considered for children who are exposed to severe marital breakdown because this could prevent the perpetuation of family instability. Significantly, a high percentage of undecided response is noted amongst respondents with secondary levels of education, comprising 59.0% of the sample population. A small number of respondents (2.0%) in the educational category of no schooling, disagreed. No significant conclusion may be drawn from this under-represented category in the sample population. The finding suggests that no significant conclusion may be drawn due to the large numbers of respondents with an undecided response.

- *Poor parental role models for children*

The perception that marital breakdown does not allow parents to be good role models for their children thus perpetuating marital discord, was not conclusive. A significantly large percentage of respondents with secondary levels of education (59.0%) and technical college level of education (15.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 ≥ 2.5) respectively. This constitutes 74.0% of the sample population with an undecided response, strongly suggesting that the finding that marital breakdown does not allow parents to be good role models for their children thus perpetuating marital discord, is not conclusive.

7.5.4 Occupation and attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown for family life

The perception of respondents by occupation is rank ordered in Table 7.5.4. A cursory examination of the Table indicates that the perception of respondents in only two

instances tend to be very strong ($\bar{x}w \leq 1.5$). In the case of the other variables, the perception ranges from ($\bar{x}w$ 1.8) to ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation, each of these variables will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any relationship exists between the occupational level of respondents and their perception of the consequences of marital breakdown for family life.

- *Children as victims of marital breakdown*

The perception that children usually suffer most from marital breakdown was very strongly perceived ($\bar{x}w$ 1.2 $\leq$ 1.5) amongst respondents across all income groups. Despite this strong perception, respondents in the educational category of professional worker (25.0%) and those self-employed (5.0%) felt less strongly compared to respondents in the other occupational categories with an ($\bar{x}w$ 1.9 $\geq$ 1.5) (and $\bar{x}w$ 1.7 $\geq$ 1.5) respectively. However, this variation does not affect the finding that a very strong relationship exists between marital breakdown and the consequences for children in general.

- *Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings*

Generally, respondents across all occupational groups strongly perceive ($\bar{x}w$ 1.3 $\leq$ 1.5) that marital breakdown disturbs the social relationships among the children in the family. Despite this generally held strong perception, it is observed that respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%) and those self-employed (5.0%) felt less strongly with an ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 $\geq$ 1.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 1.7 $\geq$ 1.5) respectively, compared to respondents in the other occupational categories. Cumulatively, this constitutes 30.0% of the sample population. However, this variation in response does not deviate significantly from the generally held perception by respondents, and it may therefore be concluded that the finding suggests a very strong relationship between marital breakdown and disturbed social relationships among children in the family.

Table 7.5.4 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown on family life by occupation

Number	Marital breakdown and consequences for family life	X̄w Professional worker N=20 25.0%	X̄w Manager N=4 5.0%	X̄w Clerical worker N=14 8.0%	X̄w Skilled worker N=5 6.0%	X̄w Labourer N=2 3.0%	X̄w Self-employed N=4 5.0%	X̄w Unemployed N=20 25%	X̄w Semi-skilled N=4 5.0%	X̄w Other N=7 9.0%	Mean score N=80 100%
1	Children as victims of marital breakdown	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.7	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.2
2	Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings	2.0	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.7	1.6	1.2	1.0	1.3
3	Financial difficulties and neglect of children	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.2	1.5	1.8
4	Poor school performance amongst children	2.1	1.5	1.7	1.2	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.5	1.1	1.6
5	Placement of children in children's homes	2.9	1.7	2.7	2.6	1.5	3.2	2.5	3.2	2.1	2.4
6	Placement of children in foster care	2.5	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7
7	Poor parental role models for children	2.8	2.2	2.8	2.4	2.0	2.2	2.7	2.2	1.7	2.3
8	Breakdown in discipline amongst children	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.8	1.5	2.0	2.2	1.7	1.1	2.0
9	Loss of trust in parents	2.4	1.0	2.5	1.8	1.5	2.7	2.0	1.5	1.2	1.8
10	Emotional support of children	2.1	1.2	2.6	2.0	2.0	3.7	2.6	2.2	2.4	2.3
11	Displaced anger on children	2.4	1.5	2.5	2.0	1.5	3.2	2.0	1.5	1.8	2.0
12	Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby	2.6	4.9	2.5	2.2	2.5	3.0	2.2	2.2	1.8	2.6

- *Poor school performance amongst children*

Respondents across all occupational groups generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 1.6 ≤ 2.0) that the consequence of marital breakdown lead to children performing poorly at school. Despite this general agreement, much stronger perceptions are observed for respondents in the occupational category of manager (4.0%), skilled worker (6.0%), semi-skilled (5.0%) and those in the category of other (9.0%) (those in receipt of state grants and pensions) with an ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 2.0), ($\bar{x}$w 1.2 ≤ 2.0), ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 ≤ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}$w 1.1 ≤ 2.0) respectively. Cumulatively, this constitutes 24.0% of the total sample population. These strong perceptions further help to support the conclusion that a definite relationship exists between marital breakdown and the poor scholastic achievement of children at school.

- *Financial difficulties and neglect of children*

The perception that marital breakdown brings about severe financial strains on the family making it impossible to care properly for the children was widely agreed upon amongst respondents across all occupation groups ($\bar{x}$w 1.8 ≤ 2.0). Despite this widespread agreement, respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%) were in lesser agreement ($\bar{x}$w 2.3 ≥ 2.0) compared to respondents in the other occupational groups. However, this difference in perception does not affect the response of the remaining 75.0% of the respondents which definitively confirms the finding that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and severe financial strain on the family making it impossible to care properly for children.

- *Loss of trust in parents*

Respondents across all occupational groups generally perceive ($\bar{x}$w 1.8 ≤ 2.0) that children reared in an environment of severe marital breakdown often lose trust in their parents, harming their own future marital relationship. Whilst respondents agree generally, a slight variation in response is observed, which does not however affect the general finding. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker

(25.0%) and clerical worker (18.0%) agreed to a lesser extent with an ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 $\geq$ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 $\geq$ 2.0) respectively, compared to respondents in other educational categories. In addition, a small percentage (5.0%) of the respondents in the occupational category of self-employed was undecided. Despite these differences, the finding suggests that generally a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the loss of trust amongst children affecting their own future marital relationships.

- *Breakdown in discipline amongst children*

The perception that marital breakdown causes a breakdown in discipline amongst children enjoys agreement ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 $\leq$ 2.0) amongst respondents across all occupational categories, but with some exceptions. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), manager (5.0%) and skilled worker (5.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 $\geq$ 2.0), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 $\geq$ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8 $\geq$ 2.0) respectively. Cumulatively, this constitutes 35.0% of the sample population. However, the more definitive response of the remaining 65.0% of the respondents suggests a significant relationship between marital breakdown and the breakdown of discipline amongst children.

- *Displaced anger on children*

A general perception ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 $\leq$ 2.0) that parents tend to displace their anger on their children during marital discord exists amongst respondents across all occupational categories. Despite this general perception, respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%) and clerical worker (18.0%) had slightly weaker perceptions with an ($\bar{x}w$ 2.4 $\geq$ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 $\geq$ 2.0) respectively. This difference in response, however does not affect the overall perceptions of respondents. In addition, a small percentage (5.0%) of the respondents in the occupational category of self-employed were undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 3.2 $\geq$ 2.0), which does not significantly affect the results of the general finding. It may therefore be concluded that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the displacement of anger on children by parents.

- *Poor parental role models for children*

Although respondents across all occupational categories generally agree ($\bar{x}$w 23. ≤ 2.5) that marital breakdown is a source of poor parental role model for children, the finding is not conclusive in view of the large number of respondents who are undecided. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), clerical worker (18.0%) and those unemployed (25.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 ≥ 2.0), ($\bar{x}$w 2.8 ≥ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.0) respectively. Cumulatively, this constitutes 68.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the perception that marital breakdown is a source of poor parental role model for children is not conclusive.

- *Emotional support of children*

The finding that during marital breakdown parents seek the emotional support of children is not conclusive, despite a positive perception ($\bar{x}$w 23. ≤ 2.5) amongst respondents across all occupational categories. Respondents in the occupational category of clerical worker (18.0%), self-employed (5.0%) and unemployed (25.0%) were undecided with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.0), ($\bar{x}$w 3.7 ≥ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.0) respectively. Cumulatively, this constitutes 48.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the finding is inconclusive.

- *Placement of children in children's home*

The perception that marital breakdown results in the placement of children in a children's home was not conclusive despite a positive response ($\bar{x}$w 24. ≤ 2.5) by respondents across all occupational categories. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), clerical worker (18.0%), skilled worker (6.0%), self-employed (5.0%) and semi-skilled (5.0%) responded indecisively with a ($\bar{x}$w 2.9 ≥ 2.0), ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.0), ($\bar{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.0), ($\bar{x}$w 3.2 ≥ 2.0) and ($\bar{x}$w 3.2 ≥ 2.0) respectively. Cumulatively, this comprises 49.0% of the sample population, suggesting that no significant conclusion may be drawn from the finding.

- *Childlessness and the birth of a new baby*

Respondents across all occupational categories were generally undecided ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.5) that childless couples believe that the birth of a new child will save their marriage. Respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%) and those self- employed (5.0%), comprising 30.0% of the sample population were undecided with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.6 ≥ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 3.0 ≥ 2.5) respectively. In addition, a small percentage (5.0%) of respondents in the occupational category of manager strongly disagreed ($\bar{x}w$ 4.9 ≥ 2.5). The finding suggests that only 65.0% of the respondents were in fact in agreement that childless couples believe that the birth of a new child will save their marriage. In view of the fact that the findings are inconsistent, no significant conclusion may be formed.

- *Placement of children in foster care*

The perception that during marital breakdown children should be placed in happy foster care homes was viewed with indecision ($\bar{x}w$ 2.7 ≥ 2.5) amongst respondents across all occupational categories. Despite this, respondents in the occupational category of professional worker (25.0%), manager (5.0%) and clerical worker (18.0%) were in agreement, although not strongly with a ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5), ($\bar{x}w$ 2.0 ≤ 2.5) and ($\bar{x}w$ 2.5 ≤ 2.5) respectively. This constitutes 48.0% of the sample population, suggesting that the finding that children should be placed in happy foster care homes during marital breakdown, is not conclusive.

7.5.5 Income and attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown for family life

The perception of respondents by income is rank ordered in Table 7.5.5. A cursory examination of Table 7.5.5 indicates that the perception of respondents in only one instance tends to be very strong ($\bar{x}w$ ≤ 1.5). In the case of the other variables, the perception ranges from ($\bar{x}w$ 1.6) to ($\bar{x}w$ 2.8), suggesting that the perception of respondents range from general agreement to undecided. Despite this observation,

each of these variables will be discussed independently to ascertain whether any relationship exists between the income level of respondents and their perception on the consequences of marital breakdown for family life.

- *Children as victims of marital breakdown*

A very strong perception ($\bar{x}$w 1.5 $\leq$ 1.5) exists amongst respondents across all income categories that during marital breakdown the children suffer most. However, respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999, comprising 2.5% of the sample population, were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 1.5). The relatively small sample size does not affect the generally held strong perception that children suffer most during marital breakdown.

- *Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings*

Respondents across all income groups generally perceived ($\bar{x}$w 1.6 $\leq$ 2.0) that marital breakdown causes disturbed social relationships amongst siblings thus heightening the family crisis. Despite this, respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999, comprising 2.5% of the sample population were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.0). This minor variation in response however, does not affect the generally held perception that marital breakdown indeed causes disturbed social relationships amongst children, exacerbating the crisis in the family.

- *Poor school performance amongst children*

The perception that marital breakdown affects the scholastic performance of children at school was generally agreed upon ($\bar{x}$w 1.9 $\leq$ 2.0) by respondents across all income categories. Despite this general agreement, respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999 comprising 2.5% of the sample population were undecided ($\bar{x}$w 3.0 $\geq$ 2.0). This difference in response does not affect the overall finding significantly.

Table 7.5.5 Distribution of respondents' attitude towards the consequences of marital breakdown on family life by income

Number	Marital breakdown and consequences for family life	x̄W R2 499 and less N=27 34.0%	x̄W R2 500 – R4 999 N=8 10.0%	x̄W R5 000 – R9 999 N=6 8.0%	x̄W R10 000 – R14 999 N=5 6.0%	x̄W R15 000 – R19 999 N=3 3.0%	x̄W R20 000 – R24 999 N=2 2.5%	x̄W R25 000 – R29 999 N=2 2.5%	x̄W R30 999 – R34 999 N=6 8.0%	x̄W R35 000 – R39 999 N=2 2.5%	x̄W R40 000 – R44 999 N=2 2.5%	x̄W R45 000 and Above N=17 21.0%	Mean score N=80 100%
1	Children as victims of marital breakdown	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.6	3.0	1.5	1.7	1.5
2	Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings	1.3	1.7	1.3	1.8	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.3	3.0	1.5	1.7	1.6
3	Financial difficulties and neglect of children	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.8	2.0	2.5	1.5	2.3	3.5	2.0	2.2	2.1
4	Poor school performance amongst children	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.6	2.5	1.5	1.8	3.0	1.5	2.4	1.9
5	Placement of children in children's homes	2.4	3.3	3.2	2.0	2.3	3.0	2.0	2.3	4.0	2.0	2.7	2.6
6	Placement of children in foster care	2.7	3.5	2.6	3.0	1.6	2.0	2.5	2.0	3.5	2.0	2.4	2.5
7	Poor parental role models for children	2.3	3.3	2.3	2.8	3.0	4.5	3.0	2.3	2.0	3.0	2.6	2.8
8	Breakdown in discipline amongst children	1.9	2.3	2.0	2.4	2.6	4.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.6	2.4
9	Loss of trust in parents	1.7	2.2	1.6	1.4	2.3	3.5	3.5	2.0	2.5	3.0	2.4	2.3
10	Emotional abuse of children	2.3	2.7	1.8	2.4	4.0	2.0	4.0	2.5	3.5	2.5	2.5	2.7
11	Displaced anger on children	1.8	2.7	1.6	1.6	3.3	3.5	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.3
12	Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby	2.0	2.7	2.6	3.0	1.6	2.5	3.5	2.3	3.0	3.0	1.8	2.5

In addition, it is observed that respondents in the income category of R20 000 - R24 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) were in lesser agreement with a ($\overline{x}$w 2.5 ≥ 2.0) and ($\overline{x}$w 2.4 ≥ 2.0) respectively. However, these findings do not deviate significantly from the generally held perception that marital breakdown affects the scholastic performance of children at school.

- *Financial difficulties and neglect of children*

Respondents across all income categories generally perceive ($\overline{x}$w 2.1 ≤ 2.5) that marital breakdown brings about financial strain on the family, making it difficult to care properly for children. A small number of respondents (2.5%) in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999 responded with indecision with a ($\overline{x}$w 3.5 ≥ 2.5), which is insignificant to the general finding that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the ability to care financially for children.

- *Loss of trust in parents*

The perception that marital breakdown leads to the loss of trust in parents by children, thus harming their future marital relationship, was generally agreed upon ($\overline{x}$w 2.3 ≤ 2.5) by respondents across all income categories. However, respondents in the income category of R20 000 - R24 999 (2.5%), R25 000 - R29 999 (2.5%) and R40 000 - R44 999 (2.5%) comprising 7.5% of the sample population were undecided with a ($\overline{x}$w 3.5 ≥ 2.5), ($\overline{x}$w 3.5 ≥ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}$w 3.0 ≥ 2.5) respectively. The relatively small proportion of undecided responses does not affect the general finding that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the loss of trust in parents by children, affecting their future marital relations.

- *Displaced anger on children*

Generally respondents across all income categories were in agreement ($\overline{x}w$ 2.3 $\leq$ 2.5) that during marital breakdown parents tend to displace their anger on their children. Whilst a general agreement exists, respondents in the income category of R2 500 - R4 999 (10.0%), R15 000 - R19 999 (3.0%) and R20 000 - R24 999 (2.5%) were undecided with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 3.3 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 3.5 $\geq$ 2.5) respectively. The finding strongly suggests that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the displaced anger by parents on their children.

- *Breakdown in discipline amongst children*

The perception that marital breakdown causes a breakdown in discipline amongst children was generally agreed upon by respondents across all income categories, with minor variation in responses for certain income categories ($\overline{x}w$ 2.4 $\leq$ 2.5). Respondents in the occupational category of R15 000 - R19 999 (3.0%), R25 000 - R29 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) were undecided with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5) and ($\overline{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5), respectively. This comprises 26.5% of the sample population. In addition, respondents in the income category of R20 000 - R24 999 were in disagreement ($\overline{x}w$ 4.0 $\geq$ 2.5). Considering those respondents who have been undecided and those who disagreed, it may be concluded that only 69.5% of the sample population held a definitive perception that marital breakdown causes a breakdown in discipline amongst children, which is significant.

- *Placement of children in foster care*

Although general agreement ($\overline{x}w$ 2.5 $\leq$ 2.5) exists amongst respondents across all income categories that marital breakdown necessitates the placement of children in happy foster care homes, the finding is not conclusive. A significantly large number of respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R2 500 - R4 999 (10.0%), R5 000 - R9 999 (8.0%), R10 000 - R14 999 (6.0%) and R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%) were undecided with a ($\overline{x}w$ 2.7 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 3.5 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 2.6 $\geq$ 2.5), ($\overline{x}w$ 3.0

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≥ 2.5), and ($\overline{x}$w $3.5 \geq 2.5$) respectively. Cumulatively, this constitutes 60.5% of the sample population, which suggests that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the placement of children in happy foster care homes is not conclusive.

- **_Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby_**

Respondents across all income categories generally agree ($\overline{x}$w 2.5 ≤ 2.5) that childless couples believe that the birth of a new born baby will perpetuate marital harmony. Despite this general perception, variation in response is noted for respondents in certain income groups. Respondents in the income category of R2 500 - R4 999 (10.0%), R5 000 - R9 999 (8.0%), R10 000 - R14 999 (6.0%), R25 000 - R29 999 (2.5%), R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%) and R40 000 - R44 999 (2.5%) were undecided. This constitutes 33.5% of the total sample population. Despite this inconsistency in response, the finding suggests that 66.5% of the respondents do in fact perceive that the birth of a new-born baby will perpetuate marital harmony for childless couples.

- **_Placement of children in children's home_**

The perception that the consequences of marital breakdown result in the placement of children in children's home was perceived with indecision ($\overline{x}$w 2.6 ≥ 2.5) amongst respondents across all income groups. However, a close examination of the findings indicates a major variation in responses. Respondents in the income category of R2 500 - R4 999 (10.0%), R5 000 - R9 999 (8.0%), R20 000 - R24 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%) who constitute 41.5% of the sample population, expressed an undecided response. In addition, 2.5% of the respondents in the income category of R35 000 - R39 999 were in disagreement. These variations suggest that no major conclusion may be drawn from the finding on the perception that marital breakdown results in the placement of children in a children's home.

- *Emotional abuse of children*

Respondents across all income groups were generally undecided ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.5) in their perception that during marital breakdown parents seek the emotional support of their children. Despite this generally undecided response, inconsistencies are observed within the different income categories. Respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R5 000 - R9 999 (8.0%), R10 000 - R14 999 (6.0%), R20 000 - R24 999 (2.5%), R30 000 - R34 999 (8.0%), R40 000 - R44 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 above (21.0%), comprising 81.0% of the sample population, expressed attitudes varying in different levels of agreement. This suggests that the finding is conclusive that parents seek the emotional support of their children during marital breakdown.

- *Poor parental role models for children*

The perception that parents serve as poor role models for their children during marital breakdown was viewed with indecision ($\bar{x}$w 2.7 ≥ 2.5) amongst respondents across all income groups. However, a close examination of the result indicates inconsistencies within the different income categories. Respondents in the income category of R2 499 and less (34.0%), R5 000 - R9 999 (8.0%), R30 000 - R34 999 (8.0%), R35 000 - R39 999 (2.5%) and R45 000 and above (21.0%), comprising 73.5% of the sample population, do in fact perceive that parents serve as poor role models for their children during marital breakdown. It may be concluded that a relationship exists between marital breakdown and the perception that parents serve as poor role models for their children.

7.6 Summary

In this Chapter the results of the study are analysed and interpreted in four parts. Part One examines the demographic profile of the respondents. Factors leading to marital breakdown are analysed and interpreted in Part Two. These are analysed in terms of the independent variables gender, age, education, occupation and income. Similar procedures are used in Part Three pertaining to role fulfilment and role enactment.

The consequences of marital breakdown for family life is analysed and interpreted in Part Four of this Chapter. In Chapter eight the findings will be discussed further, and evidence from the literature study will be introduced to support the finding.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY

8.1 Introduction

This Chapter is made up of three parts. In the first part, a discussion of the major findings are made. The findings are supported by theoretical evidence from the literature study. In the conclusion section, the substantive findings derived from the study are highlighted. This is followed by recommendations for the Muslim community to pursue in respect of marriage and family preservation programmes. Finally the Chapter concludes with a summary of the study.

8.2 Discussion

In the discussion the main findings of the study are expounded upon. The structure of the discussion will entail four parts. In the first part the demographic profile of the respondents are discussed. The second part of the discussion will examine the general causal factors leading to marital breakdown amongst Muslims. Thereafter, more specific discussion is made on role enactment and role fulfilment amongst respondents and its effects on marital breakdown. Lastly, the consequences of marital breakdown on family life, particularly on children, are discussed.

8.2.1 Demographic profile of respondents

8.2.1.1 Age distribution of respondents

Male respondents in the 20 – 29 year age category comprised nineteen percent of the sample population compared to females who made up 35%. The large distribution of

females in this age category suggests a tendency for marital breakdown to be more prevalent for females in this age category compared to their male counterparts.

8.2.1.2 Educational status of respondents

Male respondents had higher levels of education than their female counterparts. In the study, 27% of the male respondents had university levels of education compared to only 9% of the female respondents. It may be concluded from the findings that females who marry at an early age often lose out on the prospect of advancing their education. Low levels of education for females consequently diminish the opportunity for better employment prospect. In addition, low levels of education means being forced down the labour market and engaging in economic activities which are least rewarding.

8.2.1.3 Occupational status of respondents

The study highlights that unemployment levels for females are much higher (30.0%) compared to males (19.0%). A significant number of females (19.0%) were employed in clerical occupations. This finding supports the earlier finding that the lower the level of education, the lesser the prospects for females to occupy good occupational positions.

8.2.1.4 Annual income of respondents

The annual income for respondents experiencing marital breakdown indicates that the earning capacity for males is greater than that for females. More females (37.0%) than males (30.0%) earn less than R2 499 per annum. On the other extreme, more males (32.0%) than females (12.0%) fall in the income category of R45 000 and above per annum. It becomes evident that females are more economically disadvantaged than their male counterparts. The likelihood for females to be more financially vulnerable during marital breakdown is greater than for males. This finding is supported by Arendell (1994) and Demo (1998) who assert that financial

constraints after the breakdown of marriage means that most women are pushed down below the poverty datum line. In addition, financial problems encountered by females are generally not temporary. It follows a pattern of irreversible financial decline impacting negatively on the quality of life for herself and the children.

On the contrary, research evidence indicates that men generally fare better following marital breakdown (Laswell and Laswell,1991). They have lessor financial responsibility and adopt a tendency to treat their personal income as their own rather than that of their ex-family.

8.2.1.5 Religious affiliation of respondent's spouse

A strong tendency is noted for both male and female respondents to marry through religious homogamy. Females (83%) were slightly more homogamous than their male (82%) counterparts. Religion and racial factors are known to be strong predisposing factors in promoting homogamous marriages in most modern societies. For example, in the USA, Nock (1992) observed that 90 percent of the marriages amongst Protestants, Catholics and Jews were homogamous. It may be concluded from the discussion that Muslims in general are more inclined to engage in homogamous marriages. Marriages between Muslims and non-Muslims are often discouraged and considered as a violation of Islamic law (Khan, 1998), hence the prevalence of homogamous marriages. This belief ensures that homogamous marital relationship is the general norm for Muslims universally.

8.2.1.6 Home language of respondents

Females (58.0%) more than their male (41.0%) counterparts speak in their home language of either Urdu or Gujerati. This marked gender difference in the spoken home language may be attributed to differences in the cultural and religious socialisation of children. The tendency for girls to be socialised under stricter norms and values compared to boys, is generally the practice in most societies. Hence, the likelihood of females to adhere to cultural norms and practices with greater perseverance than their male counterparts is not surprising.

However, in the case of minorities where their values, norms and cultural systems are at variance to the dominant one, the likelihood of individuals deviating from these, is likely. Central to this deviation is the loss of one's home language and the adoption of that belonging to the host country.

Language is strongly associated with one's cultural identity. Based on these assumptions, loss of one's language may signal the process of acculturation taking place or having set in. Sacranie (1998:1) in his study of minority Muslims in Britain, noted that the deviation from the teachings and practices of Islam was largely attributed to the present generation of minority Muslims being educated and brought up according to a cultural outlook which is not consonant with Islam. Moreover, the loss of the Arabic language and lack of access to the distinct cultural structure of Islam was primarily responsible for this acculturation process. Although similar conclusions cannot be made for this study, what is quite clear is the fact that females more than males speak in their home language. Cumulatively, and on the average, only 50% of the respondents do in fact speak in their home language. It may be concluded that the diminishing use of the home language is at risk of being lost all together, with great potential for acculturation amongst the future generations of to come.

Surprisingly, the Muslim community in South Africa is serviced by an overwhelmingly large number of cultural and religious organisations whose primary aim is to promote the cultural and religious identity of its community. Language and culture were also part of the mainstream South African education system, until the recent dawn of democracy in the country. Perhaps, the use of the home language is important for maintaining an ethnic sense of identity, but it is not necessary for the identification of Muslims to Islam as a whole, since Arabic is considered to be the language of the holy book, the *Quran*. Furthermore, much of the teachings of Islam and its practices are translated in many languages, including English, which is widely spoken by Muslims in the DMA. Hence the need for a home language is gradually being diminished.

8.2.1.7 Residential distribution of respondents

The residential distribution of respondents strongly suggests the highly urbanised character of the Muslims in the DMA. In fact, 58% percent of the respondents reported living in the centre of the city, compared to the remaining 48% percent who live in small towns and suburbs within the Durban metropolitan area. Zanden (1990), Swanepoel (1992) and Ferrante (1998) strongly espouse the depersonalisation effects of urbanisation on the family. In the case of this study, similar suppositions are likely to hold true.

8.2.1.8 Type of dwelling occupied by respondents

The study highlights that approximately 36% percent of the respondents live in non-permanent housing types (i.e. outbuildings, garages and sublet houses). This suggests that a significant number of respondents do not enjoy security of tenure in so far as their housing needs are concerned. Approximately 45% of male and female respondents live in ownership type of dwellings, compared to 16% in council provided dwelling type. The large number of respondents without permanent housing arrangement suggests the demand for public housing amongst the Muslim community.

8.2.1.9 Family composition and type amongst respondents

The number of children per respondent strongly suggests the strong prevalence of the nuclear type of family system amongst Muslims in the DMA. A total of 86% of the respondents had between one to three children living with them. However, in addition 78% of the sample population reported that they had between one and two other persons living with them. The extent to which these persons are related or non-related has not been established in the study. However, the findings conclude that the majority of the respondents experiencing marital breakdown do not live on their own. This leads to the conclusion that the traditional extended family system, which the Muslim community had been accustomed to, has broken down. Urbanisation and the

type of public housing provided by the former apartheid state, are most likely factors causing the breakdown of the extended family system.

8.2.1.10 Confirmation of marriage by respondents

The religious solemnisation of marriage (*Nikah*) was widely adhered to by respondents (91%). The marriage sermon (*Khutbah*) is performed before marriage which lends a sacred character to the marriage as the verses recited relate to the institution of marriage and the responsibility of the spouses towards each other thereafter (Badat, 1996). A further observation in the study is that almost a third (32%) of the respondents consummated marriage by religious ceremony only. It is not known as to whether this is so because the respondents do not give much importance to the secular form of marriage. Alternatively, it may be likely that respondents adhering to the Islamic form of marriage do so because it gives them latitude for easy termination and the acquisition of a second spouse, especially by men. Due to the latter and the problems it poses for the rights of women, the South African Law Commission is in the process of giving due recognition to Islamic marriages in keeping with the new constitution of the country. This is likely to give all Muslim marriages greater legal protection as opposed to the former apartheid policies.

8.2.1.11 Type of marriage

The majority (72%) of the respondents confirmed their marriage in terms of community of property compared to the ante-nuptial contract (27%) type. This is in sharp contrast to the Islamic concept of marriage which considers it not only as a holy sacrament but a civil contract (Hodkinson,1984; Ali,1986). The most likely reason for the wide prevalence of community of property marriages may be attributed to the following reasons:

- community of property marriages are convenient compared to the ante-nuptial contract type which requires a formal contract to be drawn up by a legal expert;

- formulating a contract is both costly and requires negotiation between prospective couples which is time consuming and sometimes a source of fundamental points of difference, and

- when spouses are in love they tend to express a desire to share equally all that they bring into the marriage situation. The community of property arrangement offers this opportunity to express one's love for each other through equal sharing on the basis "what is mine is also yours".

Despite these likely possibilities as to why respondents chose community of property marital arrangements, it has undoubtedly serious consequences for the economic welfare of spouses upon the dissolution of marriage or impending legal prosecutions. From an Islamic perspective, community of property marriages are considered unequal as it contradicts the Islamic Law of Inheritance should the marriage dissolve or one of the spouses become deceased and the other remarries. In this event, the offspring from the initial marriage are likely to be denied a fair proportion of the deceased estate. Should the remaining spouse remarry, the situation becomes further complicated as 50% of the deceased estate is awarded to the surviving spouse, at the expense of the offspring. It is for this reason, that most Muslim theologians recommend the ante-nuptial contract type of marriage. Despite this, the tendency to marry in terms of community of property is most preferred amongst Muslims.

8.2.1.12   Decision to marry

Courtship marriage was most prominent amongst both male (73.0%) and female (63.0%) respondents, although significantly lower for females. This is in sharp contrast to the perception that marriages between Muslims are traditionally arranged by elders, with family interest prominently kept in mind. The study highlights a greater tendency for females to be married by arrangement (37.0%) than males (27.0%).

Although a greater tendency for courtship marriages is noted amongst the respondents, Eshelman, (1997) asserts that in many societies arranged marriage are

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still the norm and practice. Consequently, the very fact that almost a third of the respondents had consummated marriage by arrangement is not unique. On the other hand, the very fact that a significant number of respondents who married by courtship also suggests that as traditional cultures are exposed to western cultures due to modernisation and industrialisation, there is an increasing tendency towards free-choice or love matched marriages. On the issue of whether arranged marriages contribute to marital breakdown, no research evidence exists to support this supposition (Eshelman, 1997).

8.2.1.13   Age at consummation of marriage

There is increasing evidence that men and women who marry at an early age are more likely to experience marital breakdown than couples who marry when older. According to South (1995) almost every study on marital dissolution undertaken in the past 30 years had found statistically significant and inverse effects of both the husband's and wife's age at marriage and the probability of marital breakdown.

In this study, it is noted that male and female respondents between the ages 15 to 24 years consummated 68% of the marriages. This finding is supported by South (1995), Amato (1996), Lehrer and Chiswick (1993), Dickinson and Leming (1990) and Suhomlinova and O'Rand (1998) who assert that the likelihood of marital breakdown is greater amongst those persons who marry at an early age. In addition, the finding also suggests that the earlier the marriage the greater the likelihood of marital breakdown.

8.2.1.14   Duration of marital stability before breakdown

The study highlights that 48% of the respondents experienced marital stability for a period ranging between 1 – 4 years before breakdown. Of this, a significant 30% of the respondents experienced marital breakdown within one year of marriage. Considering the fact that the age at which respondents consummated marriage, which was expounded upon earlier, and the duration of marital stability before breakdown,

suggests a strong relationship between age at marriage and the duration of marital stability. In support of this assumption, Amato (1996) asserts that the age at first marriage is known to be a consistent predictor of marital breakdown. Lehrer and Chiswick (1993) confirm that a very young age at marriage is often associated with short duration of search, suggesting relatively poor information about partner characteristics, a high probability of divergence from the ideal match, and a greater likelihood of marital breakdown.

8.3 Causal factors leading to marital breakdown

The final results of the causal factors leading to marital breakdown compared to the independent variable gender, age, education, occupation and income, are depicted in Table 8.3. The purpose of this tabulation is to ascertain whether the factors leading to marital breakdown are significant and consistent for each of the independent variables. Each one of these factors will be discussed in some detail.

8. 3.1 Infidelity

A significant relationship is noted across all independent variables that infidelity causes loss of trust amongst spouses, leading to marital breakdown. This finding is no different to the value attached to sexual fidelity within marriage in most societies. Although this finding is conclusive, social scientists do not altogether agree that infidelity only is the cause of marital breakdown. In fact, evidence suggests that poor marital relationships often lead to infidelity (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983). There is evidence (Lamanna and Riedmann, 1991 and Lasswell and Lasswell, 1991) that not all extra-marital relationships lead to marital breakdown. The amount of trust and duration of the marriage appear to be an important factor in determining whether marriages break down as a result of infidelity. Despite these differences in opinion, Bird and Mellville (1994) assert that infidelity, however, is destructive to marital relationships especially when no prior agreement exists amongst spouses.

Table 8.3   Distribution of relationship between the causal factors leading to marital breakdown per independent variable

Number	Dependent variable	Independent variable				
	Causal factors leading to marital breakdown	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	Income
1	Infidelity	S	S	S	S	S
2	Alcohol abuse	S	S	S	S	S
3	Drug abuse	S	S	S	S	S
4	Religious differences	S	S	S	S	S
5	In-law interference	IS	S	S	S	IS
6	Personality problems	S	S	S	S	S
7	Personality change	S	S	S	S	S
8	Communication	IS	IS	S	S	S
9	Working mothers	S	S	S	IS	S
10	Insufficient income	IS	S	S	S	IS
11	Sexual issues	S	S	S	S	IS
12	Childlessness	IS	IS	S	IS	S
13	Sex for pleasure	IS	IS	S	IS	IS
14	Women's liberation	IS	S	IS	IS	IS
15	Early marriages	IS	S	IS	IS	S
16	Birth of a baby	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS
17	Premarital sex	IS	S	S	S	IS

(S = Significant Relationship   IS = Insignificant Relationship)

8.3.2   Alcohol Abuse

The finding that when one or both spouses abuse alcohol leading to marital breakdown is conclusive. A significant relationship is noted across all independent variables. This finding is supported by the assertion made by Bradbury (1998), Laswell and Laswell (1991) and Stanley (1998) that alcohol abuse is often the facilitator of most of the common marital problems and is linked to marital satisfaction and marital stability. However, whilst this may be true, evidence also

supports the view that marital distress also leads to excessive drinking and abuse (Bradbury, 1998).

8.3.3 Drug abuse

The study confirms that a significant relationship exists between drug abuse and marital breakdown across all variables. Yamaguchi and Kandel (1997) in a study of marijuana abuse and marital breakdown conclude that its use leads to higher rates of premarital cohabitation and divorce, and delays in parenthood and marriage. At the same time they assert that the use of marijuana declines with marriage, but its dissolution increases the probability of use. In contrast, they note no significant effect on marital breakdown rates amongst couples who were marijuana users before marriage, but after marriage, when one of the spouses uses the drug without disclosure, it is likely to have far-reaching negative consequences for marital stability. Kaestner (1997) in a study of cocaine and marijuana use on marriage and marital stability conclude that its use is likely to lead to marital breakdown as it increases the uncertainty about the expected gain from marriage.

8.3.4   Religious differences

The study concludes that a significant relationship exists between religious differences amongst spouses and marital breakdown. The finding is consistent amongst all independent variables tested. This finding is consistent with that noted by Lehrer and Chiswick (1993) who assert that in households in which spouses differ in their religious preferences, there is a greater likelihood of reduced efficiency and characterised by greater conflict. Lamanna and Riedmann (1991) and Moore (1996) express that changing religious values has placed a decline in the traditional perception that marriage is a holy institution making marital breakdown more acceptable. However, in contrast, Laswell and Laswell (1991) argue that although interfaith marriages are thought to have higher failure rates than couples who share similar religious beliefs, other factors such as age at marriage, educational level and social and economic status of spouses are highly correlated with marital success.

8.3.5 In-law interference

The study is not all together conclusive that in-law interference leads to marital breakdown. Although a significant relationship is noted for the independent variables age, education and occupation, an insignificant relationship is noted for the variables gender and income. This inconsistency suggests that the finding is not conclusive. Despite the fact that the study is not conclusive, research conducted by Serovich and Price (1994) suggests that contact with parents and kin are potential sources of problems in most marriages.

8.3.6 Personality problems

A significant relationship exists between personality problems and marital breakdown. This finding is conclusive for all variables tested in the study. The finding is supported by Tucker et al (1998) who conclude that intra-personal characteristics and the timing of divorce is dependent on traits such as impulsivity, lack of conscientiousness, vanity, egotism, lack of sympathy and tenderness, predisposing individuals to higher risk for earlier than later marital breakdown. In addition, neurotic individuals are more likely to experience marital breakdown.

8.3.7 Personality change

The study concludes that a significant relationship exists between personality change after marriage and marital breakdown. Leonard and Roberts (1998) and Bradbury (1998) maintain that the impact of personality differences is most strongly evident when couples are newlyweds compared to later in marriages. Issues of compatibility are likely to present themselves after the honeymoon when they present their true selves and consequently become disillusioned with each other.

8.3.8 Communication

The study is not entirely conclusive on whether difficulties with communication amongst spouses lead to marital breakdown. Although a significant relationship is observed for the variables education, occupation and income, insignificant relationships are noted for the variables gender and education. Despite this difference, Burleson and Denton (1997) suggest that good communication enhances marital quality and ensures marital satisfaction. On the other hand, Stinnett et al (1991) maintains that not in all instances communication leads to marital breakdown since in many instances couples refrain from communication in order to avoid further conflict in their marriage.

8.3.9 Working mothers

The study is partially conclusive that working mothers find it difficult to cope with the demands of marriage leading to marital breakdown. No significant relationship is noted between the independent variable income and working mothers as a cause of marital breakdown. Evidence in the literature supports the assumption that working mothers improve the quality of life of families, expand role models for children and spend more quality time with their children (Demo, 1994; Suhomlinova and O'Rand, 1998). On the other hand, Saxton (1990), Vogler and Pahl (1999) and Bharat (1995) assert that where both husband and wife have paid jobs it can have a significant effect on the couple's interaction in marriage. Wives who provide a share of the income tend to have relatively more power in their marriages than wives who do not.

8.3.10 Insufficient income

The study is not conclusive that insufficient income is a source of poor marital relationships. No significant relationship is found between the independent variables of gender and income, and insufficient income as a source of marital breakdown. Despite the fact that the study is not conclusive, research suggests that lower income families are placed under greater stress by unemployment and financial problems,

lowering the rewards obtained from the marriage and increasing the probability of marital breakdown (Amato, 1996).

8.3.11 Sexual issues

The study is not altogether conclusive that matters concerning sex are often a source of marital breakdown. No significant relationship is noted between the independent variable income and matters concerning sex as a causal factor in marital breakdown, although a very significant relationship is observed for the other variables. Cox (1990) asserts that many factors reduce sexual interaction and excitement in a marriage, which could be a source of conflict and marital breakdown. Financial problems, demands of work, household chores and children are known to affect a couple's sex life and can become a source of discontentment. In addition, those who participate to a greater extent in sexual activity before marriage, find sex after marriage boring, dull, monotonous and routine.

8.3.12 Childlessness

With the exception of the independent variable education, no significant relationship is noted between childlessness and marital breakdown. There is increasing evidence (Aldous, 1996; Laswell and Laswell, 1991, and Greil, 1998) that childlessness leads to an infertility syndrome involving denial, self-blame, communication difficulties between couples, anger and depression. These feelings often become the source of other problems within the marital relationship, such as alcohol abuse, extramarital affairs and personality problems, which consequently lead to marital breakdown. However, the extent to which childlessness affects marital relationships has been disputed. Monach (1993) notes that new mothers find pregnancy to make their marriage less happy due to their over-involvement with the forthcoming baby, resulting in an emotional withdrawal from the marital relationship.

8.3.13 Sex for procreation

With the exception of the independent variable education, no significant relationship is noted amongst the other independent variables that when sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure, then it causes marital breakdown. This suggests that sex for pleasure instead of procreation is important for marital stability.

8.3.14 Women's liberation

With the exception of the independent variable of age, no significant relationship exists amongst the other variables that women's liberation is a causal factor in marital breakdown. Research undertaken by Bharat (1995) and Demo (1994) suggest that the emancipation of women from home and entry into the labour market in fact has a positive effect on the quality of life of families and improves marital relationships. Further, reforms in law have generally improved the status of women in most societies, offering them greater protection from abusive marital relationships, exploitation in the labour market and equality.

8.3.15 Early marriages

With the exception of the independent variable age and income, no significant relationship is noted amongst the other variables in so far as persons who marry young are predisposed to marital breakdown. Despite this difference, research evidence (South, 1995; Amato; 1996; Dickinson and Leming, 1990 and Suhomlinova and O'Rand, 1998) strongly confirms that a direct relationship exists between early marriages and marital breakdown.

8.3.16 Birth of a baby

The study concludes that an insignificant relationship exists between the birth of a baby and marital breakdown. However, to the contrary research indicates a significant relationship between the presence of children and its effects on marital

stability. Lavee et al (1996) assert that the birth of a child is known to demand increased time and energy resulting in less attention being directed to the spouse resulting in reduced marital satisfaction.

8.3.17 Premarital sex

The study is not conclusive that premarital sex is important for gaining experience, allowing married couples greater marital stability. No significant relationship is noted for the independent variable of age and income compared to the others. Despite this difference, considerable empirical evidence (Wu, 1995; Amato,1996; Forste and Tanfer, 1996, Cox,1990) suggests that premarital sex is associated with lower marital stability, leading to marital breakdown.

8.4 Role enactment and role fulfilment as causal factors in marital breakdown

In this section the final results of appropriate role enactment and fulfilment leading to marital breakdown are presented. The findings are compared to the independent variables gender, age, education, occupation and income, depicted in Table 8.4 to ascertain whether consistency in perception do exist and whether this is significant to this study. Each one of these factors is discussed in some detail.

8.4.1 Marriage and status enhancement

It is evident from the finding that a significant relationship exists on being married and the addition of a new status in the life of married couples, resulting in the strengthening of the marriage bond. Despite the fact that being married is an important status passage conferring adult status for both men and women (Bell, 1971; Gittins,1985) it is questionable as to whether the status of being married improves a person's social, psychological and emotional well-being. In this instance, Ross (1995) concludes that a relationship exists between a couple's inability to adjust to the status of being married and marital breakdown.

Table 8.4 Distribution of relationship between appropriate role enactment and fulfilment as a causal factor leading to marital breakdown per independent variable

Number	Dependent variable — Role enactment and marital stability	Independent variable				
		Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	Income
1	Marriage and status enhancement	S	S	S	S	S
2	Stereotyped marital roles	S	IS	S	S	S
3	Role differentiation	IS	S	S	S	S
4	Family background and role preparation	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS
5	Role reversal	IS	S	S	S	IS
6	Domestic role of women and work	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS
7	Role fulfilment by working mothers	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS
8	Male dominance	IS	IS	IS	IS	IS

(S= Significant   IS= Insignificant)

8.4.2 Stereotyped marital roles

With the exception of the independent variable of age, a significant relationship is observed for all other variables on the perception that married couples experience difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and their attempts at retaining individuality causes marital breakdown. This finding is supported by Brues and Pearson (1998) who assert that wives are happiest in marriages where husbands share equally in household tasks. They conclude that couple's who share roles, experience increased communication, heightened intimacy and improved decision-making abilities. In support of non-stereotyped roles, Winfield (1998) strongly advocates that role stereotypes violate the couple's marital right to codetermine household affairs.

8.4.3 Role differentiation

A significant relationship exists amongst all independent variables, with the exception of gender, that married couples have a problem to differentiate between the different roles they have to fulfil, thus causing a discrepancy in the role expectations of the spouse. Despite this difference, Stinnett et al (1991), Lasswell and Lasswell (1991) and Odell and Quinn (1998) assert that many of the roles that adults expect to play later in adult life are idealized during childhood. Odell and Quinn (1998) state that it is only after marriage many of these expectations become visible, as the partner they marry does not resemble the model they have constructed and expected. This discrepancy, they conclude, is likely to develop into anger and demands for change may be expressed with hostility or silently hidden, leading to disappointment and disillusionment in the marriage.

8.4.4 Family background and role preparation

An insignificant relationship is noted amongst all independent variables that married couples who come from broken homes have difficulty adjusting to married life. Although no significant relationship exists, social scientists (Lehrer and Chiswick, 1993) are in agreement that the effect of a broken home background is ambiguous and vary with the reason for the breakdown of marriage. However, Rohling and Dostal (1996) and Richards (1999) note that through intergenerational transmission, individuals who grow up in negative family environments are more likely to perpetuate the negative behaviour they have observed or experienced in their adulthood. On the contrary, Lehrer and Chiswick (1993) state that children from broken family backgrounds, because of their experience of single parenthood, are more likely to raise the value of intact marital relationships.

8.4.5 Role Reversal

The relationship between gender and income on the perception that after marriage spouses tend to revert to the roles they used to play when single causing marital

breakdown, was not significant. However, a significant relationship was found amongst the independent variables age, education and occupation. Despite this difference, the inability of spouses to conform to their new marital roles after marriage and periodic regression to roles they used to play when single, are known to be a source of conflict, resulting in marital breakdown (Lamanna and Reidmann, 1997).

8.4.6 Domestic role of women and work

No significant relationship exists on the perception that husbands feel that the woman's role is in the home and her insistence on working outside of it causes marital breakdown. This finding is consistent for all independent variable tested in the study. Despite the fact that no significant relationship exists, new concerns are raised amongst researchers about the entry of women in the labour market and the potential impact of relative earnings on marital breakdown. Heckert et al (1998) postulate that employed married women, because of their relative financial independence, are more likely to have the option of divorce compared to unemployed women or women with fewer economic opportunities.

8.4.7 Role fulfilment by working mothers

The study highlights that no significant relationship exists on the perception that working mothers have to many roles to fulfil and tend to neglect their families, thus causing marital breakdown. This finding is consistent for all independent variables tested in the study. However, research evidence on this perception is not conclusive. Bharat (1995), Silva (1999) and Robinson and Milkie (1998) postulate that regardless of their employment status, women continue to bear the major household responsibilities and perform multiple roles as worker, home maker and wife. On the other hand, Mantri and Krishnaswamy (1994) and Demo (1994) contend that working mothers do in fact experience difficulty in fulfiling their dual roles efficiently, thus producing tension and conflict within her and the marital relationship.

8.4.8 Male Dominance

The perception that the man should play a dominant role in the marriage to ensure marital harmony was found to be insignificant. Research on this issue is not conclusive in view of the fact that the extent to which men play a dominant role in their marriage is determined by education, financial and cultural factors. A major supposition on this issue is that the more educated, financially independent and emancipated a woman, the greater the likelihood of her enjoying equal or greater power than her spouse. However, Dallos and Dallos (1997) assert that society generally expects the man to be the provider, protector and in control as head of the family which inevitably makes men take on a dominant role in a marriage situation.

8.5   The consequences of marital breakdown on family life

In this section the final results of the consequence of marital breakdown on family life are presented. The findings are compared to the independent variables gender, age, education, occupation and income, depicted in Table 8.5 to ascertain whether consistency in perception do exist and whether a significant relationship exists. Each one of these factors is discussed.

8.5.1   Children as victims of marital breakdown

The perception that children suffer most from marital breakdown is found to be significant across all independent variables tested. A general consensus exists amongst social scientists that children coming from broken homes are more likely to have low grades, drop out of school, become drug addicts, have premarital sex, seek psychological help, get divorced later in life, end up in prison, commit murder and the like (Jeynes, 1999).

Table 8.5 Distribution of consequences of marital breakdown for family life per independent variable

Number	Consequences of marital breakdown for family life	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	Income
	Dependent variable	**Independent variable**				
1	Children as victims of marital breakdown	S	S	S	S	S
2	Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings	S	S	S	S	S
3	Poor school performance amongst children	S	S	S	S	S
4	Financial difficulties and neglect of children	S	S	S	S	S
5	Placement of children in children's homes	IS	S	IS	IS	IS
6	Breakdown in discipline amongst children	S	S	S	S	S
7	Loss of trust in parents	S	S	S	S	S
8	Displaced anger on children	S	S	S	S	S
9	Childlessness and the birth of a new born baby	S	S	S	IS	S
10	Emotional abuse of children	IS	S	IS	IS	S
11	Placement of children in foster care	IS	IS	IS	IS	S
12	Poor parental role models for children	IS	IS	IS	IS	S

(S = Significant   IS = Insignificant)

8.5.2 Disturbed social relationships amongst siblings

A significant relationship is observed between marital breakdown and disturbed social relationships among the children in the family. Ramey and Juliusson (1998) confirm that upon marital breakdown sibling relationships become disturbed. However, they assert that the larger the family size, the lesser the contact with parents, leading to greater sibling rivalry and dispute.

8.5.3 Poor school performance amongst children

The study confirms a significant relationship between marital breakdown and poor school performance by children. However, Jeynes (1999) notes that children from neither parent home (those not living with their either biological parent) often perform at academically lower levels than children from intact families or children from single parent families. This suggests that children living with a single parent are likely to perform academically better, compared to those without any parents at all. Hence, children who are committed to residential care programmes or who are placed in foster care, are most vulnerable.

8.5.4 Financial difficulties and neglect of children

A significant relationship is noted between marital breakdown and severe financial strain on the family, making it impossible to care properly for children. Richards (1999) confirms that marital breakdown subjects children to economic disadvantage, reduces the quality of life (Arendell, 1994) and causes emotional and psychological problems resulting from financial problems (Ladd and Zvonkovic, 1995).

8.5.5 Placement of children in children's homes

With the exception of the independent variable age, an insignificant relationship is noted on the perception that marital breakdown leads to the placement of children in children's homes, perpetuating family instability into the next generation. Although no scientific evidence is available to support the above-mentioned perception, it is known that feelings of anger, depression and the manifestation of anti-social behaviour are likely. This may be especially the case amongst those children who have been forcibly removed from parental care by the state to protect them from physical and psychological harm by parents during extreme marital conflict.

8.5.6 Breakdown in discipline amongst children

A significant relationship is noted between marital breakdown and poor discipline among children. This finding is consistent with Dreman et al (1999), who assert that custodial mothers have difficulty in establishing control and discipline in the absence of a father figure. Arditti (1995) asserts that the non-custodial father is often relegated to the role of secondary caregiver resulting in lax or non-existent discipline.

8.5.7 Loss of trust in parents

A significant relationship exists between marital breakdown and the loss of trust in parents by children. Lamanna and Riedmann (1997) confirm this finding by asserting that a sense of insecurity caused by constant conflict before, during and after marital breakdown, are a determining factor on the extent to which children continue to express unconditional trust in their parents.

8.5.8 Displaced anger on children

A significant relationship exists between marital breakdown and displaced anger on children by parents. Researchers confirm that the probability of displaced parental anger is most likely to occur in the post-divorce stage. Dreman et al (1999) aver that the greater the intensity in the expression of anger by a parent, the more severe the manifestation of behaviour problems amongst children.

8.5.9 Childlessness and the birth of a new baby

With the exception of the independent variable occupation, a significant relationship exists amongst the remaining variables that childless couples experiencing marital breakdown often believe that a new born child will save their marriage. Greil (1998) states that one of the major problems experienced by childless couples is the social stigma attached to the inability of marital couples to conceive a baby. This often leads to poor interaction with other couples with children, family members and peers,

leading to embarrassment and social isolation. However, the extent to which childlessness affects marital relationship is disputed. Some studies suggest that some couples adapt well to their childless state (Monach, 1993).

8.5.10 Emotional abuse of children

A significant relationship exists for the independent variable age and income that parents experiencing marital breakdown seek the emotional support of their children, harming sound family relationships. However, no significant relationship is noted for the remaining variables. Despite this difference, evidence suggests that couples coming out of long-term marriages tend to depend on their children for support and companionship many years after divorce (Ladd and Zvonkovic, 1995). However, no evidence exists in the literature on the extent to which this emotional dependency has an effect on children.

8.5.11 Placement of children in foster homes

With the exception of the independent variable income, no significant relationship is noted for the remaining variables that the placement of children in foster care homes could help prevent the perpetuation of family instability. This finding is supported by Clausen et al (1998) who assert that the movement of children from the family of origin to foster care engenders feelings of rejection, guilt, hostility, anger, abandonment, shame and dissociative reactions in response to the loss of a familiar environment and the separation from family.

8.5.12 Poor parental role models for children

With the exception of the independent variable income, no significant relationship exists amongst the remaining variables that marital breakdown does not allow parents to be good role models for their children. However, research evidence suggests that continuous conflict amongst parents is likely to lead to poor self-esteem amongst children (Richards, 1999), affect children later in life (Lee, 1995) and is detrimental to

their development (David et al, 1996). On the contrary, Sinclair and Nelson (1998) argue that marital breakdown does not always lead to negative consequences for children. Some children are known to adjust better after marital breakdown compared to those who are faced with ongoing marital conflict between their parents.

8.6 Conclusion

The study highlights that the nature and causes of marital breakdown and its consequences for family life amongst Muslims of an Indian origin in the DMA are similar to that observed in American society. This is largely attributed to the fact that the institutions of marriage and family life is a universal phenomena and respond to social, psychological and economic conditions similarly. The review of literature on the concepts marriage, family and the causes and consequences of marital breakdown for family life provide sufficient evidence for this conclusion.

Although similarities are observed, this study highlights that amongst the Muslims in the DMA, infidelity, alcohol abuse, drug addiction, religious differences, personality problems and personality change after marriage are the most important factors in predisposing married couples to marital breakdown. Problems with in-laws, matters concerning sex and mothers who work, are found to be the second most important causal factors in marital breakdown. Communication, insufficient income, premarital sex and early marriages were partially considered to be causal factors in marital breakdown. However, childlessness, women's liberation, the birth of a baby and sex for procreation instead of pleasure are hardly considered to be causal factors in marital breakdown in the study.

The study offers varying conclusions on the issue of appropriate role fulfilment and role enactment by married couples as a causal factor in marital breakdown. The status brought about by marriage received wide support in the study. This suggests that the institution of marriage is valued and considered as an important means of status passage to adulthood amongst Muslims in the DMA compared to cohabitation as practiced in the western world. Almost unanimous is the conclusion that the inability

to fulfil stereotyped marriage roles, difficulties in differentiating the different marital roles to be played by spouses and reversal to the roles played by couples when single, are important causal factors in marital breakdown. Family background of spouses and inappropriate role preparation, the inability of working mothers to fulfil their domestic roles, women's liberation, and male dominance for marital stability are hardly considered to be causal factors in marital breakdown in this study.

The study highlights the serious consequences of marital breakdown for family life, especially for children. The perception that children suffer the most during marital breakdown, lack discipline, perform poorly at school, experience a disturbed social relationship amongst their siblings, are neglected due to financial problems, lose trust in their parents and experience the wrath of displaced anger from parents, received unanimous support in the study. However, the study is not conclusive whether children should be placed in foster or residential care during heightened marital conflict or breakdown. On the issue of children being subjected to emotional abuse during marital discord and breakdown, no unanimity is noted. Partial agreement is noted that childless couples experiencing marital breakdown believe that a new born child could save their marriage.

8.7 Recommendations

This study is exploratory since no study of this nature has ever been undertaken amongst the Muslim community in South Africa. As a consequence, the recommendations made although may have important and promising suggestions for the preservation of marriage and family life amongst Muslims in the DMA, some may be worthy of consideration for the entire Muslim community in South Africa. This is based on the assumption that although the Muslim community in South Africa is fragmented due to their historical origin, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, they hold a common set of norms and values rooted in the teachings of Islam and its basic tenets, which are almost universal.

In the light of the above the following recommendations are made:

8.7.1 Premarital counseling

A definite need exists for prospective marriage couples to enter into premarital counselling. The Muslim community has adequate resources in the form of community-based and welfare organisations to diversify its services in offering specialised premarital counselling.

8.7.2 Single parent support groups

Single parents, especially women are most vulnerable to marital breakdown, socially, emotionally and psychologically. A single parent support group should ideally offer parenting skills to deal with the management of children after marital breakdown, overcome the emotional trauma of marital breakdown, and make post-breakdown adjustments.

8.7.3 Youth programmes

Special youth programmes targeting those coming from broken homes will ensure adequate preparation for adult life, through life skills programmes and training. Existing Muslim community-based organisations are well placed to offer these services.

8.7.4 Religious differences

This is known to have a profound effect on the stability of Muslim marriages. The Muslim community needs to rise to the global challenges of unity in diversity since Islam is bound by universal religious principles. The post-apartheid era is likely to introduce more religious differences, especially in light of the fact Muslims in South Africa are now exposed to the global village of Islam and the various sects and ethnic divisions prevalent in different Muslim countries. Here the need for Muslim

theologians to ensure unity in religious belief and practices cannot be overemphasised.

8.7.5 Recognition of Islamic marriages

The recognition of Muslim marriages by the government is most likely to protect those who do not wish to confirm their marriage through the secular law. This will undoubtedly provide greater protection to children and women whose marriages are not registered in terms of the secular law of the country. A need exists for the Muslim community as a whole to advocate for the recognition of Muslim marriages in the country.

8.7.6 Income generating programmes

The economic hardships followed by marital breakdown, make women and children most vulnerable. In this respect, the focus of Muslim community-based and welfare organisations should ideally set up home-based income generating programmes, which will help to eradicate dependency on welfare resources and empower Muslim women towards economic independence.

8.7.7 Status of women

Amongst the Muslims, it is the male that customarily attends the mosque and is informed about the social, political and religious issues in the community. It is important that all mosques be open to females in keeping with the traditional practices of separate facilities for females. In this way, the status of Muslim women will be enhanced and ensure greater participation in the affairs of the community. In addition, Muslim women should be provided with greater opportunities to serve the many community-based and welfare organisations served predominantly by males. In this way, women will be in a position to work towards the eradication of the many social problems challenging the community with their male counterparts.

8.7.8 Social Problems

The mosque should not be used predominantly for theological ministry. It is an important and powerful place where social problems confronting the Muslim community are discussed, debated and challenged. It needs to be family-friendly, where both women and children actively participate. Family programmes should ideally centre in the mosque.

8.7.9 Vernacular education

Most Muslim children attend *Madressa* after school. The system of vernacular education needs to accommodate life skills and training instead of the routine learning of religion only. It needs to focus on the maintenance of an Islamic sense of identity coupled with diverse skills for adaptation in a plural society like South Africa. This is especially the case when considering the fact that Muslims in South Africa constitute a minority group and adaptation is better than acculturation.

8.7.10 Ongoing research

As mentioned earlier, this is only an exploratory study. Further research is necessary on Muslim family life, on how other Muslim minorities preserve marriages and family in other parts of the world, and on how existing community-based and welfare organisations could promote marriage and family preservation programmes.

8.8 Summary

The study aimed at ascertaining the nature and causes of marital breakdown amongst a selected group of Muslim Indians in the Durban Metropolitan Area. A theoretical framework is constructed on the concept marriage, family and culture. In addition, a theoretical framework on the factors leading to marital breakdown is constructed. An in-depth study of the Muslim community in the Durban Metropolitan Area and the

country as a whole is undertaken, focussing on its historical origin, its peculiar religious and cultural features and its social organization.

A questionnaire using the Likert scale of measurement was constructed to ascertain the attitudes of a selected group of male and female respondents experiencing marital breakdown in the DMA. The questionnaire was subjected to a pilot study to ensure reliability and validity. A non-probability sample of respondents was selected in the DMA and the data was collected through interviews conducted by social workers at the different Child Welfare Societies.

The data was gathered and analysed using appropriate statistical methods. The basis of statistical analysis was the weighted mean, a measure of central tendency. The weighted mean sought to establish consistency in response amongst the independent variables gender, age, education, occupation and income. The weighted data were thereafter rank-ordered using a matrix.

The rank-ordered data in each matrix was analysed in order to establish whether a significant relationship existed for each of the independent variables and dependent variables being tested. Thereafter, the data were interpreted on the basis of its significance or insignificance for the study and where appropriate supported by theoretical evidence appearing in the literature study. Based on these procedures, final conclusions are made about the study.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Male	Fem

SECTION A

1. Age

15 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60+
1	2	3	4	5	6

2. Educational Level

No Schooling	1
Primary School	2
Secondary School	3
Technical College/ College of education	4
University	5
Other:	6

3. Occupation

Professional Worker	1
Manager	2
Clerical worker	3
Skilled worker	4
Labourer	5
Self employed	6
Unemployed	7
Semi-skilled	8
Other:	9

4. Annual Income

R2 499 and less	1
R2 500 - R4 999	2
R5 000 - R9 999	3
R10 000 - R14 999	4
R15 000 - R19 999	5
R20 000 - R24 999	6
R25 000 - R29 999	7
R30 000 - R34 999	8
R35 000 - R39 999	9
R40 000 - R44 999	10
R45 000 - above	11

5. Religious Affiliation of Spouse

Spouse	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Other
a) Husband	1	2	3	4
b) Wife	1	2	3	4

6. Home Language

Spouse	Urdu	Gujerati	Other
a) Husband	1	2	3
b) Wife	1	2	3

7. Residential Area: _____

8. Type of Dwelling

Ownership	1	Outbuilding/garage	3
Council Home	2	Sublet house	4

9. Family Composition and Size

   a) No. of Children

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

   b) Other members excluding yourself, your spouse and children

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

10. Confirmation of Marriage

Religious Ceremony only	1
Registration only	2
Both	3

11. Type of Marriage

Community of property	1
Ante-Nuptial Contract	2

12. Decision to Marry

Arranged	1
Courtship	2

13. Age at Marriage

15 - 19	20 - 24	25 -29	30- 34	35+
1	2	3	4	5

14. Duration of Marital Stability before breakdown.

0 - 1	2 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 19	20+
1	2	3	4	5	6

SECTION B

15. Married couples first experience marital discord, generally once baby is born.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

16. Married couples lack adequate communication with each other in a large family.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

17. In a marriage situation when one or both spouses abuse alcohol marital breakdown will most probably result.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

18. After marriage, changes in personality occur which disturb marital accord.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

19. Insufficient income is a source of poor marital relationships.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

20. Infidelity causes loss of trust and often cause marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

21. Drug abuse causes wife battering, leading to marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

22. Religious differences are always points of conflict with married couples leading to marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

23. Working mothers find it difficult to cope with the demands of marriage.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

24. In-laws tend to prescribe standards of behavior for married couples thus often causing marital breakdowns.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

25. The inability to have children makes married couples feel inadequate and often causes a breakdown in marriage.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

26. Matters concerning sex is often a source of argument and discord in marriage.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

27. When sex is regarded as a means towards procreation instead of pleasure, it often causes marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

28. Many marriages are experiencing breakdown because of women liberation.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

29. Premarital sex is important for gaining experience which allows married couples greater marital stability.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

36. Married couples generally have difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and their attempts at retaining individuality causes marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

37. For marital harmony, the man should play a dominant role in the marriage.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

38. Married couple who come from broken homes have difficulty adjusting to married life.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

39. Husbands generally feel that the woman's role is in the home and her insistence on working outside of it causes discord, leading to marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

SECTION D

40. Children usually suffer most from marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

41. Marital breakdown disturbs the social relationships among the children in the family.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

36. Married couples generally have difficulty in accepting stereotyped roles and their attempts at retaining individuality causes marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

37. For marital harmony, the man should play a dominant role in the marriage.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

38. Married couple who come from broken homes have difficulty adjusting to married life.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

39. Husbands generally feel that the woman's role is in the home and her insistence on working outside of it causes discord, leading to marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

SECTION D

40. Children usually suffer most from marital breakdown.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

41. Marital breakdown disturbs the social relationships among the children in the family.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

42. Marital breakdown brings about severe financial strains on the family making it impossible to care properly for the children.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

43. The effects of marital breakdown leads to children performing poorly at school.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

44. The consequence of marital breakdown often leads to children being placed in residential care, and this perpetuates family instability into the next generation.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

45. Foster care in happy homes should be considered for children who are exposed to severe marital breakdown because this could prevent perpetuating of family instability.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

46. Marital breakdown does not allow parents to be good role models for their children thus perpetuating marital discord.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

47. Marital breakdown leads to poor discipline among children thus increasing the crisis in the family.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

48. Children reared in an environment of severe marital breakdown often lose trust in their parents, harming their own future marital relation.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

49. Parents experiencing marital breakdowns seek the emotional support of their children, thus harming sound family relationships.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

50. Parent experiencing marital breakdown tend to displace their anger onto their children, thus heightening the family crisis.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

51. Childless couples experiencing marital breakdown believe that a new born child would save their marriage.

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION