

**Marital Quality in India: A Study based in the National Capital Region**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University*

*In partial fulfillment of requirements*

*for the award of the degree of*

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**Akhilesh Pathak**



**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS**

**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

**NEW DELHI 110067**

**INDIA**


**2021**

RECOMMENDATION FORM FOR EVALUATION BY THE EXAMINER/S

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation/thesis titled  
*'Marital Quality in India: A study based in the  
National Capital Region'* submitted by  
Mr/Ms. *Akhilesh Pathak* in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for award of degree of M.Phil/M.Tech/Ph.D of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi,  
has not been previously submitted in part or in full for any other degree of this university  
or any other university/institution.

We recommend this thesis/dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation for  
the award of the degree of M.Phil/M.Tech/Ph.D.

  
Signature of Supervisor

Date: 6/10/2021

Asstt. Professor  
CSSS/SSS  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067

*Vibekha Kaur*  
Signature of Dean/Chairperson

Date: 07/10/21

  
Chairperson  
CSSS/SSS  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi - 110067

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	i
<b>Chapter One: Theme of the Study</b> .....	1
<b>Chapter Two: Models of Marital Quality: The Indian Context</b> .....	57
<b>Chapter Three: Determinants of Marital Quality: The Indian Perspective</b> .....	90
<b>Chapter Four: Gender and Marital Quality</b> .....	144
<b>Chapter Five: Globalization, Cultural Values, and Marital Quality</b> .....	204
<b>Chapter Six: Marital Commitment: The Balancing Factor</b> .....	275
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	354
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	360

## Acknowledgments

I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to my PhD supervisor, Dr. Prakasha Chandra Sahoo without whose tireless mentoring and display of grit when needed this thesis would not have been possible. His command over data work and statistical tools made my effort look much simpler and relaxed. I must confess as a supervisor, Dr. Sahoo is ‘the’ person to have.

However, at this juncture that brings the curtains down on an eight-year long event in JNU, I can least forget my M. Phil supervisor, Prof, Renuka Singh who is the person to help me decide the topic of this thesis. I still remember the long hours of discussion we had focused in this direction back in 2017.

It also gives me an immense sense of satisfaction to express my gratitude to my first PhD supervisor, Prof. Susan Visvanathan for her kindness in guiding me through the early years of this thesis with all her erudition and scholarly experience which is really vast I must say.

Besides, I must also thank Prof. Vivek Kumar, the Chairperson of the centre for his constant support during these eight years ever since I joined the centre as an MA student in 2013. In fact, I can never forget his invaluable guidance in helping me choose the field of my research in 2015 when I was a first year M. Phil student.

Nonetheless, this list of acknowledgments would never seem complete without mentioning the name of Dr. Pratik Kumar. Dr. Kumar, an Assistant professor of History in the University of Delhi, played a big role in helping me with the field work. It would really have been a tough ask for me to reach out to 300 odd respondents in such a short span of time had I not received selfless and timely help from Dr. Kumar in the midst of a pandemic-hit research study. So, many thanks to Dr. Pratik Kumar!

Lastly, I must thank all my friends and colleagues, Dr. Saurabh Sharma, Mr. Shivam Chaurasia, Dr. Sundaresha D S just to name a few, for they have been a constant source of strength and inspiration throughout this journey.

**Akhilesh Pathak**

**October, 2021.**

## Chapter One

### Theme of the Study

#### Introduction

*Marital Quality* can be defined as the quality of life that married people experience as a consequence of getting married. To be more specific, Fincham and Bradbury (1987) defined marital quality as “spouse’s sentiment with respect to their marriage or their partner as revealed with the help of subjective judgements and overall evaluation of their marriage” (Fincham & Linfield, 1997, p. 489). The definition underpins the importance of “subjective judgements” as well as the “overall evaluation” of the marriage. Marital Quality could also be “simply a matter of how married persons feel about their marriages” or “a characteristic of the relationship between the spouses” (Glenn, 1990, p. 819). What is apparently clear from these definitions is that marital quality has two components – subjective and objective.

Marriage as a social institution is grounded within cultural milieu. But, cultural forms and symbols can be better understood through an investigation of individual subjectivity, thus argues Gananath Obeyesekere (1981) in his classic work, *Medusa’s Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience*. In this book, Obeyesekere (1981) tries to pinpoint a limitation in Weber’s view of culture which, according to Obeyesekere, seems to be hinged on the concept of the group that successfully imposes meanings and symbols on individual psyche. As a departure, Obeyesekere (1981) goes to show the significant impact that the realm of individual subjectivity and the unconscious seems to bear on manifestation of culture. In so doing, he considers Freud’s psychoanalysis as the guiding conceptual framework. He emphasizes the need to analyze “personal symbols” rather than cultural symbols that seem to be imposed from above

on the individual. Obseysekere (1981) seeks to blend Weber's view of culture with Freud's psychoanalysis to come up with a theoretical basis for understanding culture through individual subjectivity. Keeping this in mind, the dynamics of every marital relationship needs to be scrutinized on the basis of individual subjectivities experienced by married people. Although marriage is an affair shared between two selves, it is ultimately a family affair, often involving the entire group of people joined together by bonds of kinship and family. Thus, one can ill afford to ignore the impact of factors such as family and kinship while trying to study the institution of marriage.

The current debate that tries to question the efficacy of the institution of marriage (Cherlin, 2004) could be said to have relied on two conflicting paradigms – *marital decline* and *marital resilience*. Paul Amato (2004) argues that of the two, the latter holds an edge over the former because though it's a reality that the meaning of the marital bond and its sacrosanct nature in society has received a serious blow owing to rising individualism across cultures, we still have not found a reliable substitute for child-rearing in a two-parent family without compromising on the quality of upbringing.

The argument is well supported by research data on single-parent families (Popenoe, 1996; Waite & Gallagher, 2000; Glenn, 2001; Wilson, 2002). Studies in the Indian context also reveal that the mental health of children living in single-parent families is more likely to be worse than the mental health of children living in two-parent families (Sinha & Ram, 2018). But, it is also true that the institution of marriage has undergone remarkable changes in our society. Hence, one is compelled to ask the question: What is the nature of the change that marriage as a social institution has undergone as a consequence of the overall change in the demographic processes and structure and the associated social change in our society? Studies from the West suggest that

the tussle has broadly been one of *tradition* versus *modernity*, irrespective of the consideration of rationality.

It has been found that the traditional view that borders on the institutional sanctity of marriage, especially with respect to gender roles has given way to companionate form of marital relationship (Wilcox & Nock, 2006). However, the face-off between modernity and tradition does not seem to result in a clear winner. Furthermore, it has been discovered that a proportionate distribution of both these attitudes enhances women's marital happiness (Wilcox & Nock, 2006). In fact, there seems to be a time dimension to it as well as there has been a gradual easing of norms in this regard discoverable in the cultural drift from the institutional to the companionate model of marriage (Mintz & Kellogg, 1988). In the light of these observations, one may argue that married people tend to be on a constant search for the best possible way to lead a life. How does one measure the degree of success met by them in this endeavour? It seems to be the key question this study aims to answer. In so doing, the central concept that must be probed seems to be marital quality. Thus, in what follows, an attempt shall be made to analyze the concept in maximum possible detail.

### **A. Rationale of the Study**

Marital quality and marital stability are closely linked (Becker et al., 1977). Therefore, divorce rate as a social fact could be seen as an indicator of marital quality in society. Keeping this in mind, it can't evade one's attention that in India, the number of Indians having the status of either 'divorced' or 'separated' seems to have more than doubled over the past two decades preceding 2011 census (Dommaraju, 2016, p. 205). Commenting on the probability of divorce, Dommaraju (2016) states that the probabilities of divorce and separation in India have gone up in



last 20 years with a rapid rise noticed after 1999-2001, a trend that he attributes to social processes such as globalization and liberalization. How do we explain this trend of rise in divorce rate in the backdrop of the fact that traditionally, India has been a society where divorce seems to be discouraged (Derne 1995, 2008)? Karla B. Hackstaff (1999) differentiates “marriage culture” from “divorce culture”. In marriage culture, marriage is taken as something unbreakable and given that is to stay forever. Conversely, divorce culture considers marriage to be an optional affair which people at will can get rid of. Hence, one might argue that broadly India corresponds to marriage culture. If that is true, this recent spurt in cases of divorce in India needs an explanation. Analyzing *marital quality* in this context seems to be a good idea.

## **B. Statement of the Problem**

Nonetheless, what concerns us here is the fact that most, in fact, all research on marital quality has so far been conducted in places outside India, and thus the literature on marital quality is dominated by (Allendorf, 2012). Under this condition, there seems to have emerged a need for the study of marital quality in India that in turn stems from the single most important concern for creating a deeper and better understanding of marital lives of the people in India.

While marital disruption is a huge concern for the family in the economically advanced countries of the West, the proportion of such phenomenon in India is not that high. At the same time, it is also true that of late there has been a rise in the cases of marital dissolution featuring separation and divorce in our country. According to Census 2011, on the whole there were 35,35,202 separated persons and 13,62,316 divorced persons in the country. It goes to prove that separation as a form of marital disruption seems to be as high as 72 percent for all persons facing marital disruption. In case of females alone, it was once again found that 72 percent of all women facing

marital disruption tend to be living under separation. A survey of the number of divorce cases filed in family courts across India reveals that there has been a steep rise in India's divorce rate from 1 in 1000 to 13 in 1000 during the decade, 2005-14.<sup>1</sup>

Though the figure of 13 per 1,000 is still low when compared with the corresponding figures from some of the developed countries such as USA, Russia and some Scandinavian countries where the divorce rate lies in the range of 50% and above,<sup>2</sup> the rising likelihood of divorce popping up as a solution to marital problems among today's Indian couples could be an alarming sign for the society as a whole. There were 11,667 cases of divorce filed in Mumbai alone in the year 2014, more than two-fold increase compared with the figures of 2010. The same year, 2014 saw an even steeper rise in the cases of divorce in Kolkata. It soared up to 8,347 from 2,388 in 2003 representing a 350% increase (Dutt, 2015). What's more, the trends do not seem to be typifying the condition of India's metropolitan cities only. Rather, a fast-growing cosmopolitan city, Kochi seems to be experiencing quite similar pattern in this regard. The graph of the number of divorce cases filed seems to have risen constantly over the past few years. While the total cases filed in the city of Kochi was 2,576 in 2017, it rose to 2,948 in 2018. Maintaining the upward trend it crossed the 3,000 mark in 2019 with 3,122 cases being filed in that year alone. It was also reported that 226 divorce petitions were already filed in the first twenty-four days of

---

<sup>1</sup>The report can be accessed at <https://www.hindustantimes.com/sex-and-relationships/how-and-why-number-of-young-indian-couples-getting-divorced-has-risen-sharply/story-mEuaEoviW40d6sILZbGu6J.html>

<sup>2</sup> See full report at <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/india-has-the-lowest-divorce-rate-in-the-world-1392407-2018-11-20> . For more, click <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/divorce-rates-by-country> .

2020.<sup>3</sup> To understand things in simplest of the terms one must look at the fact that on an average, 22 divorce petitions were filed daily in the city of Mumbai between 2011 and 2020.<sup>4</sup>

As one takes note of this fact, one can't stop thinking about the probable causes behind the steep rise in the number of divorce cases filed. One plausible explanation seems to be the quality of marriage. Hence, marital quality is the variable that must be studied in the Indian context. However, it must also be said that marital stability is just one dimension of marital quality. As seen above, we also found that huge cultural change has engulfed us at the global level introducing new dimensions to marital quality as a whole. Keeping this in mind, the study shall endeavour to look at marital quality from a comprehensive and holistic perspective.

### **C. Research Objectives**

1. To measure marital quality and find out its determinants;
2. To study the interrelationship among the dimensions of marital quality;
3. To identify the change in the perception of marital quality across socio-demographic groups.
4. To study the impact of globalization and the accompanying change in the value system on marital quality.

### **D. Research Questions**

1. What are the determinants of marital quality in India?

---

<sup>3</sup>The report can be accessed at <https://www.newindianexpress.com/cities/kochi/2020/jan/28/divorce-pleas-hit-a-record-3122-in-2019-2095352.html>.

<sup>4</sup>The data cited was published in a report by *Hindustan Times* dated Jan 31, 2021. Full report can be accessed at <https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/others/mumbai-reported-an-average-of-22-divorce-petitions-daily-101612038442268.html>.

2. What is the impact of socioeconomic, demographic and other variables on marital quality?
3. How do the different determinants act on marital quality?
4. What kind of interrelationship prevails among the dimensions of marital quality?
5. How does marital quality in India differ from the model of marital quality constructed in other socioeconomic spaces?
6. How does a change in the cultural value system affect marital quality?
7. What is the intergenerational difference in the perception of marriage in relation to marital quality?
8. What is the effect of western ideas and value system in determining the marital quality of Indian marriages?
9. What is the impact of individualism or individual consciousness on marital quality and how it works?

### **E. Area of study**

The scope of the study includes India's National Capital Region (NCR). The region came as an impetus to the vision of development as envisaged by the policy-makers of India in the 1980s. NCR spans across four states, namely Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, and NCT of Delhi with NCT of Delhi occupying the pole position as regards its importance within the region. It

comprises 34,144 square kilometres of area on the land which is 1.60% of the total land area of the country.<sup>5</sup> A map of National Capital Region is given below:



***Figure: 1.1: Political map of India's National Capital Region***

## **F. Methodology**

The survey questionnaire used for this study makes use of self-reporting as a method. Like most methods in social sciences, self-reporting can't be said to be foolproof. The problem with this method has been tersely summarized by Harold Raush et al. (1974) in the following remark:

---

<sup>5</sup> See Annual Report, 2014-15, p. 3.

“Studying what people say about themselves is no substitute for studying how they behave...Questionnaires and scales of marital satisfaction and dissatisfaction have yielded very little. We need to look at what people do with one another” (Raush, Barry, Hertel, & Swain, 1974, p. 5).

There are other limitations of the method of self-reporting that finds mention in other research (Stone, 2000). It explicitly mentions essential shortcomings in the method that include impression management, motivated distortion, and the limits of self-awareness. However, self-reports could be of various kinds when it comes to gathering data set of responses on variables such as marital quality. For example, while most marital research that seeks to leverage the utility of self-report looks to take the married couple as the respondent, some studies in the past have digressed from the norm. Instead of collecting responses from the husband-wife dyad, these studies considered reports from the child who would furnish information regarding marital happiness of their parents (Bugress & Cottrell, 1939; Wallin & Vollmer, 1953; Wallin, 1954; Kolb & Straus, 1974).

Hence, observing couples' behaviour *in situ* seems to be an irreplaceably effective technique when it comes to studying marital quality, but given the complexity and difficulty involved with actually setting up such an experiment, the current study looks to do with questionnaires and interviews alone. Case histories of various psychiatric disorders involving marital problems shall also be included as raw data in order to analyze multiple dimensions of marital quality. It would also be interesting to look at the physiological roots of marital dynamics with the help of such data.

This study employs the method of survey using questionnaire. Major limitations of the method can be identified as all that could be cited as part of the list of limitations for the ‘self-reporting’ method. Besides, the issue of ‘social desirability bias’ can’t be overlooked as well. Marriage that encapsulates a domain of love and intimacy turns out to be more private and personal in nature. Thus, any questions on marriage carry a high risk of being answered with bias emanating from social desirability. It must be stressed that decades ago, the issue was discovered and termed “social desirability response set” (Straus, 1964). To be more specific, it is with regard to “marital happiness” that such a bias is more likely to be expressed as more people are reluctant to admit that their marriages are less than “very happy” (Green, 1975, p. 595). Such correlation that exists but does not explain the phenomenon of marriage could be seen as a consequence of what could be called “marital conventionalization” (Edmunds, 1967). Hence, much care was applied to prepare the questionnaire with a view to eliminate any possible bias from this source.

A dicey situation also arises when one looks to design a questionnaire that should also avoid any bias that could probably creep in on account of respondents’ ‘acquiescence’. The most probable technique to accomplish this goal is reverse-scoring some questions in the list. However, it has been suggested that the approach ought not to be overestimated (Morgado et al., 2018). As suggested by Cicero et al. (2010), reverse-scoring can often turn out to be confusing to respondents creating further set of problems. Proceeding with caution in this study in that regard, reverse-scoring was completely avoided and all questions were constructed in the form of simple sentences with vocabulary that’s easily comprehended by the general public.

### **F.1. Design of the Study**

The study is primarily based on CFA (Confirmatory Factor Analysis) using a five-dimensional model that would seek to measure marital quality. The CFA model is constructed based on a questionnaire prepared on the basis of the self-reporting method. The sample size (N) for this round of data collection is 303 married individuals.

In order to measure the positive aspect of marital quality, one needs to detect factors such as marital happiness and overall satisfaction. SWL (Satisfaction with Life) Scale that measures life satisfaction (Diener et al., 1985) seems handy in this regard. Other than this, the study also makes use of RAS, that is, Relationship Assessment Scale (Hendrick, Dicke, & Hendrick, 1998) and other scales that measure the dimensions of marital quality. In fact, each dimension has been measured with the help of a standard scale. For example, in order to measure marital problems, the study looks to leverage the advantage of the Marital Problems Questionnaire (Douglass & Douglass, 1995). The questionnaire prepared for this study has also taken into account insights provided by other research on marital problems (Amato & Rogers, 1997). For other dimensions such as marital interaction, disagreement, and instability, this study has adopted the CMQS questionnaire as a guideline.

Besides using CFA to derive a model of marital quality in India, various determinants of marital quality in the form of demographic and socioeconomic variables were also analyzed to find out their impact on marital quality. To fulfil this goal, bivariate and multivariate (including binary logistic regression) were carried out using the data collected on the basis of the questionnaire designed for this study.

## **F.2. Sampling Method**



Although the earlier plan was to conduct a household survey using stratified systematic random sampling, in view of covid-19 restrictions, we had to adapt ourselves to leveraging the advantages of the *snowball sampling* method including the use of the digital mode. To overcome the difficulty posed on account of the restrictions imposed on physical movement, an online questionnaire was prepared and circulated among prospective respondents who were then requested to pass the questionnaire on to as many respondents as they could. This technique was further supplemented by approaching some respondents physically wherever possible mostly near the fag end of the field work when some restrictions were lifted.

### **F.3. Sources of Data**

Besides using primary data collected for this study, secondary data from other sources such as Census, National Family Health Survey (NFHS), and World Values Survey have been analyzed. It must be added here that the World Values Survey data has been reanalyzed using the original dataset for India.

### **G. Conceptual framework of the study**

“The marital quality literature is massive but infamously atheoretical”, claim Fowers and Owenz (2010). The claim seems to pose a fresh problem expressible in the question: Which theoretical approach to marital quality seems apt in a particular condition? The research on marital quality so far has been one that measures the subjective feelings of married people in the absence of a theoretical paradigm as such. Thus, there are numerous theoretical approaches applied to the study of marital quality, the major ones being *social exchange theory* (Homans, 1958, 1961; Blau, 1964; Jacobson, 1981), *behaviourist theory*, *marital and family crisis theory* (Hill, 1949, 1958; McCubbin et al., 1980; McCubbin & Patterson, 1982) and *affective attachment theory*

(Bowlby, 1969). Apart from these, a theoretical strand that seems to be explaining the trends in marital quality better could be *ecological systems theory* (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998). The theory emphasizes social-historical changes in social structures that have a bearing on marital dynamics within family life. One of the most important trends in this regard is a change in gender-role attitudes that is almost universal now (Shukla & Kapoor, 1990; Miller & Kannae, 1999; Rogers & Amato, 2000). Reflecting on the ecological perspective in the context of marriage, Ted Huston (2000) identified three interrelated factors – societal, individual, and marital – affecting marital dynamics.

Closely intertwined with it is an increased influx of women into job market which, in turn, has a substantial bearing on marital quality as it is identified as a cause for work-family conflict (Rogers & Amato, 2000). Hence *role strain theory* (Goode, 1960) provides a useful theoretical thread to explain the phenomenon. Another striking feature which has a major impact on the outcome of these studies is the number of children and the duration of marriage. It goes without saying that major transitions in life also hold the key to a satisfied married life. Therefore, *life course theory* (Elder, 1994) seems more than useful in providing us with an invaluable insight in this regard.

Nevertheless, a discussion on marital quality must begin with an analysis of the second term, ‘quality’ that carries a deep, philosophical connotation discussed in some detail by Aristotle in his book entitled *Categories*. ‘Affection’ that forms a major theme in the context of marital quality featured as one of the four types in which Aristotle classified the term, ‘Quality’. Even modern research on Artificial Intelligence and other techniques of machine learning rely on the

concept known as ‘qualia’<sup>6</sup> which bears a close resemblance to the Aristotelian concept of quality. Marital quality is the quality of life that people experience, rather ‘live’ within marriage. It is, in turn, composed of both subjective and objective components.

Although dimensions of marital quality have largely been categorized as ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ (Johnson et al., 1986; Fincham & Linfield, 1997), a proper definition of the term often relies on the concept of ‘sentiments’. We earlier saw in Glenn’s (1990) two definitions that marital quality is composed of objective as well as subjective factors. The definition, however, points towards the difficulty in approaching the issue. Marital quality could either be studied as an objective phenomenon that is explained by a global measure, or it could be dealing with the subjective evaluation of the married people that could only be known by studying their behavioural manifestation and self-report. The first definition of the two from Glenn tries to capture the variable called marital satisfaction or happiness through self-report while the latter is more concerned with an objective measurement of marital quality on the basis of observable external variables.

Besides these approaches, marital quality has been broadly defined in three ways – satisfaction, adjustment and partner’s assessment of marital relations (Obradovic & Cudina-Obradovic, 1998). However, none of these approaches have been able to come up with a definition offering universal applicability (Bradbury et al., 2000). Quite early in its days, research on marital quality recognized the imprecise nature of its measurement that was attributed to the use of ‘primitive’ technology for measurement (Straus, 1969, p. 337). A number of other reasons behind the

---

<sup>6</sup> The word entered the world of philosophical deliberation when C. S. Peirce introduced the term, “quale” in 1866. However, the first use of the term, “qualia” could be attributed to C. I. Lewis who used it in 1929 as part of the sense-datum theory.

imprecision in the measurement of marital quality have also been pointed out (Cromwell et al., 1976; Snyder, 1982).

Considering the aspect of measurement technology, it could be said that majority of the research on marital quality has so far made use of 'self-report' as the method. Hence, the manner in which the questions are worded and ordered as well as the interpretation of the responses does introduce a huge amount of immeasurability to the variable called marital quality. But one should not be discouraged having discovered these difficulties in defining and measuring marital quality. In fact, marital quality has been measured with acceptable accuracy in many a research over the past few decades (Locke & Wallace, 1959; Spanier, 1976, 1979; Norton, 1983; Johnson et al., 1986; Xu, 1996; Allendorf, 2012; Zhang, 2013).

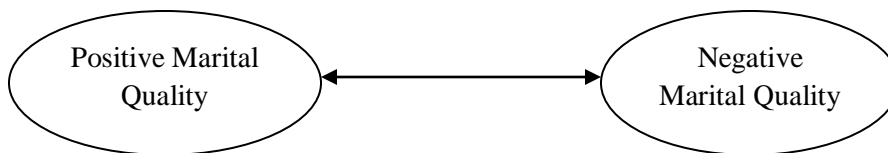
The study by Fincham and Linfield (1997) suggests here a novel and interesting way of looking at the issue of marital quality. The general assumption of a two-dimensional linear relationship between high and low marital quality reflected in feelings of positivity and negativity could be re-evaluated using this approach. Hence, there could be a condition that positive marital quality (PMQ) and negative marital quality (NMQ) could be shown to have independent sources of origin and independent ways of varying among married couples. Therefore, there could be couples who depict high PMQ and high NMQ at the same time.

Preceding Fincham and Linfield (1997), in an earlier study by Johnson et al. (1986), it was found that the two-factor approach focusing upon positive and negative dimensions of marital quality might not yield reliable results owing to the fact that the five dimensions underlying these factors work differently for different typological and structural variants of the family model. In their own words, "Further examination of the two dimensions showed that they operate in distinctly

different ways over forms of marital structure including wife's employment, marital duration, sex, and presence of children” (Johnson et al., 1986, p. 31).

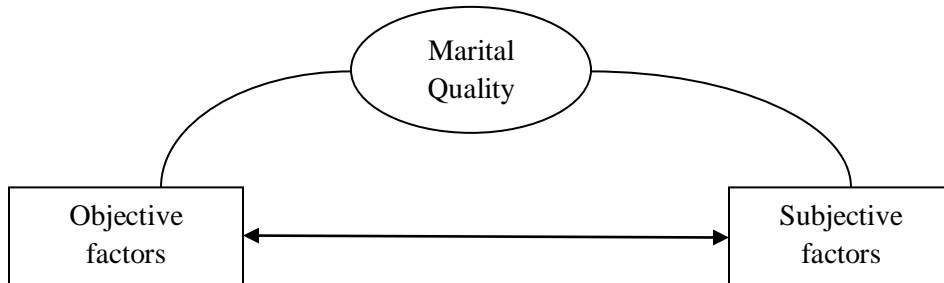
Nonetheless, in their quest to measure it accurately, most studies on marital quality have taken into consideration two polar aspects – adjustment and satisfaction contrasted with the tendency to divorce and disharmony in marriage (Fowers & Olson, 1993; Xu, 1996; Zhang, Xu, & Tsang, 2013). Moreover, these studies have been conducted in places outside India. In fact, the first comprehensive study on the topic was conducted by Johnson et al. in 1986 in Detroit, USA. They used a large sample size of 1845 persons to find out the factors that determine the outcome variable called marital quality. They found that the five dimensions of marital quality could shed light on two aspects of marriage – *positive* and *negative*. The first group comprised happiness and positive interaction between spouses while the other consisted of disagreement, problems, and instability. Since then, most studies have more or less mirrored as well as corroborated their findings.

Thus, based on the above we can now simplify things by choosing a normative and a methodological concept defining marital quality. The normative concept looks to pinpoint the nature of marital quality based on cultural norms whereby marital quality might be judged as ‘positive’ or ‘negative’. Here’s a pictorial representation of the concept:



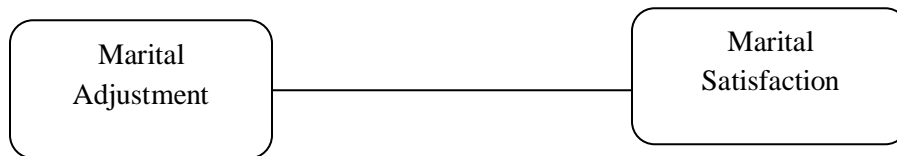
**Figure 1.2: Conceptual diagram showing two aspects of marital quality – positive and negative**

Other than this, we also can extract a methodological concept from the foregoing discussion where marital quality is defined based on whether it is measured by objective factors or subjective factors. It could be better understood by means of the following figure:



***Figure 1.3: Conceptual diagram showing marital quality as a composite variable determined by both objective and subjective factors***

Besides these two, we also can discern two epistemological concepts explaining marital quality where marital quality is seen as a condition of harmony depending on concepts such as adjustment and satisfaction. Below is how it should look like:



***Figure 1.4: Conceptual diagram showing two equivalent terms of marital quality***

That said, guided by this conceptual framework and aforementioned theoretical insights that we shall aim to present an analysis of marital quality in India in subsequent chapters.

## **H. Scheme of chapters**

Other than this chapter, i.e., *Chapter One* titled ‘Theme of the Study’ including literature review, methodology, and conceptual framework, there are five chapters to follow, details whereof are as given hereunder:

*Chapter Two: Models of Marital Quality: The Indian Context*

The chapter presents an analysis of the field data collected via a survey questionnaire to figure out a model of marital quality in the Indian context. The analysis is largely based on factor analysis (both exploratory and confirmatory) in order for us to come up with a model of marital quality that seemingly best fits the data. Besides, the topic of interrelatedness of the dimensions of marital quality and a comparison of the Indian model vis-a-vis models of marital quality developed elsewhere shall also be presented in the chapter.

*Chapter Three: Determinants of Marital Quality: The Indian Perspective*

This chapter of the thesis looks to shed light on the impact that a set of demographic and socioeconomic variables bear on marital quality and its dimensions in the Indian context.

*Chapter Four: Gender and Marital Quality*

A detailed analysis of the impact of gender differences on various aspects of marital quality in general with a special reference to the Indian context forms the crux of this chapter.

*Chapter Five: Globalization, Cultural Values, and Marital Quality*

The chapter seeks to study the linkages between cultural values such as hedonism and individualism and marital quality in India in the backdrop of the larger impact of globalization on Indian society in recent decades.

## *Chapter Six: Marital Commitment: The Balancing Factor*

It is the final chapter of the thesis showing how marital commitment is correlated with marital quality and the many ways in which it impacts various aspects of marital quality in India.

Besides these six chapters, the thesis shall end with a chapter titled ‘Conclusion’ discussing key findings and limitations of the study.

### **I. Literature Review**

#### **I.1. Dimensions of Marital Quality: The Indian perspective**

It needs to be emphasized that there is not to be found one comprehensive study on the measurement of marital quality in India. The study by Shukla and Kapoor (1990) based in the city of Lucknow was based on a dyadic test with a view to evaluating the level of ‘marital satisfaction’ in India. The main focus of the study was on power structures shaping the marital dynamics of middle-class families in India. It sought to measure the locus of power within the family with the help of a 16-item Decision Making Scale (Shukla, 1987). Although the study came up with some interesting findings on marital satisfaction and power-sharing between married couples, it fell short of being able to provide a comprehensive model of marital quality in an Indian context.

However, in recent times, there has been a spurt in the number of studies on marital quality in India (Singh, Thind, & Jaswal, 2006; Sandhya, 2009; Allendorf, 2012; Bowman & Dollahite, 2013; Joshi, Desai, & Vanneman, 2017). Even then, it must be admitted that none of these studies measure marital quality *per se*. The study undertaken by Sandhya (2009) was an attempt to measure and analyze various aspects of marital happiness and its interrelatedness to marital



conflict. The study made use of statistical tools on a sample of 182 married Hindu husbands and wives. Nonetheless, it did not cover the whole gamut of dimensions that constitute marital quality, especially leaving out the essential dimension of marital interaction.

Similarly, Keera Allendorf (2012) who made use of the qualitative method, data for which was collected by way of semi-structured interviews of 46 persons from 22 households of a village in the Darjeeling district of India, restricted her study to rural India alone. Notwithstanding this, the study assumes its own importance in the field for its non-inductive, comparative approach. The study eschews any claims regarding the study based in one Indian village being a suitable case to be generalized even for entire rural India, let alone its aptness as to the whole of India.

As far as the method of study is concerned, it employed *stratified sampling* preceded by a round of *purposive sampling* aimed at selecting only those households which saw a child birth in the last one year. The study found marital quality in the village to be a six-dimensional variable. It was composed of love, peace, understanding, communication, trust, and balance. It concluded that marital quality in the village shows both convergence and divergence with the models of marital quality constructed in western contexts. The chief aspects of family life causing divergence between the two models of marital quality were identified as gender norms, family type (nuclear or joint), and difference in the type of economy between western countries and economic structure characterizing the rural setting in which the study was conducted.

In a similar vein, especially in regard to the methodology, Bowman & Dollahite (2013) also employed qualitative analysis on the basis of interviews conducted for a sample size of 33 individuals (18 female and 15 male) domiciled in the city of Jaipur, Rajasthan. They probed the relationship between ‘marital quality’ and ‘arranged marriage’ which is still the dominant form

of match-making as far as marriage in India is concerned (Kapadia, 1966; Kurian, 1974, 1975; Gupta, 1976; Penn, 2011, Banerji et al., 2013). The study made use of ‘purposive sampling’ which is a method of sampling suited to the situation where the vital parameters of the population are not known or one needs to select cases of specific types, ‘arranged marriage’ being the constraining condition in this case. Bowman and Dollahite (2013) took care to first identify couples who had an arranged marriage leaving out the rest of the married population. However, the study still does not explain the full range of variability that marital quality exhibits.

Thus, in the context of India, there emerges a gap in the literature in this area of research which is succinctly expressed in the following statement: “There is comparatively little explicit attention to marital quality in literature on India and the rest of South Asia.” (Allendorf, 2012, p. 530). Allendorf (2012) also contends that most studies on the Indian marriage system have imported concepts and tools from the West, especially from North America. Looking at it from a western lens, it is often said that there is little scope for love and intimacy in Indian marriages (Derne, 1995). Rather there is a culture of “mild avoidance” between husband and wife (Shweder, 1991, p. 248). But, of late Trawick (1990) and Derne (2008) have discovered the presence of love and intimacy between husband and wife in Indian culture. In trying to show that love and intimacy does exist between husband and wife in Indian marriages, Derne (2008) emphasizes the impact of globalization. On the other hand, Trawick’s (1990) explanation is more of a cultural one rather than one based on processes such as globalization. She found that though seldom discussed openly, the strongest bond of love within the family is held to be the one that exists between a husband and his wife. To aid it further, Allendorf (2012) has recently found the significance of love between spouses in a rural Indian setting.

## **I.2. Marital Quality across cultures**

There seems to be an agreement among scholars that the entire gamut of marital quality could be segregated into two chief components: marital harmony and marital disharmony (Fowers & Olson, 1993; Xu, 1996). Thus, measuring one aspect should prove to be self-explanatory with respect to the other side. Adding further strength to the argument, Zhang (2013) found that the two-factor classification based on this schema works out well when marital quality itself is taken to be determined by five dimensions such as marital happiness, positive marital interaction, marital disagreement, marital problems, and marital instability. While some scholars have worked with a much simplified model of marital quality comprising just three dimensions – marital happiness, marital communication, and marital conflict (James, 2015), there are others who in the process of preparing an exhaustive list of factors determining marital quality list as many as eight factors – marital happiness, marital interaction, marital commitment, marital conflict, social support, marital discord, forgiveness, and domestic violence (Stanley, 2007, cited in Kamp Dush, Taylor, & Kroeger, 2008 ).

Keera Allendorf (2012), relying on her review of the literature on marital quality which seeks to explain marriage in the western context, identified seven dimensions of marital quality – three internal dimensions, three external dimensions and one dimension measuring marital stability. The three internal dimensions include the emotional side of individuals featuring love, happiness, and understanding. The three external dimensions pertain to the interactional dynamic between spouses. These include communication, conflict, and joint engagement in activities together (Allendorf 2012: 530). The seventh dimension that Allendorf (2012) pinpoints is the dimension of stability of marriage represented by the longevity of a particular marriage. Nevertheless, the easy and more accepted paradigm in this field is the projection of marital quality as a conceptual model oscillating between aspects of marital harmony and disharmony.

We have earlier looked at some of the pioneering studies emphasizing this bifocal property of marital quality that provide us with the theoretical rationale for furthering our effort in this direction. While those studies mirror the reality of American society, a more thorough investigation calls for a wider spread of the review process that entails studies spanning cultures and continents. Another difficulty that one is bound to encounter while trying to study marital quality is the high degree of variability it exhibits with respect to local and cultural factors. An interesting point in this context is the difference between two studies – one based in India and the other based in Nepal. While the study based in Nepal reported ‘spouse choice’ as one of the determinants of marital quality (Hoelter, Axinn, & Ghimire, 2004), the study from India could not detect any significant role played by the factor called spousal choice.<sup>7</sup> It found that marital communication, a chief component of marital quality shows no variation whether the marriage is choice-based or arranged (Joshi, Desai, & Vanneman, 2017).

A rather comprehensive study on the topic seems to be the one conducted in Ghana, Africa in recent times. The study focused on predicting the marital quality of married people. Since the society in Ghana is largely patriarchal in nature, the study has its limitation with regard to the method of research applied for data collection and analysis. Thus, it could only manage to look at the institution of marriage from the viewpoint of the husband. Despite the handicap, the study has, perhaps, generated a useful theoretical model of marital quality. The determinants of marital quality as identified in the study are:

---

<sup>7</sup> Spousal choice was also found as a determinant of marital quality by Keera Allendorf (2012) in her study based in rural India. But, it is significant to note that the village chosen for this study is located in Darjeeling that has cultural similarity with Nepal in many respects.

“(1) the husband's attitudes toward gender-roles, decision making, and the division of household tasks; (2) his wife's employment status; and (3) the couple's communication style on the quality of their marital relationship.” (Miller & Kannaë, 1999, p. 599).

The study also included four demographic factors that could be thought of as affecting marital quality. The factors are:

1. Number of children;
2. Educational status;
3. Income, and
4. Age. (Miller & Kannaë, 1999, p. 602).

It is noteworthy that all demographic factors except age seemed to have no impact on marital quality in the Ghanaian society (Miller & Kannaë, 1999, p. 611). As a surprising fact, Miller and Kannaë (1999) found that the demographic factors had a far too feeble effect on marital quality than they had initially assumed.

Thus, it could be said that there are broadly three determinants of marital quality in Ghanaian society, that is, (1) husband's attitude towards decision making within household, (2) communication style between couples, and (3) age of the husband. As is evident from the above figure, there are two indirect factors identified by the model. These entail husband's attitude towards gender-roles and the employment status of the wife. In sum, the study concluded:

“Those husbands with fewer traditional beliefs about male dominance in the family and those who engaged in open communication with their spouses reported more quality marriages.” (Miller & Kannaë, 1999, p. 610).

The African story was thus nicely summed up by Miller & Kanna (1999). Looking beyond Africa, a somewhat more refined representation of various factors determining marital quality could be found in the Chinese Marital Quality Scale (CMQS) that considers marital quality as a two-factor, five-dimensional construct.

The model seems to agree with Booth et al. (1986) who also found that there could be two ways of looking at marital quality – a set of factors that determine the positive side of it accompanied by another set that is composed of its negative aspect. Another study by Fincham and Linfield (1997) also points out the bifurcation of marital quality into “positive” and “negative” aspects. The study suggests a novel and interesting way of looking at the issue of marital quality. The general assumption of a two-dimensional linear relationship between high and low marital quality reflected in feelings of positivity and negativity could be reevaluated using this approach. Hence, there could be a condition where positive marital quality (PMQ) and negative marital quality (NMQ) could be shown to have independent sources of origin and independent ways of varying among married couples. Thus, there could be couples depicting high PMQ and high NMQ at the same time. Thus, there seems to have emerged an agreement among scholars investigating marital quality that both positive and negative aspects remain intertwined depending on the interplay of various dimensions that underlie the phenomenon.

### **I.3. Gender roles, work-family conflict, and Marital Quality**

The starting-point here could well be the study based in Ghana discussed above. Excluding the demographic factor of age in the Ghanaian study, one needs to focus on a determining factor of marital quality which is marital communication (Miller & Kanna, 1999). Combined with the attitudes as regards gender roles, the style of communication between married couples was found

to play a vital role in determining marital quality in the African nation of Ghana. Another study from the African continent (based in South Africa on this occasion) suggests that a better quality of communication is related to higher marital satisfaction (Adams & Hickson, 1993). These findings from Africa seem to be echoed in findings from research conducted in other places located far and wide.

Communication Skills Deficit Model developed on the basis of research in American society seems to be a handy model in trying to explain this phenomenon. It suggests that poor communication between married couples leads to the growth of marital problems (Christensen & Shenk, 1991; Sabourin, 1995). However, it must be borne in mind that there is a wide range of cross-cultural variability in the patterns of marital communication and its impact on the outcome of marriage. Halford (1990) found such differences between German and Australian couples. Making a similar claim, another study found that Israeli couples in the USA showed higher levels of verbal conflict than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. However, this did not result in escalation of marital dissatisfaction or violence among those Israeli couples (Winkler & Doherty, 1983). Therefore, although the role of marital communication and interaction does determine marital quality in a decisive manner, the many patterns it follows are far from exhibiting cross-cultural uniformity.

In this regard, it is interesting to account for the factors that determine the nature of marital communication. In the study based in Ghana, it was found that other factors, i.e., wife's employment and husband's attitude towards gender roles played an important role in determining the nature of communication style between husband and wife (Miller & Kanna, 1999).

One of the earliest studies on the aspect of wives' employment and its implication on marital quality found that there is no significant difference between dual-worker as well as single-worker families in terms of marital adjustment and companionship (Locksley, 1980). The stressful conditions that wives experienced according to which both husband and wife are differentially related within the marital bond (Bernard, 1972) do crop up irrespective of the fact whether the wife is employed or not. Thus, the study also rejected the assumption that more and more influx of women into labour market could serve as a vital strategy to counter feelings of discomfort within marriage (Locksley, 1980). The study used Parsons's theory of roles as its founding theoretical base and found that employment of the wife *per se* did not cause any role strain.

Interestingly, in sharp contrast to this finding, stands another study on dual-earner families based in erstwhile West Germany. While the former study throws light on the condition of American society, the European context records a huge deviation. The study suggested that role strain, especially among wives, caused because of their employment does bear a negative relationship with the overall quality of married life (Galambos & Silbereisen, 1989). It assumed a more generalized form, good enough to be called a defining feature of society when it was noticed that there is a negative relationship between economic resources and the tendency to get married among women in Japan (Kaufman & Taniguchi, 2009).

It is also suggested that wives' employment and their job demands do have a negative impact on marital quality (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003). As to marital quality, the study found three dimensions – *marital happiness*, *marital interaction*, and *divorce proneness*. It revealed that wife's extended hours of employment reduced marital happiness and marital interaction,<sup>8</sup> at

---

<sup>8</sup> The finding is in consonance with a previous research finding that attributes an increased risk of divorce to reduced marital interaction between spouses on account of less time available for them to do so, all because of long working hours for the wife (Spitze & South, 1985).



the same increasing divorce proneness. A pronounced gender differential, however, was found in regard to “job demands”. While husband’s job demands had no significant impact on all three dimensions of marital quality, wife’s job demands reduced marital interaction and enhanced divorce proneness (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003, p. 16).<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, wives’ employment can be said to have an appreciable detrimental effect on marital quality which is in consonance with the general observation that increased workload of the partner results in a decline in marital satisfaction (Lavner & Clark, 2017). Nonetheless, studies suggest that it is not only their employment but the job satisfaction of the wives that casts a defining effect on marital quality. It is reported that greater job satisfaction among working wives leads to increased marital quality (Thomas, Albrecht, & White, 1984, p. 516). However, the relationship is not always a one-way cause-effect kind of relationship. Rather, it has been found that marital quality exerts a significant effect on job satisfaction (Rogers & May, 2003; Ouyang et al., 2019). It is interesting to note that no appreciable gender differential marks the relationship between marital quality and job satisfaction. (Rogers & May, 2003).

While most prior research contended that wives’ employment had either no or negative impact on marital quality, Miller and Kanna (1999) discovered something to the contrary. Wives’ employment, although indirect, had a positive impact on marital quality in Ghana. The study showed that the employed status of wives caused reduced male dominance in decision-making as well as it introduced more open style of communication, thus contributing to the richness of marital quality (Miller & Kanna, 1999). Another study from Africa also tends to argue in a similar fashion. The study based in Cameroon suggests that husband’s supportiveness based on cooperation between the couple with regard to food preparation, care of children, farm work,

---

<sup>9</sup> See Table 5.

education, health/medication, and household equipment contributes toward higher marital satisfaction (Gwanfogbe et al., 1997).

It is important to note that the study in Ghana holds close correspondence with an Indian study in this regard. The study discovered that wives' employment did increase their authority in decision-making within the household (Shukla & Kapoor, 1990). This finding suggests a marked deviation in the understanding of traditional gender-roles in the society, much in keeping with the Miller and Kanna (1999) study based in Ghana. One could thus predict that changing attitude to gender-roles, seemingly triggered by wives' employment, is a marker of increased marital quality.

But Shukla and Kapoor (1990) presented a hint of ambiguity in their results when seen on the plane of the linkage between marital quality and marital *equality*. They showed that wife-dominated families reported lower levels of marital satisfaction as compared to *syncratic* and husband-dominated families, a result which was also reported by an American study (Kolb & Straus, 1974). Noteworthy is the fact that it is not a finding that is peculiar to India and America only. In fact, preceding these studies were two European studies that seem to echo the observations published by Shukla and Kapoor (1990). A study on the Greek society by Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (1967) as well as another study based in former Yugoslavia (Buric & Zecevic, 1967) tried to argue that women tend to display higher levels of marital satisfaction in husband-dominated families. While reasons for this observation could be many, including the deep-seated and commonsensical acceptance of traditional family norms which barely find a problem with the homemaker-breadwinner model of the family, it can't be overlooked that there are other studies that suggest that marital happiness for women increases with their adherence to more traditional norms of gender equality (Amato & Booth, 1995; Gager

& Sanchez, 1998; Sanchez, Wright, Wilson, & Nock, 2003). A plausible reason for this finding could be women's affinity to the "Institutional Model of Marriage" (Wilcox & Nock, 2006).

It is also suggested that such a view of marriage seems to relegate individual interests to the backseat and brings marital virtues such as mutual support, fidelity, and sacrifice to prominence (Bahr & Bahr, 2001). Nevertheless, it must also be noted that wives' level of education and employment status show a greater potential to improve marital adjustment, quite independently of other factors (Singh, Thind, & Jaswal, 2006). This study was conducted on a sample of 300 Sikh families selected from the city of Ludhiana in India. Given the cultural peculiarity of the state of Punjab, the study can't be generalized in the context of India as a whole.

Having noted that, traces of exception to Miller and Kannae's (1999) findings in this regard could also be noticed in some of the findings from research based in American society. A comparative study of two cohorts, one comprising individuals married between 1964 and 1980 and interviewed in 1980, and the other consisting of those married between 1981 and 1997 and interviewed in 1997 was conducted. It was found that the more recent cohort reported less traditional attitude towards gender roles, but increased marital discord, and hence, lower marital quality (Amato et al., 2003). An interesting aspect of traditional attitude toward gender role came up in a study that focused on 'marital intimacy'. Longitudinal data over the first three years after the birth of a child was collected for 97 couples. The study concluded that:

"Wives whose husbands held more traditional attitudes regarding child rearing and those whose beliefs about child rearing differed from the beliefs of their partners experienced steeper declines in intimacy over time." (O' Brien & Peyton, 2002, p. 118).

Parenting role, in combination with an understanding over it between married couples, has also come up as a sub-dimension determining marital harmony (Canel, 2013). Research also suggests that the attitude of the dyad toward marriage, in terms of whether they consider it to be companionate or more traditionally oriented, seems to be a vital factor in determining the strength of the marital bond. Especially with respect to women's marital quality, researchers conclude:

“We conclude by noting that "her" marriage is happiest when it combines elements of the new and old: that is, gender equity and normative commitment to the institution of marriage.” (Wilcox & Nock, 2006, p. 1321).

Overlapping of factors is definitely a matter of concern when discussing marital quality. For example, too much emphasis is often placed on cultural values and ideological reasons that contribute to gender-role attitudes in society. However, sometimes the actual determinant of marital quality turns out to be a factor that does not bear much of a relationship to cultural norms. Rising demands for maintaining a healthy work-life balance is not new to our experience as members of modern society (Raja & Stein, 2014). It is often this stress that gets manifested in the form of work-family conflict. Furthermore, some opine that it is work-family conflict that contributes to greater marital discord which otherwise has too little to do with gender-role attitudes (Rogers & Amato, 2000). A study from Malaysia found a negative relationship between work-family demands and subjective well-being among female academicians (Achour, Nor, Zulkifli, & Yusoff, 2015). Thus, as noticed in the example from Ghana, these factors, i.e., gender-role attitudes and work-family balance, seemed to be closely linked as far as Malaysian society is concerned. However, there could be situations when they seem to affect marital quality quite independently. While gender-role attitudes seem responsible for role strain that creeps in

and determines the overall marital quality in most cases, there are other normative issues that play a vital role. Although there are studies to suggest a positive impact of burden-sharing stemming from employment of the wife within family as the wife emerges as a new contributor in material terms (Scanzoni 1972, 1978; Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Voydanoff 1990), it sometimes pops up as a reason for marital discord as it challenges the conventional notion of power dynamics within the family. The lower position in terms of importance within the household which the husband seems to be relegated to becomes a vital ground for discontent and discord (Hood, 1983; Thompson & Walker, 1989).

There are a bunch of other studies suggesting that with a decline in the economic resources of the husband, marital discord rises (Conger et al., 1990; Voydanoff, 1990; Hernandez, 1993). In fact, a recent study suggests that it is not just the incomes of the spouses that alone matters; rather, it's their relative advantage over one another which turns out to be the decisive factor in determining marital discord (Winslow, 2011). The study also found an inverted U-shaped relationship between marital conflict and the duration of wives' income advantage. Thus, families with more fluctuation of relative income advantage between husband and wife experience more marital discord. While many studies that aim to study the dynamics of decision-making within family and the manner in which married couples go about it, 'gender-role attitudes' and 'relative incomes' of husbands and wives seem to have emerged as the salient factors that have a telling effect on the dynamics of marital life. However, there could be other factors that appear as determinants of the decision making process within family life. One study based in Bolivia hinted at the significance of the 'status' and 'autonomy' of the wife in these matters (Orgill & Heaton, 2005). Status of the wife, in its turn, is an outcome of the interplay of education, employment and the value given to her opinions. Autonomy of wives, for that matter, is broadly

defined as wives “having control over significant decisions affecting their lives and having access to the resources that would enable them to enact those decisions.” (Ravindran, 1999). The study found a direct and positive relationship between the rise in status and autonomy of wives and their marital satisfaction, which, in turn, is responsible for overall increase in their marital quality (Orgill & Heaton, 2005). However, the study does not shed useful light on the corresponding impact on the marital quality of husbands in Bolivian society.

In view of these findings, a caveat must be issued at this point that the demolition of the traditional notions about gender-roles resulting in a greater say for wives in decision-making within family cannot be taken as a one-dimensional latent construct in regard to marital quality, especially in the context of India. There could be families where despite the fact that the wife plays a greater role in decision-making, the couple, nevertheless, report more aggregate marital satisfaction if the family is husband-dominated (Shukla & Kapoor, 1990). It may seem anomalous in relation to the traditional notions of gender roles and its impact on marital quality. For, it is assumed that the husband-dominated family is a symptom of traditionality so far as norms regarding gender roles are concerned, a clear sign of patriarchy. However, even in such families, wife’s enhanced role in decision-making is an indication of more egalitarian marital relationship, which, in turn, leads to higher marital quality for both men and women (Zammichieli, Gilroy, & Sherman, 1988; Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003). Nonetheless, it must be mentioned in this regard that especially in the case of women, an egalitarian division and sharing of family responsibility enhances their marital quality (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991). The study is based on American society that may not be representative of the conditions prevalent in India. Nevertheless, it may provide a vital insight into the dynamic of relationship that exists between marital quality and marital power.

Another study from China, a country close to us both geographically as well as culturally, suggests that gender ideologies do bear a relationship to marital quality for both genders and more egalitarian marital power is directly and positively related to marital harmony and negatively related to marital discord (Xu & Lai, 2004). However, the research finding might not indicate a general condition with a wider relevance because it is also suggested that though egalitarian behaviour within family might have an impact on marital quality, it may vary based on gender (Pimentel, 2000). Echoing the arguments contained in Jessie Bernard's thesis of "his" and "her" marriage, Pimentel (2000) found that division of household chores that is often considered to be a symptom of egalitarian family setting exerted a significant effect on wife's marital quality but not on that of the husband's.

This discussion on gender role attitude seems more complicated now than it would appear before. It is found that a drop in traditional attitudes with regard to gender roles among husbands increases their perceived marital quality (Miller & Kannae, 1990; Amato & Booth, 1995). However, Amato and Booth (1995) also found that for wives the trend turns out to be quite the opposite. Wives with reduced traditional attitude report low marital quality. This study took perceived marital quality as the dependent variable having five dimensions or factors, namely, "happiness, interaction, disagreement, problems, and divorce proneness" (Amato & Booth, 1995, p. 60). The model largely hinges on the previous five-dimensional model of marital quality proposed in an earlier study (Johnson, White, Edwards, & Booth, 1986). It was found that with less traditional attitude, perceived marital quality for husbands increases while it decreases for wives.

Thus, a vital question of sociological importance can be raised in view of the above finding: ***Why do more progressive (or, less traditional) wives report poor perceived marital quality when***

*their progressive husbands tend to lead happier married lives?* An answer to this question may shed light on the ideological position often taken by progressives and feminists. At the moment, all one can say is that as to the debate of *tradition* versus *modernity* in this context, a shift in attitudes to embrace modernity does not come as a panacea causing marriages to be happier and of better quality. There seem to be other factors in play, often in concealed forms, eventually determining this deeply-seated structure of marital life revolving around gender roles and individual attitudes to them.

#### **I.4. Communication and Togetherness**

Communication plays an important role in determining any human relationship which is also true of marriage. As far as marital communication is concerned, the staying together of the couple plays a vital part. There are two components of the overall process of interaction, i.e., total time spent together and the duration and frequency of face-to-face interaction. While Berger and Kellner (1964) emphasized the factor of the amount of face-to-face spousal interaction in determining marital quality, the total time spent together was also held important by some (Kingston & Nock, 1987). Of these, the study by Berger and Kellner (1964) assumes greater significance as it points to a vital question negotiated by every couple within marriage. The question tries to touch the issue of the inevitability of living a life of an independent individual once one enters the wedlock. It turns almost impossible for one to see the reality in complete isolation without having to do with the thought of one's spouse. As a result, all other relationships get "reperceived" and "regrouped" after marriage (Berger & Kellner, 1993, p. 225). Marriage, in this sense, turns out to be a special type of relationship exhibiting its peculiarity as regards the dynamic of interaction and conversation summed up in the following statement: "*The*



*dominance of the marital conversation over all others is one of its most important characteristics*” (Berger & Kellner, 1964, p. 225).<sup>10</sup>

A recent study tried to build upon these insights on marital interaction and went on to reiterate that marital quality depends on the time spent together between spouses (Glorieux, Minnen, & van Tienoven, 2011). The study analyzed data from Belgian Time Use Surveys of 1999 and 2005 which departed from the older approach that sought to collect data regarding time spent at the level of the individual. Instead, it took a novel approach in collecting data at the household level. The study seems to restate the conclusions drawn by Kingston and Nock (1987) emphasizing the fact that time spent together is a vital factor in affecting marital quality. Nonetheless, the study rejects the hypothesis that greater labour force participation by women has an adverse effect on the time spent together between spouses (Glorieux, Minnen, & van Tienoven, 2011).

The factor of “togetherness” also finds mention in a research study that sought to measure marital satisfaction in Hong Kong (Ting, 2014). Other determinants of marital satisfaction in this study were *trust*, *physical intimacy*, and *emotional support* that represent the psychological side of marital life (Amato, 2009). The study classified marriages into three ideal types, namely, *institutional*, *companionate*, and *individualized*. Further to it, it was argued that the four determinants of marital quality, including the domain of togetherness, vary according to the type of marriage.

Looking at the table, it could be said that while the component of togetherness between spouses acquires a greater importance in the “companionate” type of marriage, for the other two types, it is only slightly important. It implies that the notions about gender roles play a crucial role in

---

<sup>10</sup> Italics in original.

shaping the dynamic of marital communication and the spousal time spent together. As seen earlier, marital communication and men's attitude to gender roles are related (Miller & Kannae, 1999). In a similar vein, a gender differential has been shown to exist between the expectation of communication patterns and the significance of friendship within marital bond (Fischer & Olikier, 1983). To the extent that these expectations are met or not met, people rate their marital quality as satisfactory or poor (Gager & Sanchez, 2003). It is rather an interesting observation to turn one's attention to that as an objective factor, i.e., the amount of time shared together, affects the marital quality of the husband and the wife differently. For wives, marital quality goes up and the risk of divorce decreases; whereas, for husbands the chance of divorce increases with greater shared time (Gager & Sanchez, 2003, p. 37).

Having looked at this aspect of the evolving nature of marriage from institutional to companionate to individualized type (Cherlin, 2004), an interesting way of looking at modern societies based on egalitarian social norms could be to study a rather upcoming feature of such societies as far as marital relationship is concerned in the form of drinking with one's spouse which, in turn, could be seen as an important indicator of togetherness. While one could argue that drinking within family setting and with one's spouse is more representative of the western society, it can hardly be overlooked in the Indian context, especially as one tries to locate the phenomenon in National Capital Region of India. If one takes a closer look at NFHS data, one can barely afford to overlook the statistic regarding alcohol consumption. It is reported that between third and fourth rounds of NFHS, separated by a time span of ten years (the former was conducted in 2005-06 while the latter took place in 2015-16), the percentage of women who consumed alcohol in NCT of Delhi went up from 0.4 to 0.6. During the same period, the corresponding figures for men fell from 33.1 to 24.7. Nevertheless, the rise in alcohol

consumption among women is sure to have an impact on the overall marital life of people; in what way is the vital question to be answered.

A study investigating the topic found that drinking with one's spouse has an ameliorating effect on marital quality as it results in a lower negative marital quality irrespective of gender (Birditt, Polenick, & Antonucci, 2019). But, the study also found that drinking with others carries a gender differential. It is beneficial for women but not for men (Birditt, Polenick, & Antonucci, 2019). It must be added here that communication and intimacy are reciprocal. Thus, couples with high level of intimacy are more communicative, the result being a higher efficiency in conflict resolution, and hence, better marital quality (Gottman, 1982). Thus, no matter in what way, but a married couple that spends time together and communicates well within the dyad has a higher probability of reporting a higher marital quality. On the other hand, poor spousal communication might lead to marital conflict resulting in lower marital quality.

### **I.5. Marital Conflict**

Most marital conflict stems from differences in attitude toward gender roles between husband and wife. As seen in the discussion above, such conflict is not all about the debate between traditional views contrasted with modern outlook. Rather, culture or cultural orientations often add an extra dimension to it introducing an interesting shade of variability that is manifested through gender-typed attitudes. In a research study, it has been found that other things being similar, in Mexican-origin families, both husbands and wives used more solution-oriented strategies to conflict resolution as compared to their Anglo-oriented counterparts (Wheeler, Updegraff, & Thayer, 2010, p. 1001). Conflict resolution strategies do play a vital role in determining overall marital quality, as one of its negative components constituted by marital

disagreement, seems to be closely linked to the exercise of conflict resolution. It is found that conflict resolution strategies vary with cultural variation (Cai & Fink, 2002). Therefore, it complicates things further as one tries to study and measure marital quality which as a consequence of it could be presumed to carry different meanings in different cultures. Although wives' being more demanding and husbands' having to resort to nonconfrontation has a cross-cultural validity when it comes to conflict resolution within marriage (Christensen & Heavey, 1990), the cultural dimension with regard to solution orientation does open new vistas for research in this field.

It is observed that the issue of conflict is often considered to be the most important aspect of research on marital relations (Bardbury, Fincham, & Beach, 2000). But a methodological limitation does run through all research on marital conflict. The laboratory-based surveys often do not reveal the *in situ* causes and circumstances leading to conflict between spouses. While self-reporting seldom reveals financial issues or money matters as a chief cause of conflict, indirect methods applied to extract data on marital conflict does present a different picture in this regard. Diary reports of 748 instances of conflicts for a sample of 100 husbands and 100 wives introduced a new dimension to the analysis. The finding from this study is summed up as follows:

Contrary to findings from previous laboratory-based surveys, spouses did not rate money as the most frequent source of marital conflict in the home. However, compared to nonmoney issues, marital conflicts about money were more pervasive, problematic, and

recurrent, and remained unresolved, despite including more attempts at problem solving (Papp, Cummins, & Goeke-Morey 2009, p. 91).<sup>11</sup>

Conflict is a term that carries negativity when taken in a general sense. However, it is interesting to note that *marital conflict* carries beneficial effects when accompanied by positive emotions, intimacy and effective listening (Rands, Levinger, & Mellinger, 1981; Gottman & Krokoff, 1989; Gottman, 1991). In the same vein, it is argued that lasting marriage depends on the ability of the couple to negotiate their conflicts (Gottmann, 1994, p. 28). Thus, scholars have also concluded that effective conflict management results in both high marital quality and stability (Jeffries, 2000).

If marital harmony is characterized by marital happiness and satisfaction, marital disharmony ought to be associated with marital conflict. But, does conflict merely have deleterious effects on marriage? Relying on some opinions, one might answer the question in the negative (Jeffries, 2000). Some scholars consider marital conflict an inevitable part of the marital relationship (Gottman, 1994; Chakrabarti, 2000). Thus, a successful resolution of any conflict that may arise is the key to happy and durable marriages (Gottman, 1994, p. 28).

A psychoanalytic explanation of the Indian scenario in this regard has been presented by Sudhir Kakar (1989), in one of his many fascinating books, *Intimate Relations: Exploring Indian Sexuality*. Kakar (1989) contends that Indian males often depict a kind of androgynous behaviour with marriages based more on hostility than love and affection. The end result of it gets reflected in the form of love relationships between people of the same sex resulting in ‘homosociality’, and not homosexuality. However, in contrast to Kakar’s argument, another ethnographic research

---

<sup>11</sup> From the abstract of the article.

on India's southern region brings out the significance of love and intimacy in Indian marital life. It was reported by the study that conflict often terminated in rapturous nonchalance. A vivid description of the scenario was presented as:

“love took the form of heated noisy quarrels, which, however, blew over quickly and often terminated in laughter” (Trawick, 1990, p. 101).

There is another interesting finding as regards positive affect associated with marital conflict which suggests that wife's use of humour in a conflict discussion is associated with a decrease in husband's heart rate (Gottman, Coan, Carrère, & Swanson, 1998). Thus, there's a need to shift the emphasis from marital conflict *per se* to 'conflict management' within marital relations should one wish to gain greater clarity regarding this aspect of marital quality.

In addition to viewing it as an interplay between marital happiness and marital conflict, attention should also be paid to the material dimensions of the marital relationship, especially financial matters which often take a backseat to in comparison to the more pronounced and oft-discussed dimensions such as marital happiness and conflict. Interestingly enough, a study revealed that financial arrangements between couples do affect marital quality. The effects are more prominently established for women than men. It comes as a fascinating factoid in the form of a finding from this study which claims that holding a joint account improves the marital quality for wives (Addo & Sassler, 2010).

Therefore, one might argue that marital relationship appears to be one of the most complicated social institutions due to its oscillating behaviour between material concerns and psychological factors. Having noted the monetary aspect of the relationship, one can't miss the significance of religious beliefs and practices in marriage. Being part of a religious institution has historically

played a major role in forging a strong bond between married couples, and thus reducing marital conflict (Christiano, 2000). A survey of American society suggests that religiosity among couples promotes higher levels of marital quality (Wilson & Filsinger, 1986; Hansen, 1987; Greeley, 1991; Call & Heaton, 1997; Christiano, 2000; Waite & Lehrer, 2003; Wilcox & Nock, 2006). John Gottman (1998) and Amato and Booth (1997) also found that religious beliefs enhance psychological well-being and hence improve the overall marital quality. The thesis holds more in the case of men than women as the religious attendance of fathers is associated with higher relationship quality both for married as well as cohabiting couples (Wolfinger & Wilcox, 2008). Nonetheless, religiosity in itself is a multidimensional concept with a wide variability across cultures, and of course, across religions. Hence, a generalization of results found in American society might not in any way be suggestive of the effect of religiosity on marital quality among married couples in other societies practising religions other than the religions practised by Americans. Therefore, it would be quite a pioneering study in this area if the hypothesis is tested on people in Indian society.

## **I.6. Marital Problems and Marital Instability**

Most studies on marital relations focus on the dimension of conflict and problem-solving (Bradbury, Fincham, & Beach, 2000). It is because of this that marital problems are raised to a level of increased importance. Nonetheless, locating and measuring marital problems could be a nerve-racking exercise. The Marital Problems Questionnaire (MPQ) came up with a list of thirty-nine problem areas that could form the basis of strain within marriage (Douglass & Douglass, 1995). In another study that tries to discover underlying dimensions of marital problems which it sees as proximal causes of a prospective divorce, it was found that there could be twelve such areas or dimensions of marital problems (Amato & Rogers, 1997). Yet, another scale measuring

marital quality identifies eight indicators of one of the negative dimensions of marital quality called 'marital problems' (Zhang, Xu, & Tsang, 2013).

While reasons behind marital problems could be numerous, marital problems do arise as consequences of economic strain as suggested by a study based in Turkey (Aytaç & Rankin, 2009). It was further discovered by this study that economic strain has a spiralling effect to produce emotional stress among wives that magnifies the negativity in marital life (Aytaç & Rankin, 2009). A novel facet of the issue at hand appeared in the form of interdependence of friend and family networks. In one study, it was found that the effect was more pronounced for wives' marital quality with no significant effect on husbands' marital quality (Kearns & Leonard, 2004). The study suggested that interdependence of friend and family networks predicted wives' marital quality at first anniversary while wives' marital quality at first anniversary predicted the interdependence of friend and family networks at the second anniversary (Kearns & Leonard, 2004).

One of the chief consequences of problems within marriage could be marital disruption or divorce. Research suggests that hostility in interaction, i.e., negative marital interaction does precede the final rupture of the marital bond (Matthews, Conger, & Wickrama, 1996; Gottman et al., 1998). Quite interestingly, from the Indian perspective it seems important to mention here that in a survey it was found that eighty-three percent of the surveyees "were separated due to cruelty or domestic violence in their marital homes" (Singh, 2013). The scenario in other societies is not very different from India, especially for women, as it has been found that violence is one of the prime reasons for women ending their marriage (Kalmuss & Seltzer, 1986; Kurz, 1996). Contrary to the earlier belief that women with low economic independence are more vulnerable within marriage, it was found that male violence against their partners within marital relations is



a greater determinant of marital disruption irrespective of other factors such as socioeconomic resources at the wife's disposal (DeMaris, 2000). In a study called 'California Divorce Mediation Project', it was found that 40% of all men and women in American society considered "severe and intense fighting" as the prime cause which resulted in divorce (Gigy & Kelly, 1992). However, it is worth noting that contrary to common expectation, intervention targetting more positive cognitive processes among couples could also be counter-effective. Instead of improving, such a move might even hurt the relationship (McNulty, 2010).

A marriage is said to be stable if it does not end in divorce (Lewis & Spanier, 1979). Although *subjective* factors such as negative feelings and dysfunctional beliefs can lead to marital instability, the effect of *objective* factors in this regard is no less pronounced as established by research. Marital quality, especially women's marital quality is largely determined by socioeconomic and demographic factors. The major factors that contribute to marital quality in the case of women are income, cohabitation, and race-ethnicity according to one study (James, 2015). These factors could be supplemented with the demographic variable called *age*, that is, biological age to render the analysis more complete. Considering the role of age and adopting a *life course* perspective, it could be said that, in general, marital quality declines with time, i.e., with progress in one's age (Umberson et al., 2005). This study considered an eight-year period to draw the conclusion. It is supported by a 40-year longitudinal study that looks to refute the argument that marital satisfaction from a life course perspective follows a U-shaped trajectory (Valliant & Valliant, 1993). However, the finding is, in no way, to be generalized over a large set of people. For, another study investigating the effect of life-cycle stage on marital commitment found that marital satisfaction does trace a U-shaped trajectory when plotted against life-cycle stages (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002, p. 198). Thus, whether or not marital satisfaction traces a U-

shaped trajectory, it is, inarguably, a function of time. It varies with time over the course of life-cycle, thus causing a fluctuation in the stability of marriage along the entire span of marital duration.

That noted, an irreplaceable trait of successful and stable marriage is ‘intimacy’ (Robinson & Blanton, 1993). Love, a correlate of marital intimacy is shown to be a major determinant of marital stability (Jeffries, 2002). Love, composed of two dimensions, i.e., *attraction* and *virtue*, acts as a determining factor for both marital quality and stability (Jeffries, 2002).

But one must not forget that marital intimacy is not all about mere love between couples; rather, there could be many dimensions to it. There could broadly be two ways in which married couples feel the intimacy in their relationship. It may be the result of sharing interests, joys, and other memorable experiences and spending a lot of time together (Robinson & Blanton, 1993, p. 40). This set of experience constituting marital intimacy highlights the happier side of marital intimacy. Nevertheless, even adverse times provide people with opportunity to help each other sail through the stressful time, thus rendering the attribute of marital intimacy stronger than before (Robinson & Blanton, 1993, p. 40). A husband’s comment in this regard sums up the issue:

“If I had the opportunity,...I doubt I'd even change the low points. You've got to have both, I believe, at some time or another. You can get strength from the low parts. You don't get much strength from the high parts. That's fine to have. But you get strength most of the time from the low parts” (Robinson & Blanton, 1993, p. 40).

The thought expressed via this statement surely represents an attitude to marriage symbolizing marital intimacy that undoubtedly enhances the marital stability.

However, there are other intricacies involved in the processes determining the interplay between marital quality and marital stability. Even when a marriage is seemingly stable, the marital quality could decline over a span of time. The life course approach leads us to examine three variables in this regard – age at marriage, marriage order and age difference between couples. How do these variables affect marital quality? An indication of their impact could be discerned indirectly by their relationship to marital dissolution or divorce. Research suggests optimality with regard to age at marriage. Becker et al. (1977) suggest that young age at marriage leads to marital instability as those marrying are new to the game and have a faint idea as to what forms a good match. On the other hand, Becker et al. (1977) also found that marriage at a higher age than what is normal also leads to poor marital quality, and hence, increases the probability of divorce.

In a similar vein, a more recent research study found that young people do not have the requisite interpersonal skills and economic resources needed for marital success (Hewitt, 2008). Not just age at marriage, rather difference in age is also correlated with marital quality, especially with regard to the ‘stability’ dimension. Age differential creates instability in marriage, especially if the husband is younger than wife (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972; Teachman, 2002; Chan & Halpin, 2003; Lehrer, 2008).

Besides numerical age, another life course variable, that is, *marriage order* also affects marital quality. Higher-order marriages that follow divorce are less stable (Kippen et al., 2013). However, these research findings reflect the social conditions of western societies. Most of these studies assume the ‘marriage market’ paradigm, the dynamics of which might be at sharp variance with other societies, especially a society of Indian subcontinent. To reinforce the hypothesis, one might mention that in a study based in Chitwan valley of Nepal, it was found

that though most people marry young, age at marriage has almost no impact on marital quality (Allendorf & Ghimire, 2013).

Therefore, apart from the demographic factor such as age at marriage, an important factor contributing to divorce is wives' employment (Booth, Johnson, White, & Edwards, 1984; Greenstein, 1990). Another study which took in account the social psychological factors predicting divorce also saw employment of the wife as a distal cause of divorce (Amato & Rogers, 1997, p. 614). It is in keeping with the findings on wives' employment and its negative impact on marital quality (as discussed in an earlier section). Not only does it lower marital quality, but employment of the wife does lead to conflict and instability as well (Perry-Jenkins & Folk, 1994; Rogers, 2004; Teachman, 2010). It is found to be a determinant of divorce (South 2001; Rogers, 2004; Kalmijn & Poortman, 2006). The flip side of greater participation by women in the labour force in recent times has been a conflict over division of housework which has also been posited as a cause of divorce (Ruppanner, Brandén, & Turunen, 2018).

Delving into the causes of such conflict, it has been argued that wife's employment leads to a decline in the "benefits of specialization in marriage", hence raising the chances of divorce (Becker, 1981). This situation of marital discord could be seen as stemming from "role strain" (Goode, 1960). In fact, wives' independence from husbands tends to have a catalyzing effect on divorce (Seccombe & Lee, 1987). Of greater importance, especially from the Indian perspective, is the fact that "female status" and "female autonomy" are two major causes of divorce in non-industrialized countries (Greenstein & Davis, 2006). It is also an interesting fact to take note of that "career demands" which is a corollary of employment outside the home causes "relational strain" which, in turn, adversely affects marital intimacy with the ultimate result of lowering marital quality (Robinson & Blanton, 1993, p. 40).

Marital instability could also be seen as an outcome of distress within marriage. Merely remaining married is often a poor indicator of relationship quality. Research suggests that poor relationship quality is a vital reason why people call it quits and go for divorce. Parsons and Bales (1955) argued long ago that divorce is seen as a medium by some to gain some respite from a distressful marriage of poor quality with the expectation of improving their quality of life. However, the aftermath in terms of happiness varies according to the level of distress that people live with during the period in which they stay married. It was found that ‘high-distress couples’ showed an increased happiness after divorce while ‘low-distress couples’ registered a decline (Amato & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007). Thus, falling in line with what Parsons and Bales (1955) had to say in this regard, divorce could verily be seen as a mechanism granting relief that mitigates the suffering of a low-quality marriage.

An important variable in the context of this discussion is *marital commitment* (to be discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter) which is seemingly a vital factor in determining divorce (Brake, 2011). Most literature on marital research considers marital commitment as a three-dimensional construct – personal, moral, structural (Johnson, 1991; Johnson, Caughlin, & Huston, 1999). Sometimes even a low quality marriage shows much resilience because of a high level of marital commitment by either or both marriage partners. It is probably a symptom of the communal nature of marriage that keeps a couple together even though they do not enjoy the relationship.

As regards marital quality, it has been found that those couples who have a joint ownership of goals to be achieved within marriage do experience higher marital quality (Dickson, 1995; Haddock, Zimmerman, Ziemba, & Current, 2001). Therefore, there could be much truth in the argument that marital quality and marital stability are two distinct dimensions as far as ‘marital

success' is concerned (Lewis & Spanier, 1979). However, one can't deny the fact that almost all research on marital quality has considered marital stability (or instability) as a dimension of marital quality, stable marriages leading to richer marital quality. Thus, having noted the role of communality and commitment in increasing marital stability and marital quality, one would agree that these human behaviors based on emotions do have a lot to do with the personality of the individual. The spouses as individuals do cast certain effect on their marital quality that depends solely on their personality traits.

### **I.7. Personality and Background characteristics**

Although it can only be seen as a suggestion for future research, the discussion on the association between religion and marital quality could be extended to include the impact of religiosity (or spirituality, for that matter) on personality traits, thereby playing a significant role in determining marital quality. The need for it stems from the fact that much emphasis has been laid on the issue of gender-roles, communication, wives' employment and decision-making related to household tasks in the discussion above when it comes to explaining the impact of these possible determinants on marital quality. However, there could also be other factors that have a telling effect on marital quality.

Let's consider the case of religion. It is an established fact that religious beliefs are an important determinant of individual personality traits including psychopathology (Schnell, 2012; Power & McKinney, 2014).<sup>12</sup> And indeed, a fairly large corpus of literature points to the fact that personality traits and biographical backgrounds of individuals do cast a lasting influence on their

---

<sup>12</sup>Scholars tend to distinguish between intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity as well as in the European context into spiritual-and-religious and spiritual-but-not-religious (Zinnbauer et al., 1997). Although it opens a fresh area of research altogether, suffice it to say at this point that religiosity (or spirituality) may shape individual personalities having a lasting impact on marital quality.

marital quality (needless to mention the effect on the marital quality of their spouse as well). Almost adopting a similar line of argument, Raymond Corsini (1956), while trying to predict *marital happiness*, extracted three significant factors that contribute to marital happiness which is a key determinant of *marital quality*. The three factors are: *personality*, *background*, and *similarity of personality* (Corsini, 1956). Although in a prior research study, it was found that personality has a low or negligible correlation with marital happiness (Terman & Bottenwieser, 1935), the last factor, that is, similarity of personality was, nonetheless, found to bear a significant impact on the marital lives of people.

Another study suggests that marital happiness or adjustment is related to ‘similarity of personality’ (Pickford, Signori, & Rempel, 1966). The study also reported that dissimilarity of personality is related to marital unhappiness, though the correlation is of a weak nature (Pickford, Signori, & Rempel, 1966). While merely sharing in terms of values could not be considered as being indicative of similarity of personality, its presence as a fact does point to a congruence of sorts striking a chord between a couple that holds them together in a strong marital bond. In this context, it is intriguing to note that the existence of shared values between the members of a marital duo bears a positive impact on their marital well-being, thus enhancing marital quality (Parry, 2016).

In a similar vein, it has also been reported that personality traits do play a key role in determining marital adjustment (Bouchard, Lussier, & Sabourin, 1999). Stretching it further, some have argued that not only for couples already married, but personality and background characteristics affect the marital quality of would-be-married couples as well. Working with the goal of predicting marital quality of future couples, Thomas Holman (2002) also considers personality and background to be key factors. Four broad premarital factors could be considered in order to

predict marital quality according to Holman (2002). The factors that he lists down are: family background factors, individual characteristics, couple interactional processes and current social contexts. Of these factors, the first, i.e., family background seems to be a good predictor when considered for husbands but not in the case of wives (Holman, Larson & Harmer, 1994).

However, Bentler and Newcomb (1978) found that the second characteristic on Holman's (2002) list of four, that is, individual characteristics are a better parameter to predict marital success closely linked to high marital satisfaction. Better couple social integration (Barton, Futris, & Nielsen, 2013) and personality feature (Larson & Holman, 1994) always carry a positive effect on marital satisfaction. In contrast, negative feelings and character traits do affect marital quality in a counterproductive fashion for it has been found that dysfunctional beliefs contribute to negative marital satisfaction (Kurdek, 1993). Hence, the negative features of human personality might play a bigger role than is often assumed in determining marital quality. These may be the prime causal agent behind marital conflict often leading to marital instability which (as shown earlier) is a negative dimension of marital quality.

### **I.8. Stress, Depression, and Marital Quality**

Carrying the discussion marital interaction and communication forward, one encounters another variable called "relationship stress" shown to have a telling effect on marital quality (Ledermann, Bodenmann, Rudaz, & Bradbury, 2010). Research suggests that low stress and positive communication between spouses are "important in relationships" (Ledermann, Bodenmann, Rudaz, & Bradbury, 2010, p. 195). The research takes as its starting-point the premise that daily stress in people's lives has a direct effect on marital outcomes (Bodenmann, 2000). It is also



established through research that 'relationship stress' mediates the association between external stress and aspects of marital satisfaction (Bodenmann et al., 2007).

A discussion on stress and its impact on the quality of married life automatically lead us to take a look at marriage from a medical, in fact, pathological viewpoint. It seems quite interesting to note that a psychological reason bearing an impact on marital well-being stems from the discrepancy between one's idealist notion regarding one's partner and the real-life experience gained by actually living with the partner. It is argued that unmet expectations hold the key to marital well-being (Ruvolo & Veroff, 1997). Moreover, it has been observed that anxiety and depression (closely related to the level of stress) affect oneself and the partner quite differently, i.e., they have actor as well as partner effects in marriage (Whisman, Uebelacker, & Weinstock, 2004). It must also be mentioned at this point that no gender differences exist with regard to these effects and that depression effects are stronger than anxiety effects (Whisman, Uebelacker, & Weinstock, 2004). It could be added that actor effects are more pronounced as compared to partner effects (Whisman, Uebelacker, & Weinstock, 2004).

Furthermore, an intersection between depressive symptoms and conflict-resolution strategies in marriage was also discovered by one study, which, in turn, affects marital quality (Marchand & Hock, 2000). In contrast to the study (Whisman, Uebelacker, & Weinstock, 2004) cited earlier, Marchand and Hock (2000) found significant gender effects in resolving conflicts. It is also noteworthy that there exists a reverse relationship between marital quality and individual well-being that could also serve as an instrument for cross-validation. Marital quality is a strong predictor of individual well-being (Lee, Secombe, & Shehan, 1991; Waite & Gallagher, 2000). And interestingly enough, in a study analyzing Chinese marriage, it has been found that marital well-being bears a strong correlation with depressive symptoms in individuals above and beyond

intrapersonal and contextual risk factors (Cao et al., 2017). Thus, stress management and its impact on marital quality could also be tested in a different way.

A discussion about stress, anxiety, and depression is likely to lead us to the effect of hormonal metabolism occurring within a human body. As regards marital quality, it was found that there is a direct negative effect of testosterone on marital quality (Booth & Dabbs, 1993). But the research measured the level of testosterone among men only. The argument gets further support by way of a research study which reports that women with higher levels of testosterone are less likely to marry (Udry, Morris, & Kovenock, 1995), the result being poorer marital quality should some of the women with high testosterone levels decide to get married (Booth, Granger, Mazur, & Kivlighan, 2006).

Nonetheless, in a more recent study, it was found that although testosterone had no direct effect on marital quality either for husbands or for wives, when combined with another variable, i.e., 'husband's role overload', it does bear an impact on marital quality (Booth, Johnson, & Granger, 2005). It was found that in a situation marked by high role overload for the husband, high testosterone levels result in low marital quality. On the other hand, marital quality goes up with high testosterone levels if husband's role overload is low (Booth, Johnson, & Granger, 2005).

Thus, the findings lie in agreement with the biosocial characteristic of testosterone which suggests that testosterone in itself does not have a cause-effect kind of impact on social behaviour. Rather, it depends on perceptions of the social environment (Booth, Johnson, & Granger, 2005). The cause for the effect of testosterone and husband's role overload is undisclosed. However, it is conjectured that when the stress is low, husbands are more likely to diverting their attention toward their partners, thus leading to higher marital quality. In

conditions of high stress, there could be a reverse relationship (Booth, Granger, Mazur, & Kivlighan, 2006, p. 179).

### **I.9. The methodological problem of overlap**

In the entire gamut of research literature on marital quality, one feature that stands out from the rest is the fuzziness of the boundaries between various dimensions constituting the dependent variable called marital quality. In other words, the dimensions are significantly correlated. As far as research is concerned, the problem presents itself right from the outset when one formulates the questionnaire to be used for self-reporting. It seems almost impossible to accurately word a question that indicates to one and only one variable, and, in turn, is completely distinct from anything measured by any other question. The problem was well illustrated by Fincham and Bradbury (1987). They made use of other research studies where overlap between questions often posed a problem as sometimes the same variable got measured by more than question. There is another problem that emerges owing to the fact that the factors themselves show a lot of overlap. It has been found that there is a positive reciprocal relationship between marital happiness and marital interaction and the effect does not vary by gender (Zuo, 1992). Similar relations exist between when the concept of marital satisfaction is considered that is often thought to be synonymous with marital quality.

An important aspect of any marital relation is the overall well-being of the spouses. This variable called marital well-being is, in turn, related to general happiness of the spouses. A study tried to establish the link between marital well-being and general happiness for newlywed couples in the first two years of marriage. It was found that for both husband and wife, there exists a positive correlation between marital well-being in the first year and general happiness in the second year

(Ruvolo, 1998). Moreover, the study also revealed appreciable partner effect in the sense that greater is one's marital well-being in the first year of marriage, greater will be the marital well-being of the partner in the second year (Ruvolo, 1998). Thus, it is indeed a challenging task to figure out the dimensions of marital quality on the basis of empirical research as there are more than one contenders – marital satisfaction, marital well-being, or simply marital happiness in some cases – to name a few that semantically tend to mean something quite similar to marital quality.

#### **I.10. Cultural variation in marital quality**

It has been argued that there are visible differences in marital traditions and practices across cultures (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2000). Therefore, concentrating on cultural differences seems inevitable as one investigates the topic of marriage and marital quality. Pimentel (2000) found some striking points of cultural difference between marital quality in China and that in the West. Specifically, it was found that spending time together that was one of the vital indicators of what determined marital quality in the West, but it was not a significant determinant of marital quality in China (Pimentel, 2000). Dating too was not a commonplace in Chinese culture which is otherwise an important feature of western family life.

Another pronounced difference between China and the West appeared in the importance of parental approval in matters of marriage that eventually determines marital quality. It has a real impact in the Chinese society when it hardly matters much in the West. The idea of love within marriage also differed, a condition which is akin to general characteristics of our society here in India. Research suggests that a rather mellowed down version of love does exist in India that stands in sharp contrast to the western model of marriage (Trawick, 1990; Derne, 1995, 1998).

Investigating the issue, some scholars tend to base their analysis on the division of cultures into collectivistic (Asian and Southern-European) and individualistic (British) with the former type displaying more positive cultural attitude toward marriage owing to the salience acquired by “family values” in those cultures (Mitchell, 2010). In a study that looked to contrast Japanese society with American society insofar as marital dynamic is concerned, it was found that Japanese marriage had fewer elements of companionship which is more pronounced in American marriages (Kamo, 1993). In consonance with the features of Chinese society, the phenomenon of spending time together among spouses was found to be present in a much reduced state in Japan (Kamo, 1993). Common features of companionate marriage such as dining together and sharing friends were not common in Japanese society (Kamo, 1993). As a consequence, the absence of these acts determining marital satisfaction lowers the overall levels of marital satisfaction for the Japanese in comparison with the Americans.

In a similar vein, attention must be paid to the fact that the western model of marital quality has also not been found to be entirely applicable to Indian society. Keera Allendorf (2012) argues that there are many a point of cultural difference between India and the West which could be seen as factors accounting for the difference between the way marital quality and its dimension play out in the West and in India. However, Allendorf (2012) does not advocate a rejection of the model of marital quality developed in the West. Rather, she highlights the fact that there exist points of both convergence and divergence between models of marital quality in the two culturally dissimilar societies (Allendorf, 2012).

*Thus, having come across a number of factors influencing marital quality and its dimensions, in the chapters that follow, it would seem worthwhile to look at some of the important factors having a pronounced correlation with marital quality.*

## Chapter Two

### Models of Marital Quality: The Indian Context

*Thus far we have seen that marital quality is a multidimensional construct. In two of the studies – one based in USA (1986) and the other in China (2013) – wherefrom we derive a lot of insight for this study, we found that it is a five-dimensional construct. This chapter shall present an analysis of the data collected for this study with a view to generating a model of marital quality that is applicable to Indian society. Attempt shall also be made to study the interrelationship between the dimensions of marital quality.*

---

As already noted, the number of dimensions of marital quality could vary depending on the method employed and the society studied. However, a widely accepted model of marital quality tries to fix the number of dimensions to five. It owes its origin to the study conducted by Johnson et al. (1986) in Detroit, USA. The same model was replicated in a study based in Beijing in 2013 (Xu, 2013). The current study undertaken by us is largely based on this five-dimensional construct of marital quality. The five dimensions alluded to here marital happiness, marital interaction, marital disagreement, marital problems, and marital instability (or stability). The model suggests that the first two, i.e., marital happiness and marital interaction constitute the positive component of marital quality while the rest three measure the negative component. It is with this assumption that we proceed with our analysis aiming at constructing a model of marital quality applicable to Indian conditions.

#### **2.1. Data, Method, and Interpretation**

Data for the study was collected based on a survey comprising 28 questions in all aimed at measuring individual dimensions of marital quality. The survey was conducted using a questionnaire supplied to potential respondents based on the technique of snowball sampling, an

approach that was necessitated due to the impact of the pandemic that engulfed the world in the opening months of 2020. Each indicator variable gathered responses on a 4-point Likert scale as summarized in the following table:

**Table 2.1: Scheme of coding adopted for the 4-point Likert scale used in the questionnaire**

<b>Score</b> <b>Dimensions</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>Marital Happiness</i>	Very Unhappy	Unhappy	Happy	Very Happy
<i>Marital Interaction</i>	Never	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
<i>Marital Disagreement</i>	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Never
<i>Marital Problems</i>	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Never
<i>Marital Instability</i>	Recently	In the past 3 years	Long time ago	Never

A scheme of coding as well as reverse-coding was applied to the exercise in order to create separate indices for all five dimensions. A sum of the individual scores of the dimensions thus obtained gave the final Index of Marital Quality. As to the scheme of coding, a point was made to ensure that a higher score for any of the individual dimensions indicated higher marital quality. In other words, the variables that represent the negative aspects of marital quality were reverse-coded and couples who report a higher frequency of such occurrences within their marital life were taken as scoring lowly as far as overall marital quality is concerned. Since the indicator variables constituting all five dimensions were measured on a uniform 4-point Likert scale, coding and reverse-coding did not pose much of a problem.

A simple sum of the individual scores for each dimension would give the final value of marital quality with a higher score indicating higher marital quality.

## 2.2. Data Profile

To begin with, we must pay attention to some of the demographic, cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents in the sample. In terms of age, the sample seems like a fairly young sample with the mean age of being 35.7 years. The median and mode are not very different both being 35 years. Thus, with a skewness of just 1.302 (value of kurtosis being exactly 3), age in this sample seems to normally distributed. Nonetheless, it has a wide range of 43 with minimum being 20 years and maximum being 63 years. The table below summarizes it:

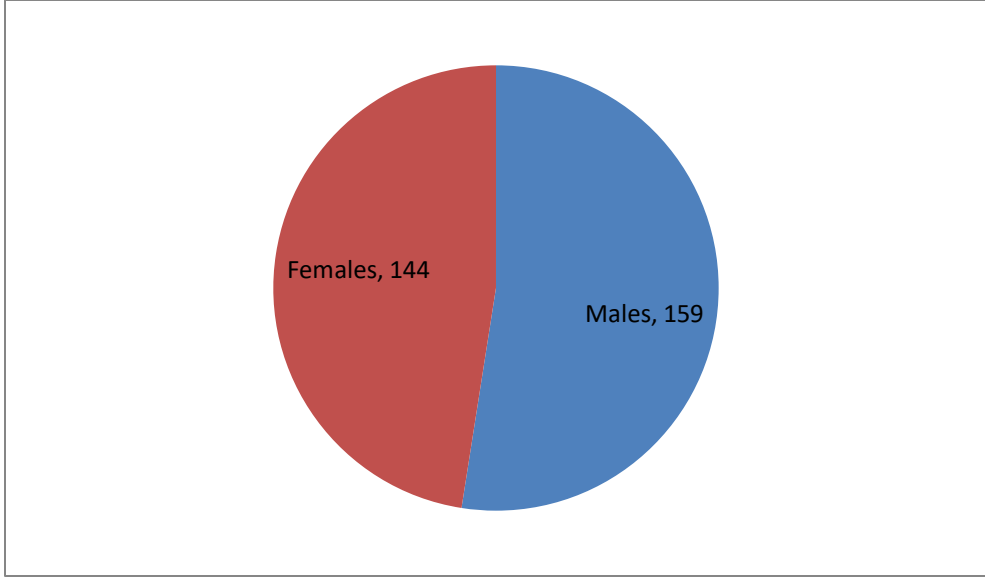
**Table 2.2: Descriptive statistics for age of the respondent**

Statistics		
Respondent's Age		
N	Valid	294
	Missing	9
Mean		35.70
Std. Deviation		7.086
Skewness		1.302
Std. Error of Skewness		.142
Kurtosis		3.003
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.283
Minimum		20
Maximum		63

The other most important variable characterizing the sample is gender. The sample is composed of 144 females (47.5 per cent) and 159 males (52.5 per cent) as shown in the pie chart below:

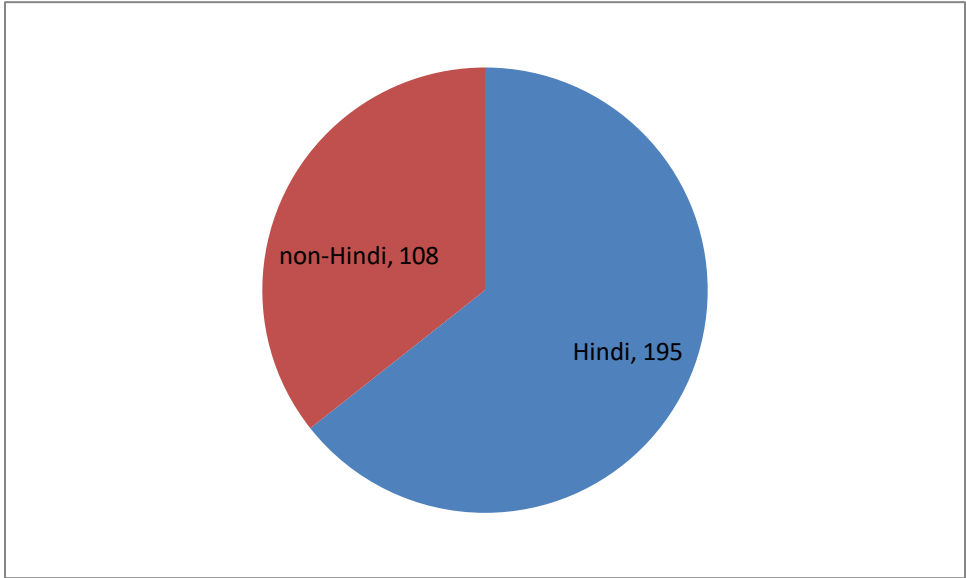
**Figure 2.1: Gender composition of the sample**





Furthermore, a majority of the sample report Hindi as their first language. There are 195 (64.4 per cent) Hindi speakers and 108 (35.6 per cent) non-Hindi speakers in the sample. The pie chart below shows the distribution:

**Figure 2.2: Frequency distribution of the sample based on mother tongue**



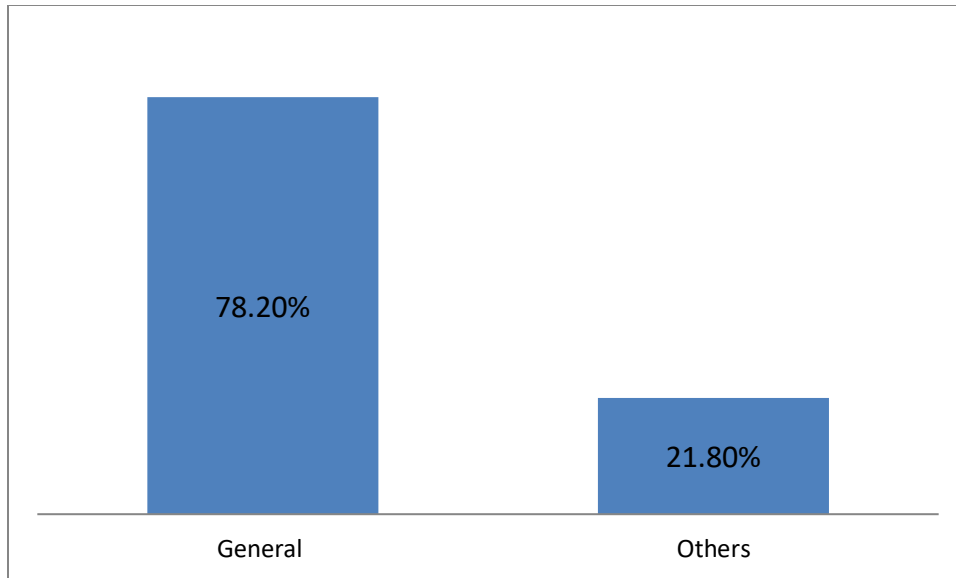
Moving on, religion seems another important variable in defining the characteristics of the sample. As far as religion is concerned, the sample comprises a large Hindu population (282 respondents that works out to be 93.1 per cent of the sample). Below is how it looks pictorially:

***Figure 2.3: Religious composition of the sample***



Shifting the emphasis from religion to caste, we notice that the sample comprises a majority of respondents from the General category (78.2 per cent) with the rest, i.e., 21.8 per cent belonging to OBC, SC, and ST categories. The bar chart summarizes the description:

***Figure 2.4: Caste (social category) composition of the sample***



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each category*

That noted, there are other variables occupying a vital position of importance as one tries to describe the profile of the sample. Perhaps, a chief aspect of any sample being analyzed for marital research is duration of marriage. In regard to our sample, the duration of marriage has a wide range of 43 years with the minimum being just wed, i.e., a few months to 43 years as the maximum. However, the mean duration of marriage of the sample is 8.386 years. However, the distribution seems quite skewed with the value of kurtosis being 4.528. Besides, the sample seems to be composed of couples with smaller family size with the mean number of children being 1.2 (0.61 for sons and 0.59 for daughters that does not suggest a noticeable sex difference in this regard). The descriptive statistics are tabulated below:

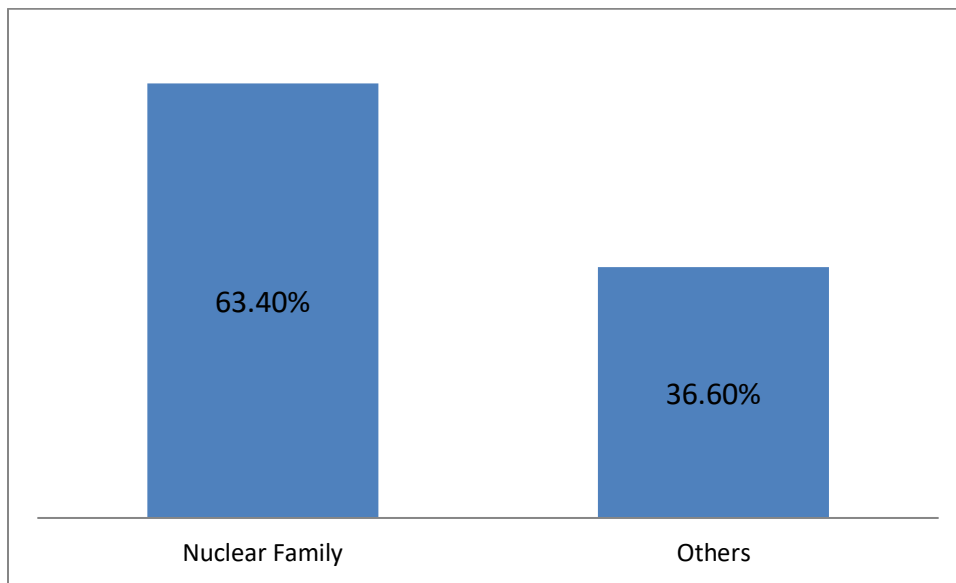
***Table 2.3: Descriptive statistics for ‘duration of marriage’, ‘total number of children’, ‘number of sons’, and ‘number of daughters’***

		Duration of Marriage	Total number of Children	Number of Sons	Number of Daughters
N	Valid	303	300	300	300

Missing	0	3	3	3
Mean	8.386	1.20	0.61	0.59
Std. Deviation	8.0287	1.151	0.748	0.737
Skewness	1.985	1.471	1.211	1.122
Std. Error of Skewness	0.140	0.141	0.141	0.141
Kurtosis	4.528	3.474	1.285	0.799
Std. Error of Kurtosis	0.279	0.281	0.281	0.281
Minimum	0.0	0	0	0
Maximum	43.0	6	3	3

In addition to the above, majority of the respondents (63.4 per cent) live in a nuclear family:

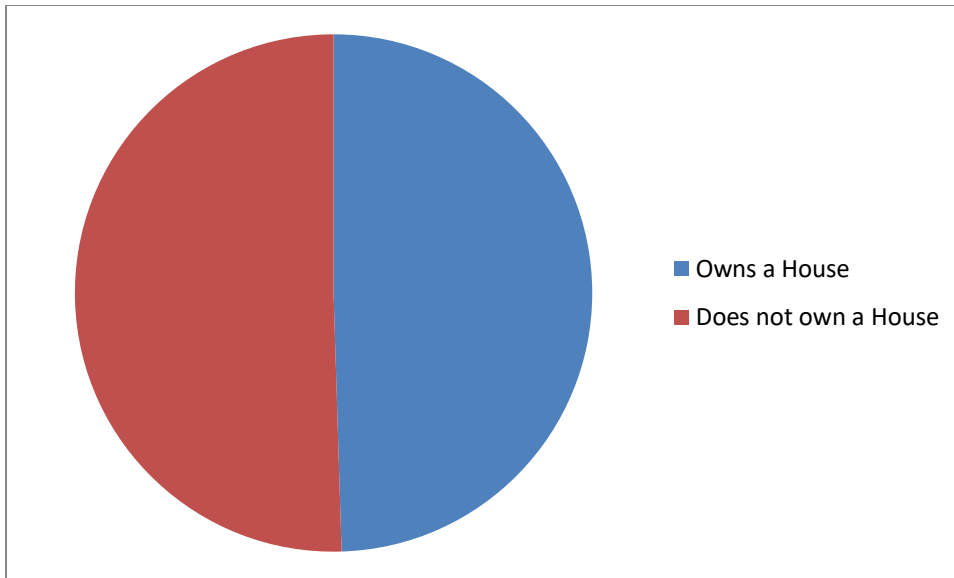
**Figure 2.5: Characteristics of the sample based on ‘type of family’**



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each category*

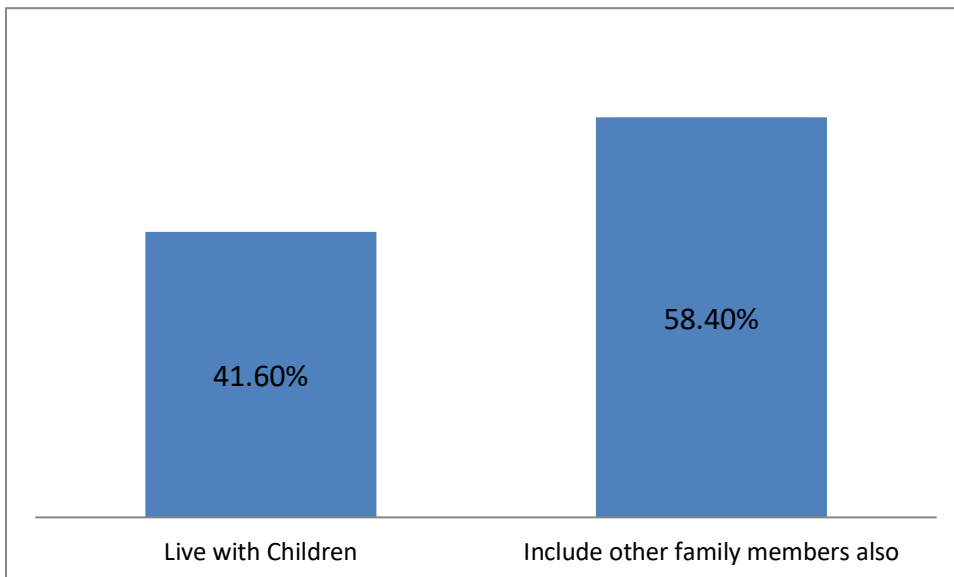
Those who own a house fall just shy of the halfway mark at 49.5 per cent (150 out of 303):

**Figure 2.6: Frequency distribution of the sample based on whether or not one owns a house**



As regards living arrangement, 41.6 per cent of them report that they live with their children only in a nuclear setting. The rest (58.4 per cent) include other family members as well. The bar graph represents the distribution:

**Figure 2.7: Figure showing who the married couples live with**



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each category*

But an important aspect of family life reported by this sample is ‘most caring member’ of the family. 58.4 per cent of the respondents admit that it is their wife or husband followed by 28.7 per cent who report that it is their parents who care the most for them. The frequency table shows the distribution:

**Table 2.4: Frequency distribution for ‘most caring member’ in the family**

Most caring member					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Wife/Husband	177	58.4	58.4	58.4
	Children	27	8.9	8.9	67.3
	Parents	87	28.7	28.7	96.0
	In-laws	6	2.0	2.0	98.0
	Siblings	6	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Moving from family to income, as far as the income profile of the sample is concerned the sample represents the upper middle class population of Delhi-NCR with 48.5 per cent of them earning more than 10 Lakhs annually. The distribution is tabulated as follows:

**Table 2.5: Frequency distribution for Annual Income of the respondents**

Annual Household Income					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	BPL category	9	3.0	3.0	3.0
	2 to 4 lakhs	36	11.9	11.9	14.9
	4 to 6 lakhs	33	10.9	10.9	25.7
	6 to 8 lakhs	33	10.9	10.9	36.6
	8 to 10 lakhs	45	14.9	14.9	51.5
	Above 10 lakhs	147	48.5	48.5	100.0

Total	303	100.0	100.0
-------	-----	-------	-------

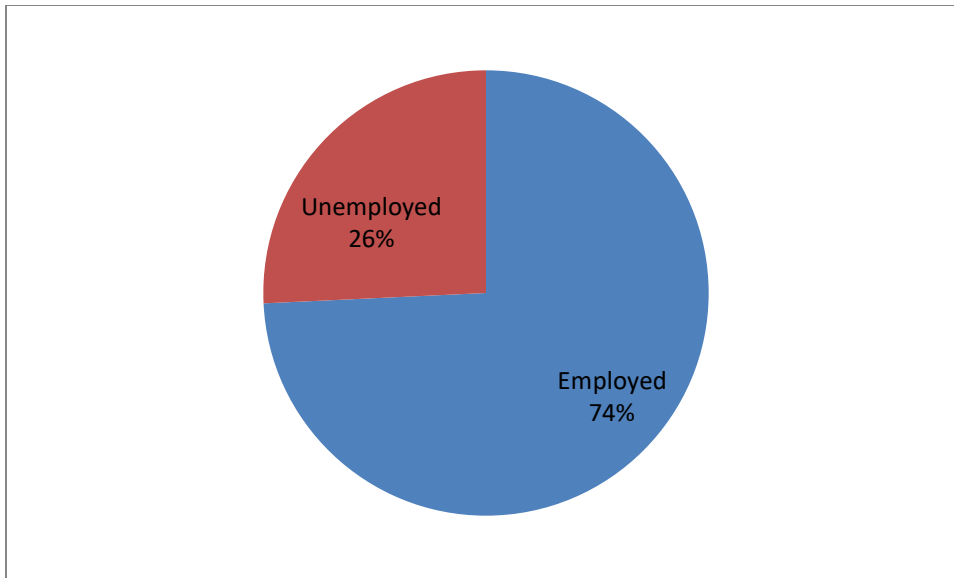
Similar to income, the sample also seems to represent a highly educated section of the society with 65.3 per cent of the respondents possessing a postgraduate or higher degree. This is how the distribution looks like:

**Table 2.6: Frequency distribution for the ‘level of education’ of the respondents**

		Level of Education			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	High School	6	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Intermediate	9	3.0	3.0	5.0
	Graduate	90	29.7	29.7	34.7
	Postgraduate and above	198	65.3	65.3	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Besides, income and education, as far as employment status is concerned, 225 out of 303 (74.3 per cent) report themselves as employed, the rest being unemployed as shown in the pie chart:

**Figure 2.8: Characteristics of the sample based on the status of ‘employment’**



As the study aims to study some aspects of marriage, it's wise to document the employment status of the spouse as well. For this sample, 67 per cent of them report that their spouses are employed as revealed in the table:

**Table 2.7: Frequency distribution for 'spousal employment'**

Is the spouse employed?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	93	30.7	32.6	32.6
	Yes	192	63.4	67.4	100.0
	Total	285	94.1	100.0	
Missing	System	18	5.9		
Total		303	100.0		

Lastly, we must touch on the health profile of the sample. The sample seems to be composed of quite a healthy set of married individuals with only 11.9 per cent of them reporting their current health status as 'not good'. Given below is the frequency table:

**Table 2.8: Frequency distribution for how respondents rate their current state of 'health'**



current state of health					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Good	36	11.9	11.9	11.9
	Good	186	61.4	61.4	73.3
	Very Good	81	26.7	26.7	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Closely linked to the issue of health is the variable collecting information on one's perception how one's health condition has changed in the year bygone. It was found that majority of the sample (53.5 per cent) thought their health had undergone 'no change' in the last one year as shown in the table:

***Table 2.9: Frequency distribution for respondent's perception of their 'change in health' in the last one year***

change in health					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Worse	45	14.9	14.9	14.9
	No change	162	53.5	53.5	68.3
	Better	96	31.7	31.7	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Not very different from the issue of health is the presence of addictive habits such as drinking, smoking, etc. among respondents. On this front, we found that only a small minority of the respondents (18.8 per cent) tend to have such habits as shown in the table:

***Table 2.10: Frequency distribution for respondents with addictive habits***

addictive habits					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	246	81.2	81.2	81.2
	Yes	57	18.8	18.8	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

### 2.3. Explaining the Data

The 28 variables used to measure marital quality served as indicators in order for us to isolate the factors that go about constituting marital quality and its dimensions. Therefore, factor analysis was conducted using Principal Component Analysis with all 28 variables taken together. Here it must be mentioned that for a model to be consistently acceptable, both exploratory factor analysis and confirmatory factor analysis must produce similar results. In other words, we need to analyze the data using both these techniques in order to arrive at the final conclusion. The exploratory factor analysis (EFA) gave the following results:

**Table 2.11: Amount of variance explained by each of the seven dimensions**

#### Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	9.264	33.085	33.085	4.432	15.830	15.830
2	2.481	8.862	41.947	3.927	14.024	29.854
3	2.285	8.161	50.108	3.614	12.907	42.761
4	2.000	7.143	57.251	2.979	10.640	53.401
5	1.751	6.253	63.504	2.380	8.501	61.901
6	1.264	4.513	68.017	1.455	5.198	67.099
7	1.145	4.088	72.105	1.402	5.006	72.105
8	.992	3.545	75.650			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

For Eigen value of one, we find the above set of factors. Contrary to the expectations, here we have a seven-dimensional model of marital quality instead of a five-dimensional model. Nonetheless, in order for us to arrive at anything conclusive in this regard, we need to look take a look at the individual factor loadings for all seven dimensions. The factor loadings after rotation are as follows:

**Table 2.12: Identifying the dimensions after rotation in exploratory factor analysis**

<b>Rotated Component Matrix<sup>a</sup></b>							
	Component						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Love and affection received	<b>.851</b>	.275	.159	.122	.075	-.058	-.016
Sexual satisfaction	<b>.803</b>	.152	.214	.042	-.040	.189	-.099
Happiness with home	<b>.807</b>	.302	.083	.193	.123	-.035	.110
Overall marital happiness	<b>.877</b>	.278	.126	.083	.021	-.047	.088
Relative happiness	<b>.792</b>	.167	.319	.025	.004	.206	.187
Spending time together	.262	.322	<b>.629</b>	.195	.025	-.102	-.193
A tells feelings to B	.107	.171	<b>.762</b>	.091	-.074	.296	.190
B tells feelings to A	.373	.121	<b>.696</b>	.160	-.066	.302	-.062
A shows affection to B	.041	.144	<b>.766</b>	.055	.091	-.172	.060
B shows affection to A	.445	.104	<b>.724</b>	.040	.034	-.015	-.202
Couples discuss big events	.073	.265	<b>.650</b>	.148	.042	.025	.088
Disagreement on housework	-.012	.242	-.130	-.026	<b>.653</b>	-.108	<b>.337</b>
Disagreement on spending money	.018	-.044	.061	.076	<b>.804</b>	.017	.107
Disagreement regarding children	-.002	-.045	.003	.123	<b>.776</b>	.082	-.299
Disagreement regarding elderly	.090	.019	.070	-.040	<b>.767</b>	-.021	.039
Disagreements regarding opposite sex friends	.127	-.159	.038	.099	.107	.137	<b>.847</b>
Serious quarrels in last 2 months	.243	.216	-.087	<b>.550</b>	.026	<b>.492</b>	-.033
Physical violence	.006	.083	.075	.081	-.009	<b>.793</b>	.129
Got angry easily	.228	.086	.038	<b>.601</b>	.057	.331	-.238
Was jealous	.058	.164	.096	<b>.671</b>	.182	.023	-.135

Tried to dominate	-.004	.079	.248	<b>.731</b>	.036	-.064	.095
Criticized the spouse	.004	.141	.109	<b>.767</b>	-.110	.033	.145
Wouldn't talk to each other	.232	.259	.068	<b>.611</b>	.004	.044	<b>.357</b>
Suggested the idea of divorce	.260	<b>.827</b>	.297	.183	.077	.098	-.099
Thought marriage might be in trouble	.247	<b>.764</b>	.182	.140	-.001	.241	-.058
Discussed the divorce with friend	.231	<b>.844</b>	.269	.196	.018	-.031	-.048
Thought about divorce/separation	.258	<b>.818</b>	.304	.200	.054	.186	-.034
Ever separated?	.387	<b>.681</b>	.095	.196	-.024	-.148	.081
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.							
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.							
a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.							

The individual loadings are highlighted in the output table above. Anything above 0.3 was included as an indicator. We can clearly find contiguous and high loadings for the first five dimensions with the last two dimensions showing considerable loadings for variables in a haphazard manner. That is to say the last two factors show acceptable factor loadings for variables that already have a higher loading for other factors or the total number of loadings greater than 0.3 for the sixth and seventh factor is less than three which renders them liable for rejection as a factor. Thus, we take the next step of removing the variables that seemingly produce the aberration resulting in two additional factors. We removed the three anomaly-inducing variables (V41, V42, and V43) from the analysis.<sup>1</sup> We re-ran the factor analysis with the 25 variables we are now left with. This is what we found:

***Table 2.13: Amount of variance explained by each of the five dimensions***

### Total Variance Explained

---

<sup>1</sup> All three variables occur as consecutive questions in the questionnaire and aim to measure marital disagreement.

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	9.007	36.028	36.028	4.283	17.131	17.131
2	2.410	9.640	45.668	3.862	15.447	32.577
3	2.175	8.700	54.368	3.685	14.739	47.316
4	1.894	7.576	61.943	2.800	11.199	58.515
5	1.523	6.094	68.037	2.381	9.522	68.037
6	.980	3.918	71.956			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

It turns out to be an ‘aha’ moment for us as we can clearly find a model of marital quality composed of five factors. Nonetheless, what these five factors measure is the most important question for us at this point. Are the five factors good enough to explain the five dimensions assumed at the beginning of this chapter to be composing marital quality? To answer this question, we need to check out the individual loadings for each of the five factors as shown in the output table below:

**Table 2.14: Identifying the dimensions after rotation in exploratory factor analysis**

Rotated Component Matrix <sup>a</sup>					
	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
Love and affection received	<b>.839</b>	.283	.165	.111	.084
Sexual satisfaction	<b>.808</b>	.150	.236	.084	-.054
Happiness with home	<b>.806</b>	.305	.078	.203	.135
Overall marital happiness	<b>.872</b>	.284	.125	.091	.030
Relative happiness	<b>.805</b>	.165	.331	.070	-.001
Spending time together	.228	.342	<b>.621</b>	.178	.024
A tells feelings to B	.123	.152	<b>.776</b>	.148	-.083
B tells feelings to A	.370	.122	<b>.720</b>	.210	-.092
A shows affection to B	.019	.146	<b>.757</b>	.010	.112
B shows affection to A	.418	.116	<b>.741</b>	.019	.030
Couples discuss big events	.071	.252	<b>.637</b>	.183	.043
Disagreement on housework	.004	.229	-.157	-.018	<b>.676</b>

Disagreement on spending money	.019	-.058	.075	.073	<b>.805</b>
Disagreement regarding children	-.016	-.045	.032	.114	<b>.755</b>
Disagreement regarding elderly	.100	.000	.069	-.029	<b>.770</b>
Got angry easily	.215	.087	.096	<b>.604</b>	.033
Was jealous	.043	.170	.081	<b>.687</b>	.174
Tried to dominate	-.006	.073	.208	<b>.744</b>	.049
Criticized the spouse	.007	.135	.086	<b>.772</b>	-.094
Wouldn't talk to each other	.238	.253	.049	<b>.634</b>	.019
Suggested the idea of divorce	.246	<b>.827</b>	.317	.194	.076
Thought marriage might be in trouble	.244	<b>.760</b>	.217	.168	-.010
Discussed the divorce with friend	.214	<b>.851</b>	.263	.198	.027
Thought about divorce/separation	.251	<b>.814</b>	.328	.223	.050
Ever separated?	.375	<b>.689</b>	.074	.178	.000
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.					
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.					
a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.					

The indicator variables with considerable factor loadings (loading > 0.5) have been highlighted in the table. Each factor turns out to be composed of a set of contiguous and correlated variables corresponding to the five factors that were initially expected to constitute marital quality in India informed by previous research conducted in the USA (1986) and China (2013). The factors, pronouncedly visible in the table, are as follows and in that order:

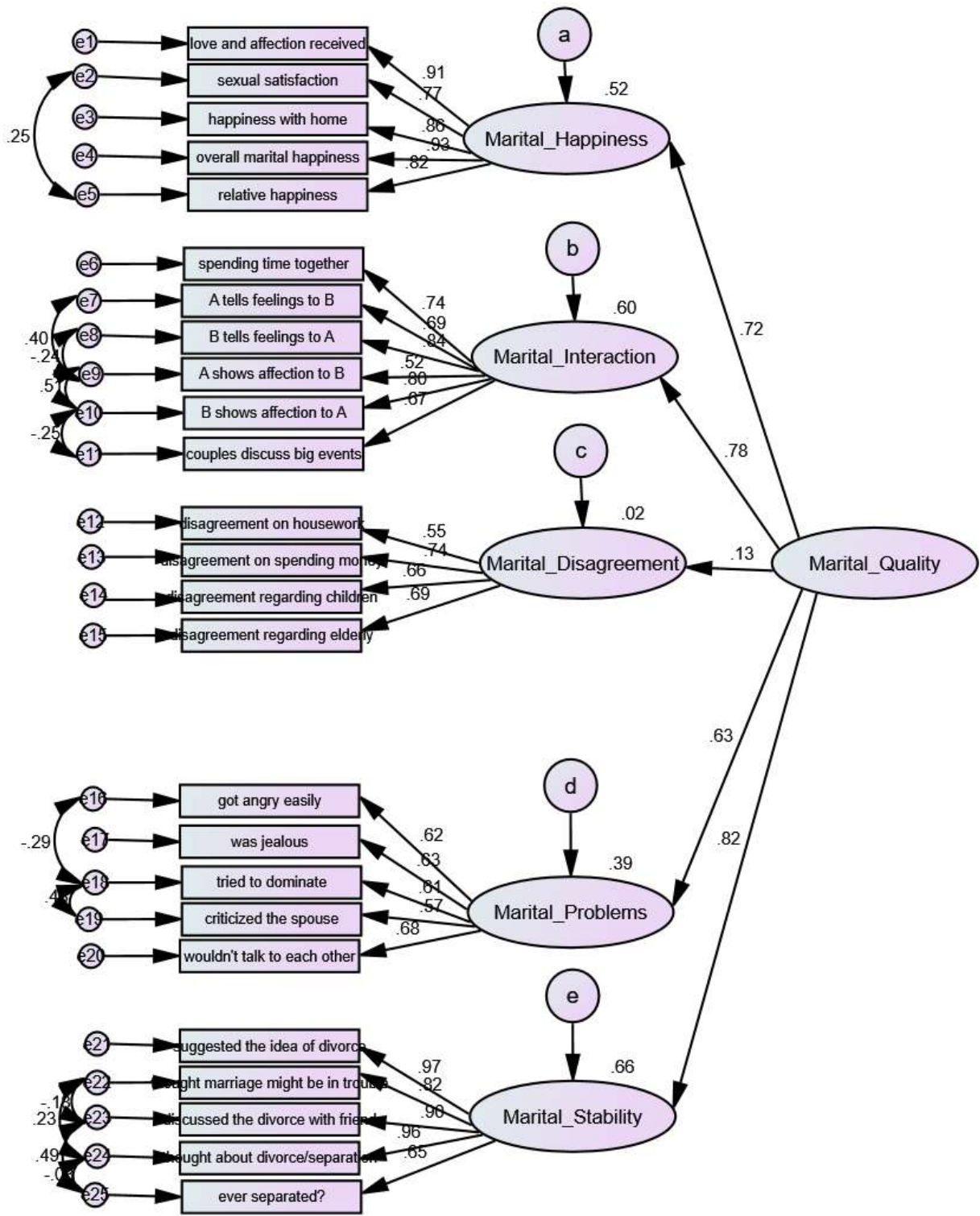
**Table 2.15: Name and order of factors identified by Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)**

Factor 1	Marital Happiness
Factor 2	Marital Instability (or Stability)

Factor 3	Marital Interaction
Factor 4	Marital Problems
Factor 5	Marital Disagreement

Having noted the results of exploratory factor analysis (EFA), it might seem a better idea to look for additional confirmation of the conclusions drawn here with the help of Confirmatory Factor Analysis (EFA), a technique based on Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). In the quest of developing a model of marital quality in India, we use the same 25 variables used in exploratory factor analysis. We ran confirmatory factor analysis on SPSS Amos which gave the following result depicting a five-dimensional model of marital quality:

***Figure 2.9: Five-dimensional model of Marital Quality in India***



This is what we found as to the characteristics of the model fit:

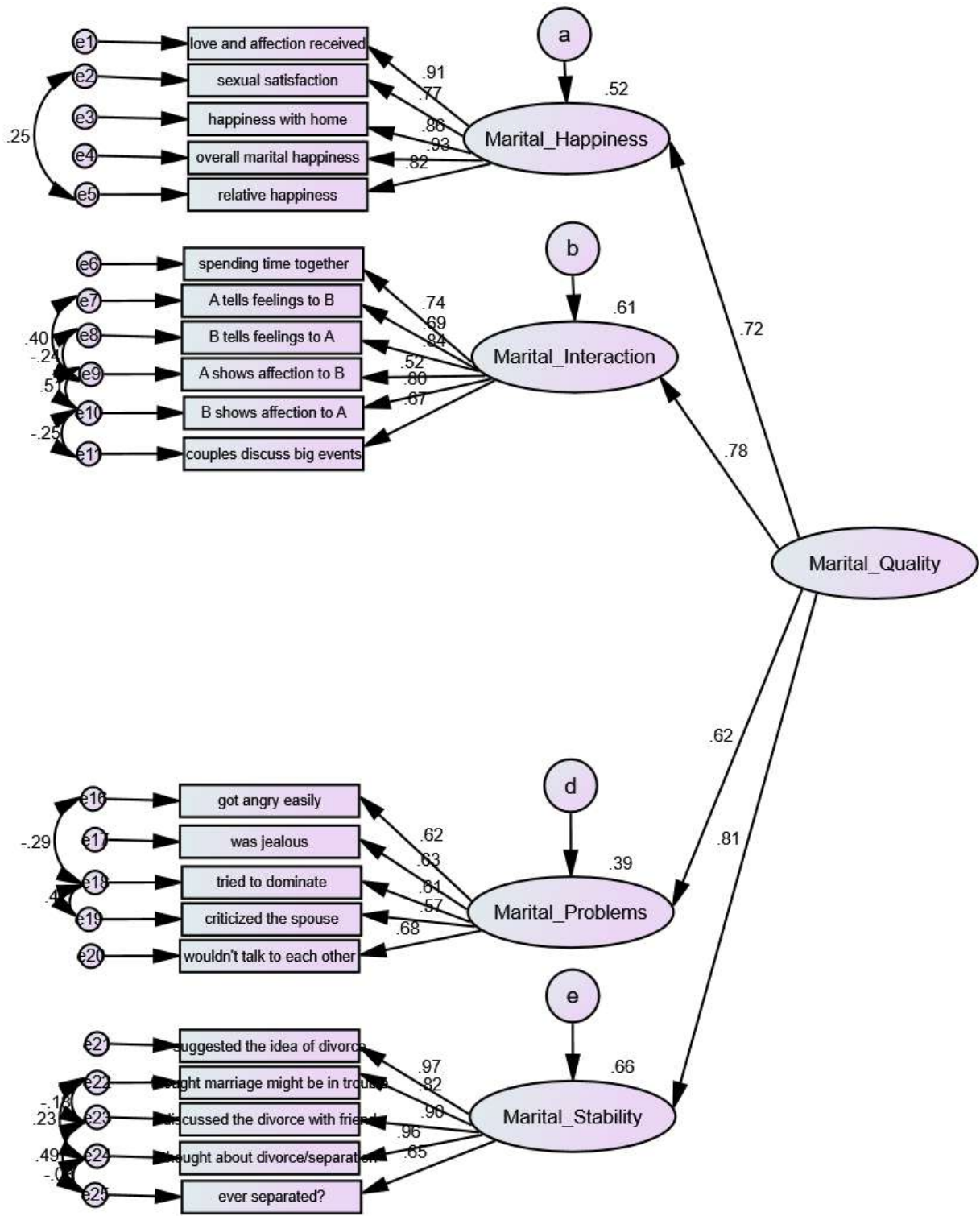


*Table 2.16: Vital indices reported for the 5-dimensional model of marital quality*

Chi-square	Df	p-value	CFI	TLI	IFI	RMSEA	PCLOSE
<b>987.296</b>	259	.000	<b>0.870</b>	0.849	0.871	<b>0.096</b>	.000

We are chiefly concerned with the three indices in the table, i.e., CFI, TLI, and IFI, all of which assume a value that is less than 0.9. Therefore, on a reading of the above indices and values of other parameters, one might conclude that the model does not fit the data satisfactorily. The most vital figure in the above table is the value of CFI which must be above 0.9 in order for us to consider the model anywhere close to being acceptable. Hence, we need to look out for a remedy to overcome the difficulty. It is noticeable that in the model shown in the figure above, we find that the factor loading between Marital Quality and Marital Disagreement is 0.14 exhibiting a low degree of association and thus suggesting that *marital disagreement is not a good predictor of marital quality in India*. Hence, an improvement to the model could be introduced by stripping off marital disagreement and re-running the whole process with four dimensions. Given below is the result with a four-dimensional model of marital quality:

*Figure 2.10: Four-dimensional model of Marital Quality in India*



The output indices are as follows:

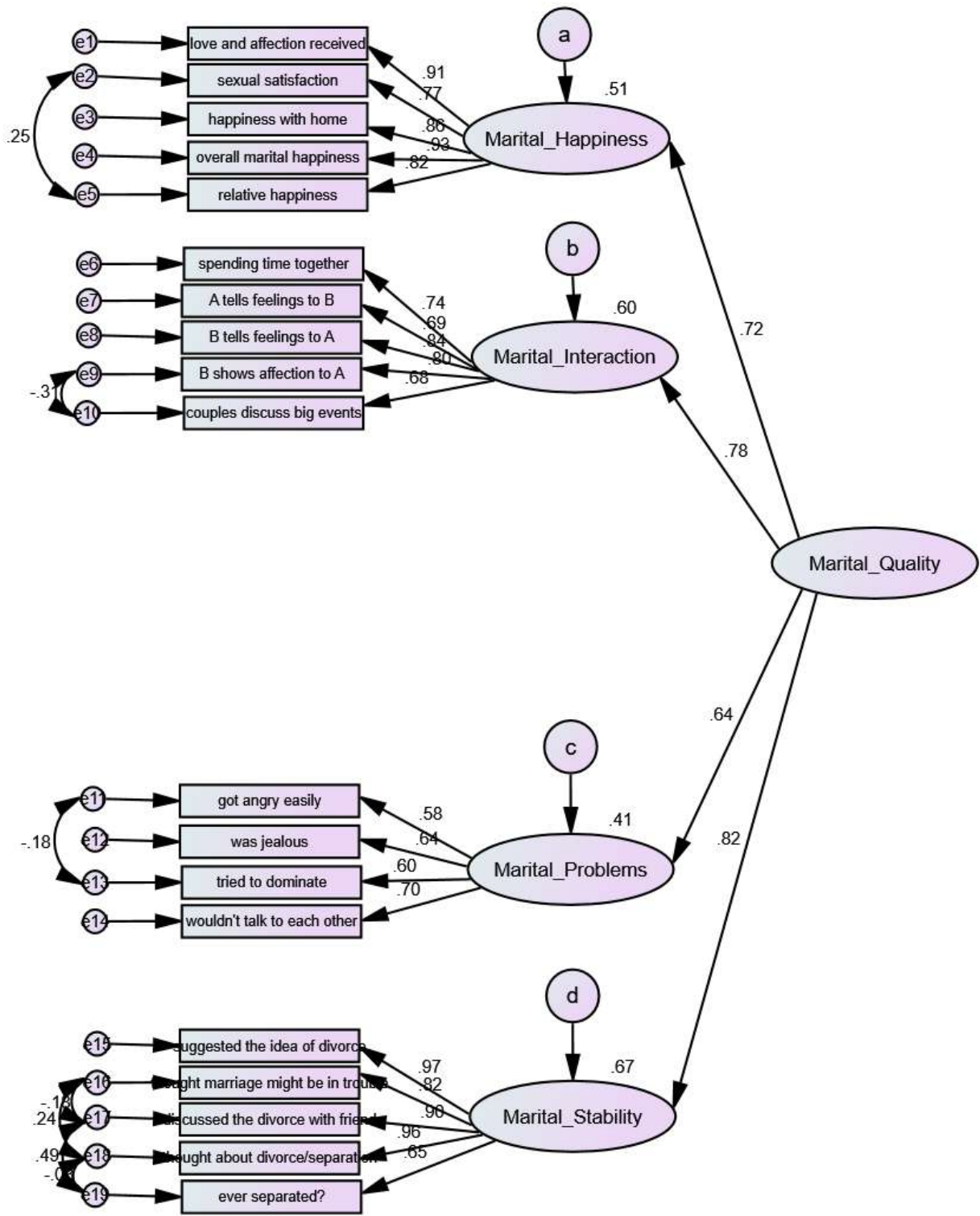
*Table 2.17: Vital indices reported for the 4-dimensional model of marital quality*

Chi-square	Df	p-value	CFI	TLI	IFI	RMSEA	PCLOSE
<b>688.454</b>	174	.000	<b>0.899</b>	0.878	0.900	<b>0.099</b>	.000

Do we find any improvement on the previous model? In a sense we do have a model with us that is slightly better than the previous one. It is, nonetheless, not at the satisfactory level that we are looking for. The value of CFI (0.899) is still less than 0.9. Moreover, we still have RMSEA = 0.099 which is way beyond the acceptable limit of less than 0.08. Therefore, although this four-dimensional model of marital quality seems to represent our society to a better degree, it can only be taken as a vaguely fitting model.

To find a better fit for our data, we try to drop some of the variables with low factor loadings from this four-dimensional model. We remove one each from the indicator variables measuring marital interaction and marital problems. What we get with this model having 19 indicator variables is the following:

*Figure 2.11: Modified Four-dimensional model of Marital Quality in India*



The output indices for this four-dimensional model are as follows:

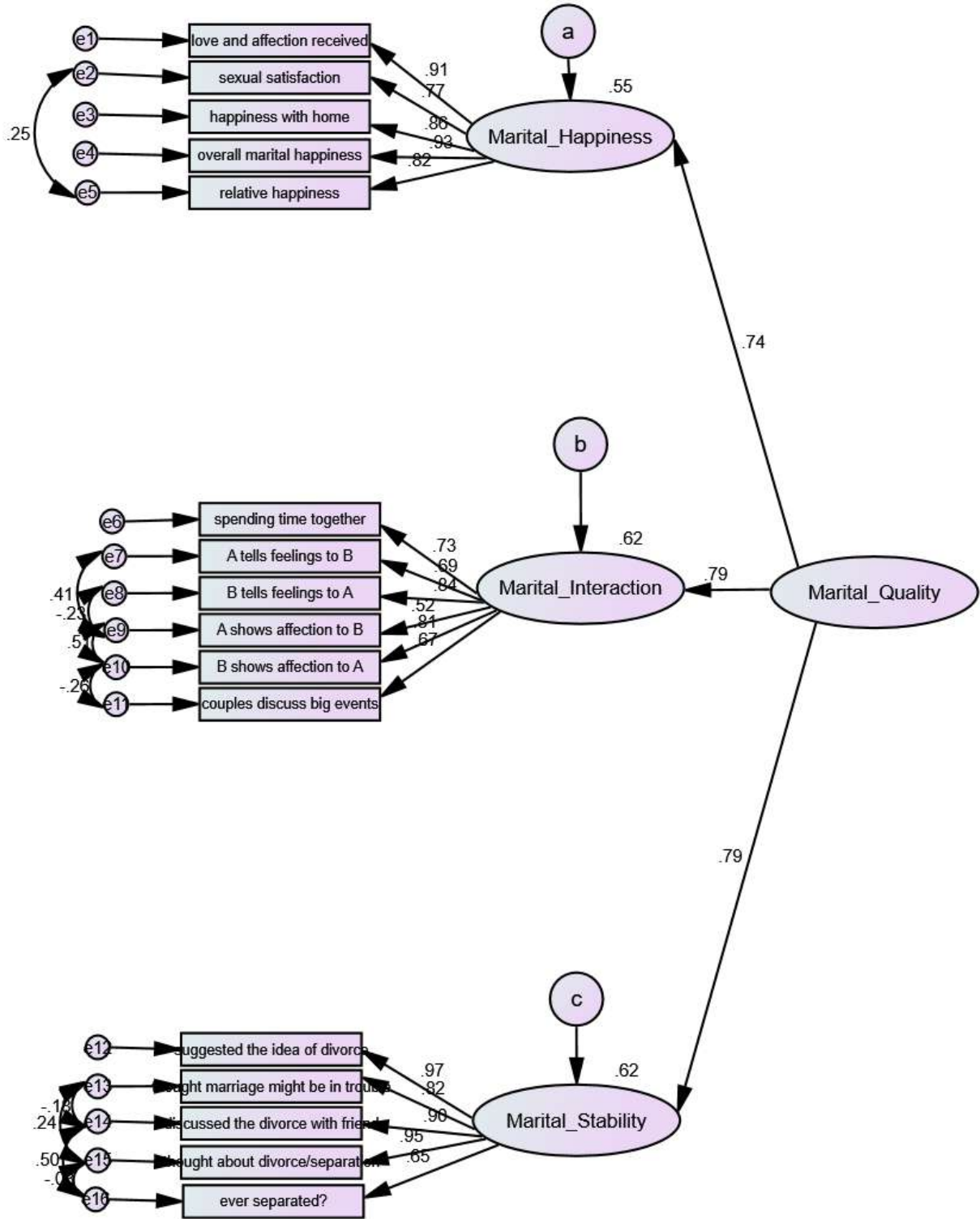
*Table 2.18: Vital indices reported for the modified 4-dimensional model of marital quality*

Chi-square	Df	p-value	CFI	TLI	IFI	RMSEA	PCLOSE
534.125	141	.000	<b>0.913</b>	<b>0.895</b>	<b>0.914</b>	<b>0.096</b>	.000

One needs to take a look at the three indices highlighted in the table. Two out of the three display a value greater than 0.9 with CFI being 0.913 which is close to the acceptable value of 0.95 that is indicative of a good fitting model. However, we still have  $RMSEA > 0.08$  that raises some questions as to the appropriateness of this model in explaining the model of marital quality in our society.

What do we do now? We extend this analysis further in search of a better fit for our data. In this quest, we further reduce the number of variables that seem to load poorly with the final variable with the factor they purportedly measure. In the model above, we notice that variables measuring marital problems seem to have moderate factor loadings in the range of 0.6. Hence, we get rid of the entire factor and re-run the whole process with three dimensions, i.e., marital happiness, marital interaction, and marital instability. This is what we find with this model:

*Figure 2.12: Three-dimensional model of Marital Quality in India*



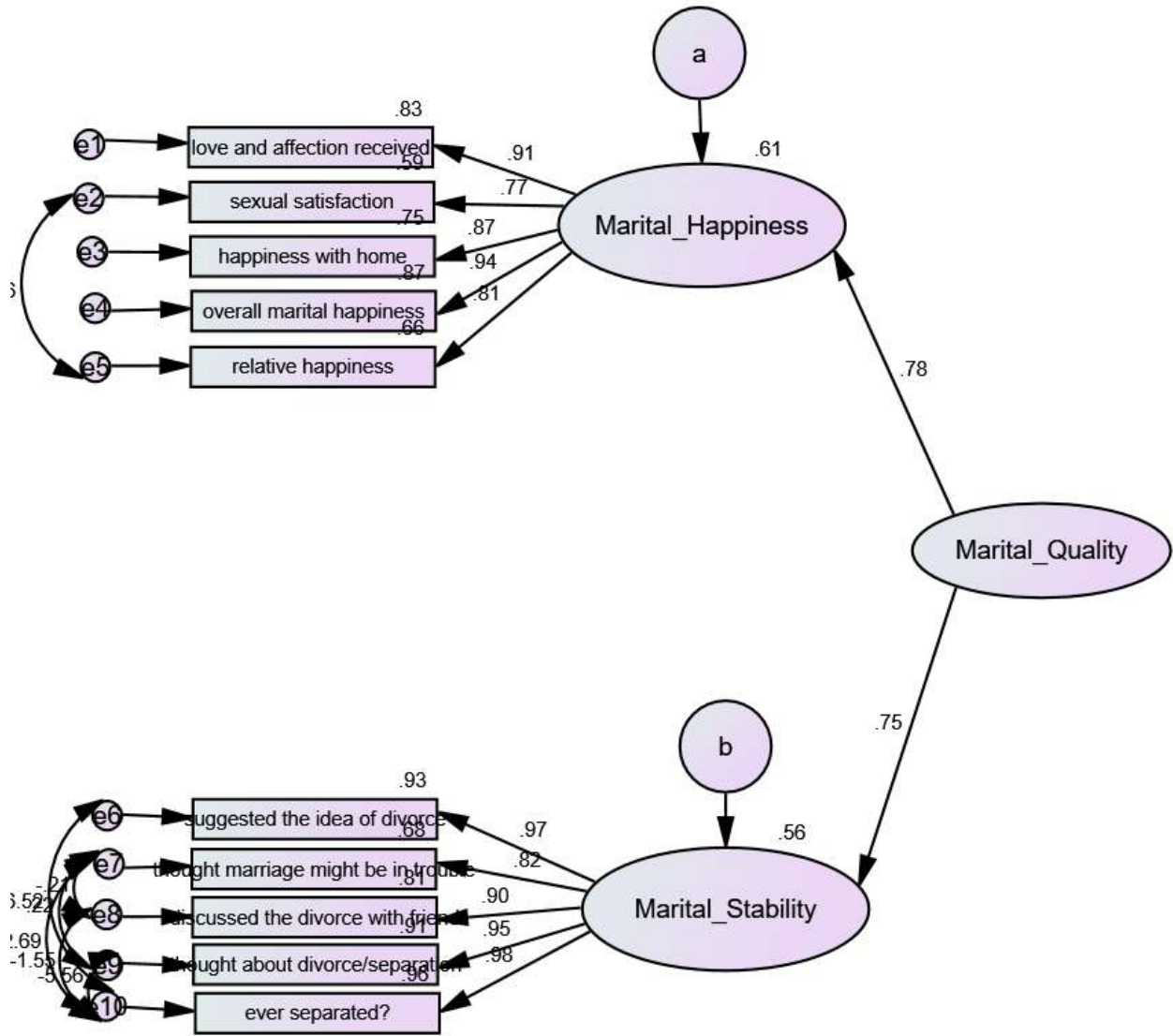
The indices for the model fit are shown below:

*Table 2.19: Vital indices reported for the 3-dimensional model of marital quality*

<b>Chi-square</b>	<b>Df</b>	<b>p-value</b>	<b>CFI</b>	<b>TLI</b>	<b>IFI</b>	<b>RMSEA</b>	<b>PCLOSE</b>
<b>404.776</b>	92	.000	<b>0.929</b>	<b>0.908</b>	<b>0.930</b>	<b>0.106</b>	.000

That seems a better fit than all previous models with the CFI being close to 0.93, although it still falls short of the acceptable 0.95 mark. The practical significance of the result is that it implies the non-significance of marital problems as predictor of marital quality in India. However, we still haven't got a satisfactory value for RMSEA that ought to be less than 0.08. Therefore, we need to further find a model that satisfies our quest to the maximum possible degree. When we tried the previous technique of getting rid of variables with low factor loadings we could not come up with a three-dimensional model that fits the data better. Thus, we went ahead with dropping the entire dimension of marital interaction. Now, retaining just two dimensions, marital happiness and marital stability, we re-run the process. This is how the two dimensional model looks like:

*Figure 2.13: Two-dimensional model of Marital Quality in India*





The output indices for the model are as follows:

*Table 2.20: Vital indices reported for the 2-dimensional model of marital quality*

<b>Chi-square</b>	<b>Df</b>	<b>p-value</b>	<b>CFI</b>	<b>TLI</b>	<b>IFI</b>	<b>RMSEA</b>	<b>PCLOSE</b>
<b>63.844</b>	27	.000	<b>0.988</b>	<b>0.980</b>	<b>0.988</b>	<b>0.067</b>	<b>0.087</b>

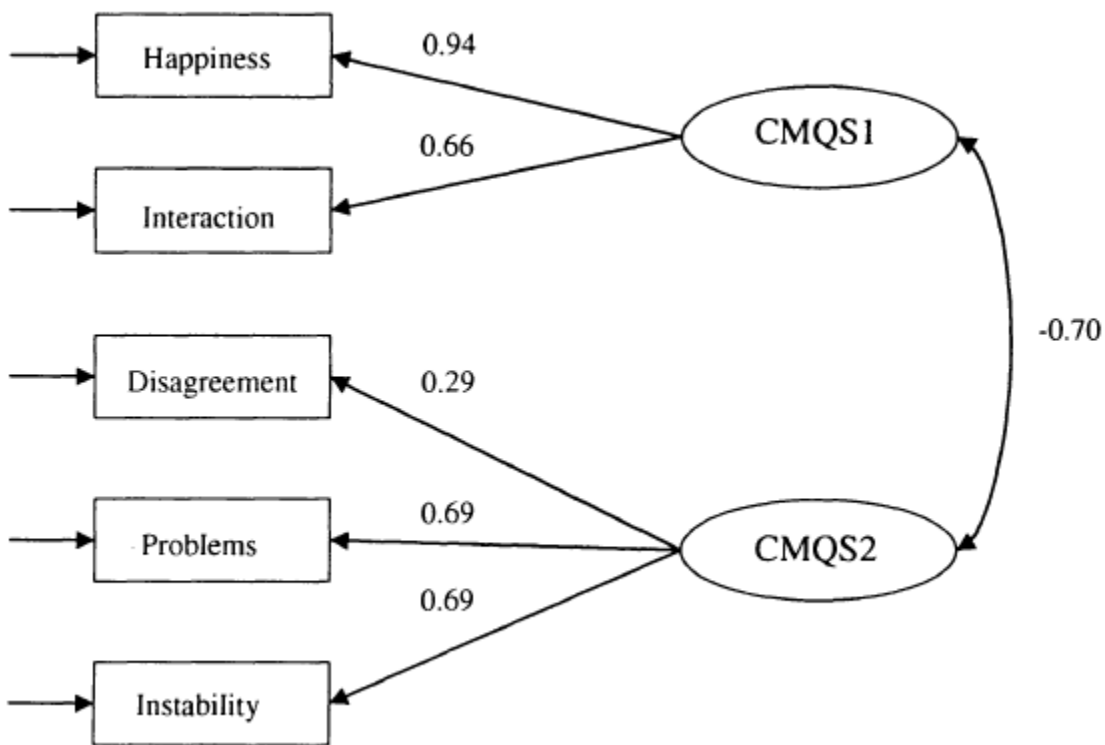
Now we get a model that satisfies most of the criteria for a good model fit using confirmatory factor analysis on SPSS Amos. We can easily see all three indices here being greater than 0.95 with the most important CFI being 0.988. Besides, we also get a value for RMSEA that is less than 0.08. Although it is still not close to the ideal 0.05 mark, it, nonetheless, lies in the acceptable zone. In addition to these we also get a PCLOSE value of greater than zero that indicates a good model fit.

On the basis of these results, we may now conclude that for the segment of Indian society represented by this sample, marital quality is essentially a two-dimensional construct with *marital happiness* and *marital stability* being its two dimensions. The practical significance of this finding lies in the fact that marital quality in India is determined by the level of happiness that people enjoy in their married life and the stability of the marriage.

*Thus, we now come to realize that save these two factors, other factors have only a peripheral influence on marital quality in India, that is, if one derives happiness from one's marriage and at the same time is safe from the risk of divorce, one tends to register a high marital quality without being much affected by issues such as disagreements and conflicts within marriage.*

However, a fresh line of analysis emanates from the observation made in the study conducted in Beijing (Zhang & Xu, 2013). The study found that marital quality, though composed of these five dimensions, finally gets factorized into two that follows the scheme of classification proposed by Fincham and Linfield (1997). Hence, empirically, it seems difficult to find a singular factor called marital quality. Rather, marital quality as a whole is simultaneously constituted by two facets of marital quality – *positive* and *negative*. The model proposed by the Chinese study is as follows:

**Figure 2.14: Two-factor model of Marital Quality in China**



The study compared the model fit indices for the two models (one-factor and two-factor) as shown below:

*Table 2.21: Vital indices reported for the two models of marital quality found in Chinese society*

Models	$\chi^2$	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	GFI	CFI	AGFI	RMR	Result
One factor model	71.036	5	0.000	0.931	0.884	0.794	0.822	Rejected
Two factor model	25.305	4	0.000	0.974	0.957	0.904	0.583	Accepted
Difference	45.731	1	0.000					

There's clear evidence to suggest that the two-factor model explains marital quality in China better than the one-factor model. Thus, let us take a look at how it plays out for our data collected in India. It turns out that neither of the models analyzed above tend to be better explained if we assume a two-factor model of marital quality. The model fit indices tend not to deviate much from the values they assume in case of a one-factor model of marital quality, not providing us enough ground to reject the one-factor model in support of the two-factor model.

#### **2.4. Interrelationship between dimensions of marital quality**

Having discovered the dimensions of marital quality in the Indian context, one is left with the task of uncovering the interrelationship that each of those dimensions have. It is for the simple reason that more often than not the cause of a particular effect is wrongly attributed to a factor that is itself determined by some other factor, both of which could be seen as individual dimensions of the final variable which is the one that is investigated.

In one study, it was found that there is a positive reciprocative relationship between marital happiness and marital interaction. What's more, the effect is gender-neutral, which is to say, men and women experience the same effect (Zuo, 1992). Taking the discussion forward keeping marital happiness at the centre, it must also be mentioned that life happiness is related to marital

happiness (Kamp Dush, Taylor, & Kroeger, 2008). Although the study also confirmed a long-held belief regarding marital happiness that marital happiness is bound to decline over time, this study interestingly discovered that those with high marital happiness had the lowest rate of decline.

In a different study, it was found that an either-or situation does not arise when it comes to differentiating marital conflict from marital happiness. Socioeconomic status turned out to be an important factor in determining beneficial or pernicious effects of marriage on the married.<sup>2</sup> It was found that even though it was true that marital happiness improved health of the people measured for a variety of health indicators, it represented only a partial reality. In sooth, it was the more educated who enjoyed the joy of (and hence, increased conditions of health) marital happiness. On the other hand, people with lower income levels bore the brunt of marital conflict to a greater degree than others, resulting in a reduction in the conditions of health (Choi & Marks, 2013). In a nutshell, the study goes to show that people with a higher socioeconomic status tend to report better self-rated health that largely rests on marital happiness, whereas those occupying a lower position on the ladder of socioeconomic status suffer more due to marital conflict. Put simply, the absence of one is not the presence of the other. Rather, there are other intervening factors that, sometimes, can result in the presence of both marital happiness and marital conflict in good measure depending on the socioeconomic status of the married couple.

In one of the classic studies on marital happiness, it was found that marital happiness is determined by the net difference between the scores of positive affect called marital satisfaction and negative affect known as marital tension (Orden & Bradburn, 1968). However, it was found later that marital companionship which is an indicator of marital interaction measured on the

---

<sup>2</sup> We shall see more of it as we go through the interpretation of data in a subsequent section of this chapter.

basis of the amount of time one spends with one’s spouse turns out to be a strong determinant of marital happiness (Marini, 1976).

An important interconnection seems to have been discovered between marital happiness and marital stability (or instability). Glenn and Weaver (1981) leave no ambiguity as they make the following claim: “Everything else being equal, the divorce rate will vary positively with the extent to which marriage is depended on for personal happiness.” (p. 167). The two scholars had earlier found that most poor marriages are characterized by some personal unhappiness (Glenn & Weaver, 1977). It must also be mentioned that they were well aware of the relativistic difference that one might encounter in modern societies other than the USA.

We tried to find out how interrelated the dimensions of this study are. In pursuing this goal, we calculated the correlations of all dimensions with marital quality and with each other. Below is what we found:

**Table 2.22: All five dimensions are correlated with Marital Quality**

		Index of Marital Quality	Index of Marital Happiness	Index of Marital Interaction	Index of Marital Disagreement	Index of Marital Problems	Index of Marital Stability
Index of Marital Quality	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.776**</b>	<b>.788**</b>	<b>.307**</b>	<b>.615**</b>	<b>.813**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.000</b>
	N	303	303	303	303	303	303
Index of Marital Happiness	Pearson Correlation		1	<b>.510**</b>	0.050	<b>.328**</b>	<b>.586**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)			<b>0.000</b>	0.385	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.000</b>
	N	303	303	303	303	303	303
Index of Marital Interaction	Pearson Correlation			1	0.015	<b>.368**</b>	<b>.561**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)				0.801	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.000</b>

	N	303	303	303	303	303	303
Index of Marital Disagreement	Pearson Correlation				1	<b>0.074</b>	<b>0.073</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)					0.200	0.207
	N	303	303	303	303	303	303
Index of Marital Problems	Pearson Correlation					1	<b>.455**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)						<b>0.000</b>
	N	303	303	303	303	303	303
Index of Marital Stability	Pearson Correlation						1
	Sig. (2-tailed)						
	N	303	303	303	303	303	303
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).							

It is easy to locate on the table that all five dimensions are correlated to marital quality at the 99 per cent confidence level. In most of the cases, the dimensions seem to be significantly correlated with each other. However, it must be pointed out that marital disagreement is not significantly correlated with any of the other four dimensions of marital quality. Having seen how the dimensions of marital quality are correlated to one another, it pops up as an imperative that we look at how these are related to some vital demographic and socioeconomic variables characterizing the population of Indian society.

*Based on the analysis in this chapter, it may be argued that marital quality in India is best explained as a two-dimensional construct with only marital happiness and marital stability emerging as the two main dimensions constituting it. Although models with more than two dimensions do not fit the data perfectly, they nonetheless, seem to be getting close to fitting the data. Having seen that, a need arises to identify the probable determinants of marital quality that might be seen as ingredients composing the finished product called marital quality.*

## Chapter Three

### Determinants of Marital Quality: The Indian Perspective

*In the last chapter, we came across a number of models of marital quality in India with two-dimensional model best fitting the data collected from our field work. Nonetheless, there are a set of demographic and socioeconomic variables that have been found to affect marital quality in many a study conducted worldwide. Such variables may be called ‘determinants’ of marital quality. Hence, in this chapter we shall try to look at the relations such determinants hold with marital quality and its dimensions in the context of Indian society.*

---

#### 3.1. Scheme of Analysis

There were 28 indicator variables to measure marital quality in the questionnaire. Each of the indicators measured an aspect of one of the five dimensions constituting the final variable called ‘marital quality’. All questions were responded to by the respondents on a 4-point Likert scale. Thus, in the final analysis, response to each question was further manipulated to give us variables in the dichotomous form. The 4 possible values to every response we recoded and recombined to come up with two responses to each question. However, for the sake of analysis the polytomous nature of the variables was retained where it was considered necessary.

Furthermore, final scores were calculated for all five dimensions, i.e., marital happiness, marital interaction, marital disagreement, marital problems, and marital instability by adding all 4 values for all indicator variables measuring a particular dimension.<sup>1</sup> The values so obtained were further grouped to give us a set of binomial responses for the five dimensions. It is these values that

---

<sup>1</sup> It must be made clear that we went ahead with seven indicators for marital disagreement. However, we dropped three of them in order for us to get a conclusive five-dimensional model of marital quality based on exploratory factor analysis whose results were discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, for analysis dealing with individual variables we retain all 28 variables. However, in reference to composite variables such as marital disagreement and marital quality, we drop those three variables – V41, V42, and V43 – reducing the final set to 25 variables.

were used for a bivariate analysis with a set of other variables, the analysis whereof, is presented here.

### 3.2. Marital Happiness

For the sample collected for this study representing a section of the population of India’s national capital region that is urban and belongs to the upper middle class, marital happiness seems to vary with a number of demographic and socioeconomic variables taken in this study. But before we take a look at which of those variables affect marital happiness and in what ways we need to find out the overall situation as to the level of marital happiness for this sample. It seems that the sample represents a fairly happier section of population from India. The table below corroborates the fact:

*Table 3.1: Frequency table showing the number of happy and unhappy persons within the sample with regard to their self-assessment of marital happiness*

Happiness Index binomial					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Unhappy	33	10.9	10.9	10.9
	Happy	270	89.1	89.1	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Thus, it might be stated beyond doubt that the sample represents a happy lot of Indians as 89 per cent reported themselves as being happy with their marriage.

However, there seems to be wide variation within the sample depending on the factors that probably go into explaining the level of marital happiness. Hence, we now turn to explaining bivariate relationships between each of the variables considered and marital happiness.



As a first, we take gender as the factor to find out the manner in which it impacts marital happiness. The table below tells the story:

**Table 3.2: Marital Happiness according to gender differences**

Happiness Index_binomial * Sex Crosstabulation					
			Sex		Total
			Female	Male	
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	9	24	33
		% within Sex	<b>6.3%</b>	<b>15.1%</b>	10.9%
	Happy	Count	135	135	270
		% within Sex	<b>93.8%</b>	<b>84.9%</b>	89.1%
Total		Count	<b>144</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>303</b>
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.014$  for Pearson chi-square test.

It comes out as an interesting finding indication that for the sample, *more women than men* seem to be happier (*93.8 per cent women compared to 84.9 per cent men*).

*The finding seems to challenge what has been the central thesis of Jessie Bernard's (1972) seminal work on marriage claiming that in every marriage it is the 'wife' who bears the discontents of marriage resigning herself to an unhappy condition of living.*

Moving away from gender, a look at cultural influences such as *religion* and *mother tongue* goes to show that marital happiness is very much determined by these factors. As regards religion, *Hindu marriages are probably happier* than marriages affiliated to other religions. When it comes to language, the Hindi-speaking population within the sample seems to be enjoying greater marital happiness compared to the speakers of other languages. The finding is summarized here:

**Table 3.3: Summary of the relationship that marital happiness holds with ‘religion’ and ‘mother tongue’**

		Religion		Mother Tongue	
		Hindu	non-Hindu	Hindi	non-Hindi
Degree of Happiness	Unhappy	**9.6	28.6	* 7.7	16.7
	Happy	90.4	71.4	92.3	83.3
N = 303		N = 282	N = 21	N = 195	N = 108

\*\* refers to significance at 99% confidence level.

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

With that as a finding, one is amazed to notice the individual effect of some of the indicator variables constituting the dimension of marital happiness. Sexual satisfaction, probably an important component of marital life needs to be considered for that matter. The sample represents a population where a greater majority seems to be happy with their sexual satisfaction as revealed by the following table:

**Table 3.4: Frequency table showing the distribution of the sample based on marital happiness derived from sexual satisfaction**

sexual recode					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Unhappy	45	14.9	14.9	14.9
	Happy	258	85.1	85.1	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

A whopping 85.1 per cent of the sample seems to be sexually satisfied with marriage.

Nonetheless, it comes as quite a startling fact that within the limits of this sample, Hindus as a religious group seem to derive significantly greater sexual satisfaction than their fellow citizens practising other religions. Below is what we get as result from SPSS:

**Table 3.5: Sexual satisfaction within marriage according to religious groups**

sexual recode * Religion Type Crosstabulation					
			Religion Type		Total
			Hindu	non-Hindu	
sexual recode	Unhappy	Count	30	15	45
		% within Religion Type	10.6%	71.4%	14.9%
	Happy	Count	252	6	258
		% within Religion Type	<b>89.4%</b>	<b>28.6%</b>	85.1%
Total		Count	<b>282</b>	<b>21</b>	303
		% within Religion Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

It is indeed a difference worth reporting that only 28.6 per cent respondents affiliated to other religions reported that they were happy with their sexual life while the corresponding figure for the Hindu population was 89.4 per cent.

Moving along, it was also found that it is the Hindi-speaking population that is more sexually satisfied with marriage. The summary of the findings is as shown:

**Table 3.6: Relationship between mother tongue and sexual satisfaction within marriage**

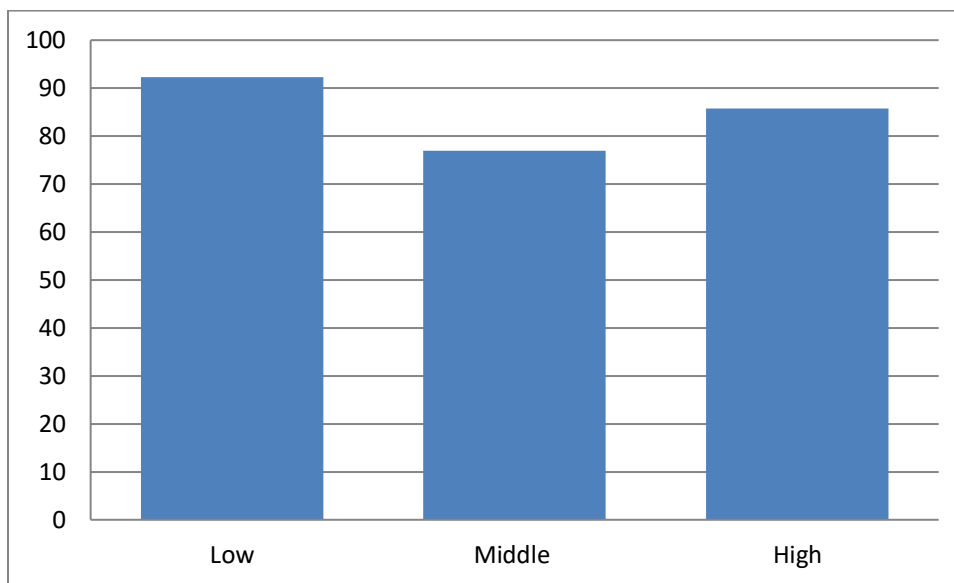
sexual recode * Mother Tongue Crosstabulation					
			Mother Tongue		Total
			Hindi	non-Hindi	
sexual recode	Unhappy	Count	21	24	45
		% within Mother Tongue	10.8%	22.2%	14.9%
	Happy	Count	174	84	258
		% within Mother Tongue	<b>89.2%</b>	<b>77.8%</b>	85.1%
Total		Count	<b>195</b>	<b>108</b>	303

	% within Mother Tongue	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
--	------------------------	--------	--------	--------

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.007$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Continuing the topic of sexual satisfaction, it seems worth highlighting that sexual satisfaction assumes a V-shaped curve when plotted against income groups moving from low to high. The relationship is better captured by means of the following bar chart:

**Figure 3.1: Percentage (%) of sexually satisfied respondents within each income group**



\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents within each income group

Besides these, addictive habits in the form of drinking, smoking, etc. turned out to be an important factor in this regard. It is noteworthy that *people with addictive habits are less sexually satisfied than those without any addictive habits*. The table below shows the difference:

**Table 3.7: Relationship between ‘addictive habits’ and Marital Happiness derived from ‘sexual satisfaction’**

sexual recode * addictive habits Crosstabulation		
	addictive habits	Total

		No	Yes		
sexual recode	Unhappy	Count	27	18	45
		% within addictive habits	11.0%	31.6%	14.9%
	Happy	Count	219	39	258
		% within addictive habits	<b>89.0%</b>	<b>68.4%</b>	85.1%
Total		Count	<b>246</b>	<b>57</b>	303
		% within addictive habits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

On a closer analysis, factors affecting sexual satisfaction within marriage in Indian society seem to reveal a rather different picture. The results of binary logistic regression are shown below:

**Table 3.8: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with sexual satisfaction as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	47.090	4	.000
	Block	47.090	4	.000
	Model	47.090	4	<b>.000</b>

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	207.505 <sup>a</sup>	.144	.253

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	2.819	4	<b>.588</b>

The most important point to be noted here is the non-significant value of chi-square for the Hosmer and Lemeshow test in consonance with a significant value for the model coefficients in

the Omnibus test shown above. It implies that the model fits the data quite well with these four factors being determinants of sexual satisfaction among married couples in India. In addition to it the model is also accurate as far as its classification accuracy is concerned. The classification table here says it all:

**Table 3.9: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with sexual satisfaction as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Classification Table <sup>a</sup>					
Observed			Predicted		
			sexual recode		Percentage Correct
Step 1	sexual recode	Unhappy	Happy		
		Unhappy	<b>15</b>	30	33.3
		Happy	6	<b>252</b>	<b>97.7</b>
	Overall Percentage				<b>88.1</b>

A sensitivity of 97.7 per cent is clearly in the ‘high’ range. However, the relation that each of the four factors has with the dependent variable, i.e., sexual satisfaction can only be understood on the basis of the following table:

**Table 3.10: Relationship between independent and dependent variables with sexual satisfaction within marriage as the dependent dichotomous variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	-2.791	0.570	<b>0.000</b>	0.061
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	-0.273	0.394	0.487	0.761
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-1.141	0.393	<b>0.004</b>	0.319
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	0.322	0.371	0.386	1.379
Constant		5.095	0.849	0.000	163.164

It is clearly observable that only two out of the four factors seemingly affecting sexual satisfaction in the bivariate analysis seem to be bearing a significant impact when all four are taken together. Thus, sexual satisfaction among Indian couples seems to vary by religion and addictive habits. Moreover, it is also revealed that the non-Hindu population seems to be 94 per cent less likely to be happy with the amount of sexual satisfaction derived within marriage than the Hindu population in the sample. Furthermore, those with addictive habits such as drinking, smoking, etc. seem to be 68 per cent less likely to be happy with the amount of sexual satisfaction derived within marriage than teetotallers in the sample. It must be emphasized that both these findings are similar to the earlier findings based on bivariate analysis.

Coming back to marital happiness, it could be said that other than cultural factors, income level, and personal habits, there are more proximal factors affecting the everyday lives of people that probably emerge as determining factors. ‘Type of Family’ turned out to be one such factor. We saw in the last chapter that majority of the respondents (63.4 per cent) seem to be living in a nuclear family. Thus, it becomes essential to find out the manner in which this variable affects marital happiness. It was found that *couples living in nuclear families are happier than those living in other family settings* as shown below:

**Table 3.11: Percentage (%) of happy respondents within each category of family type**

		Family Type	
		Nuclear	Others
Degree of Happiness	Unhappy	* 7.8	16.2
	Happy	92.2	83.8
N = 303		N = 192	N = 111

\*The relationship is significant at 95% confidence level.

A discussion on family type naturally leads us to the question of family members living together. *It was found that the respondents who report to be living with their spouse and children only are happier than those who share their residence with other family members.* The crosstabulation below shows the result of the chi-square test:

**Table 3.12: Relationship between Marital Happiness and if the couple lives with their children**

<b>Happiness Index_binomial * Living with? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Living with?		Total
			Couple and children	Other family members	
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	6	27	33
		% within Living with?	4.8%	15.3%	10.9%
	Happy	Count	120	150	270
		% within Living with?	<b>95.2%</b>	<b>84.7%</b>	89.1%
Total		Count	<b>126</b>	<b>177</b>	303
		% within Living with?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.004$  for Pearson chi-square test.

This observation receives further reinforcement from the fact that couples with children are probably happier than couples without children as shown in the table below:

**Table 3.13: Relationship between the presence of children and Marital Happiness**

<b>Happiness Index_binomial * Children or not? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Children or not?		Total
			No children	Children	
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	15	18	33
		% within Children or not?	16.7%	8.6%	11.0%
	Happy	Count	75	192	267
		% within Children or not?	<b>83.3%</b>	<b>91.4%</b>	89.0%
Total		Count	<b>90</b>	<b>210</b>	300
		% within Children or not?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.040$  for Pearson chi-square test.



*Thus, one might argue that the presence of children in family enhances marital happiness.*

Not just living with children, rather the factor of togetherness with spouse was also discovered as playing a vital role in determining marital happiness. Persons whose spouses live away from them for some reason seem to fall in the lot of the unhappy as shown in the following table based on chi-square test:

**Table 3.14: Relationship between Marital Happiness and whether one’s spouse lives away**

<b>Happiness Index_binomial * Spouse living away? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Spouse living away?		Total
			No	Yes	
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	18	15	33
		% within Spouse living away?	6.8%	38.5%	10.9%
	Happy	Count	246	24	270
		% within Spouse living away?	<b>93.2%</b>	<b>61.5%</b>	89.1%
Total		Count	<b>264</b>	<b>39</b>	303
		% within Spouse living away?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

Having looked at how the dynamics of family and everyday living affects marital happiness, we now turn our attention to the aspect of health. A general health profile of the sample showed in the preceding chapter that the set of respondents chosen for this study represent a healthy lot of people (*more than 88 per cent of the respondents admitted to be enjoying “good” health conditions*). But from the viewpoint of the ongoing analysis, it makes more sense to find out the association between marital happiness and health conditions of the respondents. In this regard, it

was found that the current state of health is *not* significantly associated with, and therefore, is not a determining factor for marital happiness.

Nonetheless, the respondents were also asked to fill the perceptual change in health over the past one year. In the last chapter, we noticed that a considerably bigger proportion (31.7 per cent) reported to have experienced an improvement in health conditions than those who perceived deterioration in their health (14.9 per cent) in the past one year. From an analysis of the data, it was found that marital happiness seems to be greater for the respondents who reported their health as having gotten better over the past one year. Thus, *improved health conditions could be seen as having a positive impact on marital happiness*. The table below shows the relationship<sup>2</sup> based on chi-square test:

**Table 3.15: Relationship between perception of change in health in last one year and Marital Happiness**

<b>Happiness Index_binomial * change in health_binomial Crosstabulation</b>					
		change in health_binomial		Total	
		Worse	Better		
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	15	18	33
		% within change in health_binomial	33.3%	7.0%	10.9%
	Happy	Count	30	240	270
		% within change in health_binomial	<b>66.7%</b>	<b>93.0%</b>	89.1%
Total		Count	<b>45</b>	<b>258</b>	303
		% within change in health_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of analysis, the variable “change in health” was recoded to give a binomial variable so that the contrast could be clearly brought out.

Closely related to the issue of health is the topic of addictive habits such as drinking, smoking, etc. The character of this sample seems to suggest that addictive habits cast a negative impact on marital happiness. The table below shows the relationship:

**Table 3.16: Relationship between Marital Happiness and addictive habits**

<b>Happiness Index_binomial * addictive habits Crosstabulation</b>					
			addictive habits		Total
			No	Yes	
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	18	15	33
		% within addictive habits	7.3%	26.3%	10.9%
	Happy	Count	228	42	270
		% within addictive habits	<b>92.7%</b>	<b>73.7%</b>	89.1%
Total		Count	<b>246</b>	<b>57</b>	303
		% within addictive habits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Another important factor, and probably one of the most discussed in the literature related to marital research, is ‘employment of the spouse’. Although it is mostly wives’ employment that forms the bulk of all discussion, employment of the spouse in general was identified as a factor that bears a significant relation to marital happiness for our sample.

We have already seen that close to three-quarters of the respondents were employed with almost two-thirds of them reporting that their spouse is employed. On further analysis, it was found that although one’s own employment seems not to be significantly related to marital happiness, employment of the spouse is significantly related to marital happiness. The table below shows the crosstabulation based on chi-square test:

**Table 3.17: Relationship between Marital Happiness and spousal employment**

<b>Crosstab</b>					
			Is the spouse employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	15	12	27

		% within Is the spouse employed?	16.1%	6.3%	9.5%
	Happy	Count	78	180	258
		% within Is the spouse employed?	<b>83.9%</b>	<b>93.8%</b>	90.5%
Total		Count	<b>93</b>	<b>192</b>	285
		% within Is the spouse employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.008$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Quite interestingly, it was found that the *employment of the spouse has a positive impact on marital happiness*. Nonetheless, we saw in the chapter on gender that the influx of women in the job market is quite a recent phenomenon in human history. Thus, one might say that employment *per se* has a gendered aspect in society which explains why ‘wives’ employment’ has been an important topic of research related to marital quality. The table below proves the point as we can clearly see that more men than women are employed and considerably small number of women reported that their spouse is unemployed.

**Table 3.18: Frequency distribution of employment (own and spousal) classified by sex**

	Are you currently employed?		Is the spouse employed?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<b>Males (N = 159)</b>	135	24	60	84
<b>Females (N = 144)</b>	90	54	132	9

One needs to focus on the last column in the table as the gap between men and women seems to be pronouncedly high as far as having an unemployed spouse is concerned. We still find a society here based on the breadwinner-homemaker model because as many as 84 husbands have unemployed wives while only 9 wives have unemployed husbands. Hence, it seems interesting to note the relationship between marital happiness and spousal employment from a gender

perspective. It was found that the relationship is not significant for the men while it is significant at 99 per cent confidence level for the women in the sample. The table below shows the result for women only (N = 144) based on chi-square test:

**Table 3.19: Relationship between ‘spousal employment’ and ‘marital happiness’ with respect to women in the sample**

<b>Happiness Index_binomial * Is the spouse employed? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Is the spouse employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	3	6	9
		% within Is the spouse employed?	33.3%	4.5%	6.4%
	Happy	Count	6	126	132
		% within Is the spouse employed?	<b>66.7%</b>	<b>95.5%</b>	93.6%
Total		Count	<b>9</b>	<b>132</b>	141
		% within Is the spouse employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.001 for Pearson chi-square test.

At the end of the discussion with regard to marital happiness, it must be stressed that three factors – *religion*, *mother tongue*, and *addictive habits* – tend to emerge as factors that bear a highly significant relationship to marital happiness on account of the fact that the three variables vary significantly with all five indicators constituting marital happiness.

The foregoing analysis pertains to the bivariate nature of the association between marital happiness and the variables considered here. To make sense of the relationship that exists between marital happiness and these variables taken together, one needs to run a binary logistic regression model. The results whereof are given below:

*Table 3.20: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with Marital Happiness as the dichotomous dependent variable*

<b>Block 1: Method = Enter</b>				
<b>Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients</b>				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	89.859	18	0.000
	Block	89.859	18	0.000
	Model	89.859	18	<b>0.000</b>
<b>Model Summary</b>				
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square	
1	88.157 <sup>a</sup>	0.273	<b>0.583</b>	
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 10 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.				
<b>Hosmer and Lemeshow Test</b>				
Step	Chi-square	Df	Sig.	
1	8.868	8	<b>0.354</b>	

Two values of significance must be noted here. We find that the model as a whole in the Omnibus test turns out to be significant at 99 per cent confidence level and the Chi-square value for the Hosmer and Lemeshow test seems non-significant which implies that the model fits the data quite well. The classification accuracy and sensitivity of the model could be seen in the table below:

*Table 3.21: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with Marital Happiness as the dependent dichotomous variable*

Classification Table <sup>a</sup>					
Observed			Predicted		
			Happiness Index_binomial		Percentage Correct
Step 1	Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Happy		
		Unhappy	12	15	44.4
		Happy	0	255	100.0
	Overall Percentage				94.7

The value 100.0 in the second row of the last column suggests that the the model is highly sensitive with a high classification accuracy of 94.7 per cent.

Thus, we must now take a look at the variables that impact marital happiness based on the following table:

**Table 3.22: Relationship between independent and dependent variables with Marital Happiness as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	-0.705	1.118	0.528	0.494
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.704	0.816	0.388	2.022
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	5.834	1.983	<b>0.003</b>	341.87
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	5.857	1.696	<b>0.001</b>	349.71
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-4.569	1.474	<b>0.002</b>	0.01
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	3.987	1.823	<b>0.029</b>	53.903
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	-1.8	0.864	<b>0.037</b>	0.165
Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	1.426	1.144	0.213	4.162
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	-5.193	1.625	<b>0.001</b>	0.006
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	2.311	1.101	<b>0.036</b>	10.082
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	-3.82	1.319	<b>0.004</b>	0.022
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	3.107	1.458	<b>0.033</b>	22.355
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	-3.027	1.129	<b>0.007</b>	0.048
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	1.31	0.929	0.158	3.705
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	-0.935	0.88	0.288	0.393

Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	-2.226	1.062	<b>0.036</b>	0.108
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	4.896	1.51	<b>0.001</b>	133.81
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	2.886	1.269	<b>0.023</b>	17.93
Constant		-2.547	4.206	0.545	0.078

It seems noteworthy that thirteen out of the eighteen variables listed in the table have a significant relationship to marital happiness. Among these, employment (both one's own and that of the spouse) seems to bear a large positive impact on marital happiness with both types of employment increasing one's likelihood of being happy more than 300 times. Besides employment, aggregate income seems to impact marital happiness in a negative manner with those earning above 10 lakhs annually being 90 per cent less likely to be happy than those earning less than 10 lakhs a year. However, those with high 'satisfaction with income' are almost 18 times more likely to be happy than those with low satisfaction in this regard. Other than economic factors, religion also seems to be associated significantly with the non-Hindu population being 53 times more likely to be happy than their Hindu brethren which is a clear reversal of the result we obtained with bivariate analysis. In contrast, the relationship holds for mother tongue as a variable falling quite in line with what we found on the basis of bivariate analysis. It's the Hindi-speaking lot that is 84.5 per cent more like to enjoy greater marital happiness than the non-Hindi population. Moving on, it was also found that those with children between are 10 times more likely to be happier than those without children. Nonetheless, people with 'high' education are more than 99 per cent less likely to be happier than people with low education. Thus, education seems to be negatively associated with marital happiness. Regarding type of family, it turns out that people living in joint families are about 95 per cent less likely to be happy than those living in nuclear families. On the health front, it was found that those who



perceive their health to have bettered in last one year are 133 times more likely to be happier than those who feel otherwise.

### 3.3. Marital Interaction

Before we take up individual factors and their relation to marital interaction, we need to take a look at the overall level of marital interaction that the sample has. The frequency table below lays out the interaction profile of the sample:

**Table 3.23: Frequency table showing the number of respondents with ‘low’ and ‘high’ level of marital interaction**

Interaction Index binomial					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Low	39	12.9	12.9	12.9
	High	264	87.1	87.1	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

A large majority (more than 87 per cent) of the sample tends to have high marital interaction.<sup>3</sup>

That noted, the degree of Marital Interaction for the sample is verily a product of cultural factors such as language and religion. Both these variables seem to bear a significant relation to marital interaction. Moreover, the data showed that *Hindu couples tend to have more positive marital interaction than non-Hindu couples*. Besides, it was found that people with Hindi as the mother tongue tend to have a higher positive marital interaction than others. Thus, a hint of cultural

---

<sup>3</sup> ‘High’ marital interaction here refers to ‘positive’ marital interaction that in turn contributes to enhancing marital quality.

difference might be discerned as far as marital interaction is concerned. The finding is shown by in a tabulated form:

**Table 3.24: Summary of the relationship that Marital Interaction holds with ‘religion’ and ‘mother tongue’**

		Religion		Mother Tongue	
		Hindu	non-Hindu	Hindi	non-Hindi
Degree of Interaction	Low	** 10.6	42.9	** 7.7	22.2
	High	89.4	57.1	92.3	77.8
N = 303		N = 282	N = 21	N = 195	N = 108

\*\* refers to significance at 99% confidence level.

Besides cultural factors, demography also seems to play a part worth mentioning in this regard. It was found that age<sup>4</sup> of the respondents had a significant impact on the pattern of interaction between couples for this sample. The sample had 35.7 years as the mean age. Therefore, 35 years of age was taken as the midpoint to divide the whole set into two halves – younger and older. Further analysis illuminated the fact that *the younger generation is better at marital interaction as compared to the older generation*. The result of the crosstabulation performing chi-square test is given below:

**Table 3.25: Marital Interaction in India according to age group**

Interaction Index_binomial * Age_binomial Crosstabulation					
			Age_binomial		Total
			Younger	Older	
Interaction Index_binomial	Low	Count	15	24	39
		% within Age_binomial	8.6%	18.6%	12.9%
	High	Count	159	105	264
		% within Age_binomial	<b>91.4%</b>	<b>81.4%</b>	87.1%
Total		Count	<b>174</b>	<b>129</b>	303

<sup>4</sup> Age here refers to the ‘chronological’ age of the respondents measured in number of years since birth.

	% within Age_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
--	-----------------------	--------	--------	--------

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.010 for Pearson chi-square test.

The finding needs to be probed further in order for us to be able to come up with an explanation of this intergenerational difference. However, a simplistic explanation of this sort based simply on generation gap might not be possible in this case as the data also revealed that it is in the middle zone of age group (30-40 years) that couples tend to score low on marital interaction. The table<sup>5</sup> below shows the variation:

**Table 3.26: Marital Interaction seems to go down in the middle age group (30-40 years)**

Degree of Interaction		Age (in years)		
		20-30	30-40	Above 40
Low		* 4.8	17.2	10.5
High		95.2	82.8	89.5

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

Quite visibly, it is the younger generation (20-30 years of age) that performs better than respondents from other age groups. Nonetheless, a sharp decline for people in the middle age group leaves a fresh question open for research. Issues such as midlife crisis seem to be at work, though nothing can be said without proper investigation.

Leaving the factor of age at that, we encounter yet another demographic factor, that is, the presence of children as a factor determining the dynamics of marital interaction between couples. Unlike marital happiness where children had a favourable impact, children tend to have a mixed impact on marital interaction. Couples who live with their children only are probably better at interacting as compared to couples who live with other family members as well. However, couples with children are worse off when it comes to marital interaction *per se*. Those without

---

<sup>5</sup> \* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

children in our sample showed a tendency toward registering a higher degree of marital interaction. The table below summarizes the findings:

**Table 3.27: Summary of the relationship that Marital Interaction holds with ‘presence of children’ and who the respondents live with**

		Children?		Living with?	
		Yes	No	Children only	Others
Degree of Interaction	Low	* 15.7	6.7	* 7.1	16.9
	High	84.3	93.3	92.9	83.1
N = 303		N = 210	N = 90	N = 126	N = 177

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

Other than variables related to family setting and demography, the economic dimension such as income also seems to play an important role in determining the degree of marital interaction in India. It was observed that the richer segment within the sample scored higher on marital interaction. The table below shows the relationship:

**Table 3.28: Relationship between Income and Marital Interaction**

Interaction Index_binomial * Income binomial Crosstabulation					
			Income binomial		Total
			Below 10L	Above 10L	
Interaction Index_binomial	Low	Count	27	12	39
		% within Income binomial	17.3%	8.2%	12.9%
	High	Count	129	135	264
		% within Income binomial	<b>82.7%</b>	<b>91.8%</b>	87.1%
Total		Count	156	147	303
		% within Income binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.018 for Pearson chi-square test.

Thus, it might be said that *higher income improves marital interaction between couples.*

Not only the level of income, rather the perception regarding one’s satisfaction with income also has a role to play in determining marital interaction. Interestingly, marital interaction is better at both extremes. It is only the people who reported to be moderately satisfied with their income tend to get a lower score for marital interaction. The table below summarizes the finding:

**Table 3.29: Relationship between Marital Interaction and the level of Income satisfaction**

Degree of Interaction	income satisfaction		
	Low	Moderate	High
Low	* 0	16.4	8.3
High	100.0	83.6	91.7

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

Besides income, another economic factor, that is, spousal employment also seemed to emerge as an important determining factor of marital interaction. Falling in line with the previous finding noted in the case of marital happiness, spousal employment was found to improve the quality of interaction between couples as suggested by the figures in the table below:

**Table 3.30: Relationship between Marital Interaction and spousal employment**

Interaction Index_binomial * Is the spouse employed? Crosstabulation					
			Is the spouse employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
Interaction Index_binomial	Low	Count	18	12	30
		% within Is the spouse employed?	19.4%	6.3%	10.5%
	High	Count	75	180	255
		% within Is the spouse employed?	<b>80.6%</b>	<b>93.8%</b>	89.5%
Total		Count	93	192	285
		% within Is the spouse employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.001 for Pearson chi-square test.

In addition to cultural, demographic, and economic factors, the dimension of health proved to be a vital factor when it came to determining the degree of marital interaction for this sample. Although the current state of health as perceived by the respondents did not prove to be playing a significant role in determining the degree of marital interaction, the perceived change in the state of health in the last one year seems to be bearing a significant relationship to the degree of marital interaction for the sample. The crosstabulation based on chi-square test gave the following result:

**Table 3.31: Relationship between Marital Interaction and the perception of change in health conditions**

<b>Interaction Index_binomial * change in health_binomial Crosstabulation</b>					
			change in health_binomial		Total
			Worse	Better	
Interaction Index_binomial	Low	Count	12	27	39
		% within change in health_binomial	26.7%	10.5%	12.9%
	High	Count	33	231	264
		% within change in health_binomial	<b>73.3%</b>	<b>89.5%</b>	87.1%
Total		Count	45	258	303
		% within change in health_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.003$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Thus, there seems to be a positive correlation between marital interaction and improved health conditions.

That noted, it must also be mentioned that similar to the case of marital happiness, marital interaction is also lowered for people with addictive habits such as smoking, drinking, etc. the table below shows the relationship:

**Table 3.32: Relationship between ‘addictive habits’ and Marital Interaction in India**

<b>Interaction Index_binomial * addictive habits Crosstabulation</b>					
			addictive habits		Total
			No	Yes	
Interaction Index_binomial	Low	Count	27	12	39
		% within addictive habits	11.0%	21.1%	12.9%
	High	Count	219	45	264
		% within addictive habits	<b>89.0%</b>	<b>78.9%</b>	87.1%
Total		Count	246	57	303
		% within addictive habits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.041 for Pearson chi-square test.

Surprisingly, as we ran a binary logistic regression including all the 18 variables expected to be determinants of marital interaction in our society, we found that none of these exhibits a significant relationship.

### **3.4. Marital Disagreement**

It was rather an amazing fact to discover that marital disagreement for the sample of population included in this study is probably neither a function of cultural factors such as religion and language nor a function of gender differences. Nonetheless, there is a bunch of other factors – demographic as well as socioeconomic – affecting marital disagreement for the sample. But before all else, it would be a better idea to take a look at the profile of the sample as far as marital disagreement is concerned. The frequency table below presents the picture as it exists:

**Table 3.33: Frequency table showing the number of respondents with ‘worse’ and ‘better’ degrees of marital disagreement**

#### **Marital Disagreement\_binomial**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Worse	87	28.7	28.7	28.7
	<b>Better</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>71.3</b>	<b>71.3</b>	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

It must be noted here that more than two-thirds (71.3 per cent to be exact) of the respondents perform better on this head, that is, they seem to report less marital disagreement in their married lives.

Based on further analysis, it can be said that the level of education is a variable that plays a role in deciding the degree to which people disagree within the confines of a married life. In this regard, it was found *that those with a higher level of education tend to disagree less with their partners*. In other words, *education tends to reduce marital disagreement*. The association was found to be significant at 99 per cent confidence level as shown below:

**Table 3.34: Relationship between ‘level of education’ and Marital Disagreement in India**

Marital Disagreement_binomial * Education Crosstabulation						
				Education		Total
				Low	High	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	45	42	87	
		% within Education	42.9%	21.2%	28.7%	
	Better	Count	60	156	216	
		% within Education	<b>57.1%</b>	<b>78.8%</b>	71.3%	
Total	Count	105	198	303		
	% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Besides level of education, on the front of family dynamics, ‘type of family’ did feature on the list of probable factors affecting marital disagreement with those living in nuclear families outperforming others living in other family arrangements. However, an important component of



family, that is, children do cause some concern for the respondents in the sample as they tend to disagree more if they have children. Put simply, *parenthood seems to be a source of marital disagreement*. The findings are summarized in numerical terms in the following table:

**Table 3.35: Summary of the relationship that marital disagreement holds with ‘family type’ and whether or not the respondent has ‘children’**

		Family type		Children?	
		Nuclear	Others	Yes	No
Disagreement level	Worse	** 23.4	37.8	** 34.3	16.7
	Better	76.6	62.2	65.7	83.3
N = 303		N = 192	N = 111	N = 210	N = 90

\*\* refers to significance at 99% confidence level.

Another important variable in this context is ‘duration of marriage’. For the sample included in this study, it is the newly married couples that seem to perform better in terms of marital disagreement. The chi-square test for the sample bifurcated into newlywed and older couples on the basis of duration of marriage turned out to be significant at 95 per cent confidence.<sup>6</sup> The results are shown below:

**Table 3.36: Relationship between ‘duration of marriage’ and Marital Disagreement in India**

Marital Disagreement_binomial * duration_binomial Crosstabulation						
				duration_binomial		Total
				Newlywed	Older couples	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	33	54	87	
		% within duration_binomial	22.9%	34.0%	28.7%	
	Better	Count	111	105	216	
		% within duration_binomial	<b>77.1%</b>	<b>66.0%</b>	71.3%	
Total		Count	144	159	303	
		% within duration_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

<sup>6</sup> Those with duration of marriage less than 5 years were grouped under the category called ‘newlywed’ while the rest of the respondents were termed ‘older couples’.

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.034$  for Pearson chi-square test.

In other words, *marital disagreement tends to rise with duration of marriage*.

Besides these factors related to family dynamics and duration of marriage, economic factors such as income and employment do seem to bear an impact on marital disagreement. *Marital disagreement decreases with an increase in income* as shown in the table below:

**Table 3.37: Relationship between Marital Disagreement and Income**

Marital Disagreement_binomial * Income binomial Crosstabulation					
			Income binomial		Total
			Below 10L	Above 10L	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	54	33	87
		% within Income binomial	34.6%	22.4%	28.7%
	Better	Count	102	114	216
		% within Income binomial	<b>65.4%</b>	<b>77.6%</b>	71.3%
Total		Count	156	147	303
		% within Income binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.019$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Nonetheless, household income measured in monetary terms does not explain the relationship entirely. It is the perception of satisfaction with income that seems to hold an impact on marital disagreement as well. The crosstabulation below shows a significant association:

**Table 3.38: Relationship between 'Satisfaction with Income' and Marital Disagreement**

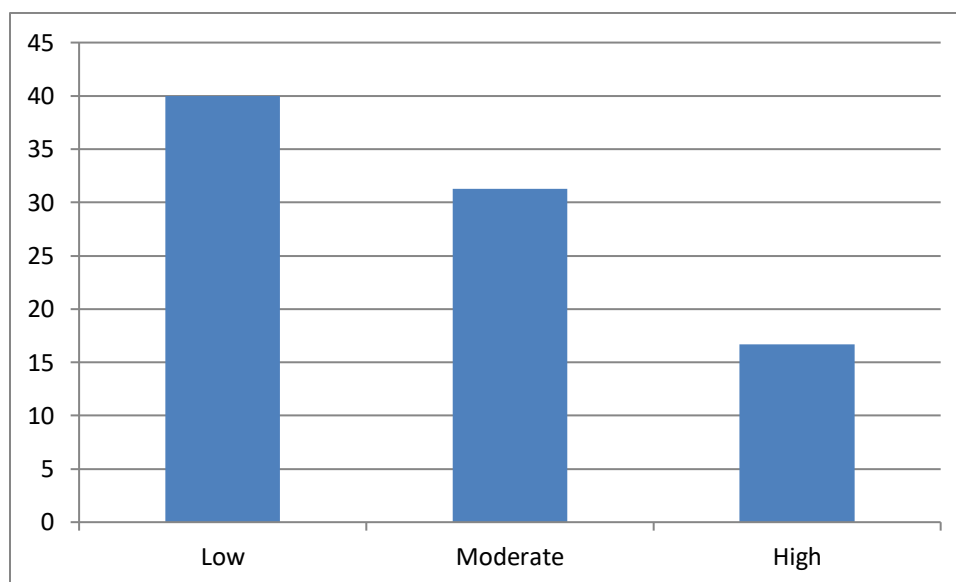
Marital Disagreement_binomial * Income satisfaction_binomial Crosstabulation					
			Income satisfaction_binomial		Total
			Low	High	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	75	12	87
		% within Income satisfaction_binomial	32.5%	16.7%	28.7%
	Better	Count	156	60	216
		% within Income satisfaction_binomial			

		% within Income satisfaction_binomial	<b>67.5%</b>	<b>83.3%</b>	71.3%
Total	Count		231	72	303
	% within Income satisfaction_binomial		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.010 for Pearson chi-square test.

A better picture of the relationship between the level of income satisfaction and the level of marital disagreement could be had on the basis of a three-level classification of income satisfaction as shown in the bar graph below:

**Figure 3.3: Percentage (%) of respondents within each income group reporting ‘high’ Marital Disagreement**



\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents in each income group.

Here we get a gradually declining trend suggesting that *as income satisfaction increases, marital disagreement tends to decrease.*

A closely related component of one’s economic well-being in an urban setting which the sample for this study represents is ‘ownership of house’. It presents us with a peculiar observation to

make that of the five dimensions of marital quality considered in this study, marital disagreement is the only one that varies significantly with this variable. In this regard, it was discovered that owning a house is seemingly a factor causing greater disagreement among couples, reasons for which may be many including the fact that owning a house is an expensive affair in Delhi-NCR, a consequence of which is a reduction in one's net income as one may find oneself in debt because of it. As a corollary of high debt, one's income satisfaction may come down and the relationship shown in the figure above might seem to be a contributing factor in this case, though in an indirect sense. The table below shows the relationship between marital disagreement and ownership of house:

**Table 3.39: Relationship between Ownership of House and Marital Disagreement**

<b>Marital Disagreement_binomial * Ownership of House Crosstabulation</b>					
			Ownership of House		Total
			No	Yes	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	36	51	87
		% within Ownership of House	23.5%	34.0%	28.7%
	Better	Count	117	99	216
		% within Ownership of House	<b>76.5%</b>	<b>66.0%</b>	71.3%
Total	Count	153	150	303	
	% within Ownership of House	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.044$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Another economic marker, that is, employment seems to play a key role in determining marital disagreement. As a fact, it seems to be of no mean importance that marital disagreement is the only dimension of marital quality which is affected by employment of both members of the marital dyad. While in the case of other dimensions, one's own employment seems to be bearing

no significant impact, marital disagreement is not independent of its effects. Marital disagreement seems to be mitigated if one is ‘employed’. The relationship is summarized in the table below:

**Table 3.40: Relationship between Employment and Marital Disagreement**

Marital Disagreement_binomial * Are you currently employed? Crosstabulation					
			Are you currently employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	30	57	87
		% within Are you currently employed?	38.5%	25.3%	28.7%
	Better	Count	48	168	216
		% within Are you currently employed?	<b>61.5%</b>	<b>74.7%</b>	71.3%
Total		Count	78	225	303
		% within Are you currently employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.027$  for Pearson chi-square test.

A similar case was observed for employment of the spouse. Spousal employment seems to better one’s marital experience as far as marital disagreement is concerned, that is to say, *spousal employment probably reduces marital disagreement.*<sup>7</sup> The table below shows the vital numbers:

**Table 3.41: Relationship between ‘Spousal employment’ and Marital Disagreement**

Marital Disagreement_binomial * Is the spouse employed? Crosstabulation					
			Is the spouse employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	48	36	84
		% within Is the spouse employed?	51.6%	18.8%	29.5%
	Better	Count	45	156	201

<sup>7</sup> It must be noted that while relationship with one’s own employment is significant at 95% confidence level, the relation with employment of the spouse is highly significant at 99% confidence level.

		% within Is the spouse employed?	<b>48.4%</b>	<b>81.3%</b>	70.5%
Total	Count		93	192	285
		% within Is the spouse employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Having observed the above bivariate associations between marital disagreement and the variables included in this analysis, we tried testing the model with a binary logistic regression analysis. This is what we found:

**Table 3.42: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with Marital Disagreement as the dichotomous dependent variable**

<b>Block 1: Method = Enter</b>				
<b>Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients</b>				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	91.617	18	0.000
	Block	91.617	18	0.000
	Model	91.617	18	<b>0.000</b>
<b>Model Summary</b>				
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square	
1	256.881 <sup>a</sup>	0.277	<b>0.391</b>	
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.				
<b>Hosmer and Lemeshow Test</b>				
Step	Chi-square	Df	Sig.	
1	46.921	8	<b>0.000</b>	

The model here seems to be significant as far as Omnibus test is concerned but it loses significance as we take a look at the Hosmer and Lemeshow test where we get a p-value of less than 0.001. It implies that the model fits the data poorly but adequately. Thus, we decided to take a look at the classification table which is as follows:

**Table 3.43: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with Marital Disagreement as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Classification Table <sup>a</sup>					
Observed			Predicted		
			Disagreement Index_binomial		Percentage Correct
Step 1	Disagreement Index_binomial		Worse	Better	
		Worse	<b>54</b>	33	62.1
		Better	21	<b>174</b>	89.2
	Overall Percentage				<b>80.9</b>

a. The cut value is .500

We find here that the classification accuracy of the model is above 80 percent which is fairly high.

Now let us turn our attention to the individual effects that each of these variables tend to produce for marital disagreement in India. The table below gives a summary of the result:

**Table 3.44: Relationship between independent and dependent variables with Marital Disagreement as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	1.593	0.570	<b>0.005</b>	<b>4.918</b>
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.095	0.361	0.792	0.909
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	1.086	0.424	<b>0.010</b>	<b>2.962</b>
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	2.636	0.529	<b>0.000</b>	<b>13.964</b>

addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.185	0.541	0.733	0.831
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	1.002	0.840	0.233	2.725
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	-0.828	0.395	<b>0.036</b>	<b>0.437</b>
Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	0.620	0.453	0.171	1.858
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	0.738	0.363	<b>0.042</b>	<b>2.091</b>
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	0.189	0.525	0.718	1.208
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	0.014	0.363	0.968	1.015
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	1.054	0.421	<b>0.012</b>	<b>2.871</b>
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	-0.892	0.392	<b>0.023</b>	<b>0.410</b>
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	-0.915	0.466	0.050	0.401
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	0.415	0.396	0.295	1.514
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	-0.464	0.363	0.200	0.628
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	0.417	0.455	0.359	1.518
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	1.184	0.457	<b>0.010</b>	<b>3.268</b>
Constant		-5.420	2.133	0.011	0.004

The most important association to be highlighted here is the impact of gender on marital disagreement. We notice here that men, in comparison to women, are 4.9 times less likely to report marital disagreement. Other than gender, employment (both own and spousal) seems to be having a mitigating role as far as marital disagreement is concerned. An employed person seems to be 2.9 times more likely to report low marital disagreement than an unemployed person while one with an employed spouse is about 13 times more likely to report low marital disagreement than respondents with an unemployed spouse. Quite expectedly, those with high income satisfaction seem to be 3.2 times more likely to experience low marital disagreement than those with low income satisfaction. Similar is the impact of educational level with higher level of education leading one to be twice more likely to report low marital disagreement than people with low educational level, an observation that falls in line with what we found during bivariate analysis. Also for the family type, we find here that the results of bivariate analysis seem to be replicated as those living in joint families tending to be 59 per cent less likely to be admitting



that they experience low marital disagreement than those living in nuclear families. That said, it must also be noted here that mother tongue does have an impact on marital disagreement with the non-Hindi speakers tending to be almost 56 per cent less likely to be reporting low marital disagreement than Hindi speakers in the sample.

### 3.5. Marital Problems

At this point, it must be highlighted that the sample represents a set of respondents three-fourths (77.2 percent) of whom reported that their marital life is not faced with too many marital problems. The frequency table below proves the statement:

**Table 3.45: Frequency table showing the number of respondents with ‘worse’ and ‘better’ degrees of marital problems**

Problems Index_binomial					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Worse	69	22.8	22.8	22.8
	<b>Better</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>77.2</b>	<b>77.2</b>	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Having noted that, we may now look at the manner in which marital problems tend to get affected by other factors. It occurs as an intriguing fact that marital problems do not seem to have a lot to do with the economic dimension affecting marital life. Nonetheless, factors shaping one’s social context of thinking such as religion and language do bear a significant impact on marital problems. On the front of religion, Hindus tend to perform better on this account. When observed for language, it’s the Hindi-speaking segment of the sample that reported to be facing less marital problems. The table below summarizes the finding:

**Table 3.46: Summary of the relationship that marital problems hold with ‘religion’ and ‘mother tongue’**

		Religion		Mother Tongue	
		Hindu	non-Hindu	Hindi	non-Hindi
Problems level	<b>Worse</b>	* 21.3	42.9	** 15.4	36.1
	<b>Better</b>	78.7	57.1	84.6	63.9
N = 303		N = 282	N = 21	N = 195	N = 108

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

\*\* refers to significance at 99% confidence level.

Furthermore, social institutions such as family and education do play a part in determining the intensity of marital problems. As a point of observation, we found that those with higher level of education tend to have more marital problems to negotiate as shown in the table here:

**Table 3.47: Relationship between ‘level of education’ and Marital Problems**

Problems Index_binomial * Education Crosstabulation					
		Education			Total
		Low	High		
Problems Index_binomial	Worse	Count	12	57	69
		% within Education	11.4%	28.8%	22.8%
	Better	Count	93	141	234
		% within Education	<b>88.6%</b>	<b>71.2%</b>	77.2%
Total		Count	105	198	303
		% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.001 for Pearson chi-square test.

However, for the factor called family type, it’s the nuclear model of family that seems to fare better. Couples living in nuclear families tend to report less marital problems as shown in the table below:

**Table 3.48: Relationship between Marital Problems and ‘type of family’**

<b>Problems Index_binomial * Family Type Crosstabulation</b>					
			Family Type		Total
			Nuclear	Others	
Problems Index_binomial	Worse	Count	27	42	69
		% within Family Type	14.1%	37.8%	22.8%
	Better	Count	165	69	234
		% within Family Type	<b>85.9%</b>	<b>62.2%</b>	77.2%
Total		Count	192	111	303
		% within Family Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

As a corollary of the positive effect that living in a nuclear family has on marital problems for this sample, couples living only with their children seemed to be facing less marital problems.

The table below shows the relationship:

**Table 3.49: Relationship between Marital Problems and who the person lives with**

<b>Problems Index_binomial * Living with? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Living with?		Total
			Couple and children	Other family members	
Problems Index_binomial	Worse	Count	18	51	69
		% within Living with?	14.3%	28.8%	22.8%
	Better	Count	108	126	234
		% within Living with?	<b>85.7%</b>	<b>71.2%</b>	77.2%
Total		Count	126	177	303
		% within Living with?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.003 for Pearson chi-square test.

A better understanding as to the manner in which these variables affect the level of marital problems could be developed on the basis of binary logistic regression analysis which gives the following results:

**Table 3.50: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with Marital Problems as the dichotomous dependent variable**

<b>Block 1: Method = Enter</b>				
<b>Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients</b>				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	85.912	18	0.000
	Block	85.912	18	0.000
	Model	85.912	18	<b>0.000</b>
<b>Model Summary</b>				
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square	
1	197.970 <sup>a</sup>	0.263	0.414	
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 7 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.				
<b>Hosmer and Lemeshow Test</b>				
Step	Chi-square	Df	Sig.	
1	40.493	8	<b>0.000</b>	

We find that the model of significant for the Omnibus test. Nonetheless, it is significant for Hosmer and Lemeshow test as well indicating a poor model fit. Shown below is the classification table for the model:

**Table 3.51: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with Marital Problems as the dichotomous dependent variable**

<b>Classification Table<sup>a</sup></b>		
Observed	Predicted	
	Problems Index_binomial	Percentage

			Worse	Better	Correct
Step 1	Problems Index_binomial	Worse	<b>24</b>	33	42.1
		Better	9	<b>216</b>	<b>96.0</b>
	Overall Percentage				<b>85.1</b>

a. The cut value is .500

The classification accuracy seems to be fairly high at 85.1 per cent. Let us find out which of these variables have an impact on marital problems in India when taken together. The table below summarizes the results of binary logistic regression:

**Table 3.52: Relationship between independent and dependent variables with Marital Problems as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	-0.752	0.506	0.137	0.471
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.179	0.461	0.698	0.836
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.347	0.488	0.477	1.415
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.052	0.511	0.920	1.053
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-1.252	0.730	0.086	0.286
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	-2.622	1.012	<b>0.010</b>	<b>0.073</b>
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	-0.834	0.422	<b>0.048</b>	<b>0.434</b>
Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	-0.570	0.534	0.286	0.566
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	-3.584	0.754	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.028</b>
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	0.500	0.651	0.442	1.649
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	-1.667	0.444	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.189</b>
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	-0.710	0.606	0.241	0.492
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	-0.421	0.450	0.349	0.656
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	-1.296	0.668	0.052	0.274
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	0.623	0.508	0.220	1.864
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	-0.485	0.442	0.272	0.615
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	0.240	0.576	0.677	1.272
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	0.170	0.485	0.727	1.185
Constant		18.014	3.779	0.000	66567930.746

The results here indicate a convergence with the findings obtained from the bivariate analysis as far as the effect of religion and mother tongue is concerned. Here we see that the Hindus are 93 per cent less likely to experience marital problems than non-Hindus in the sample and the Hindi-speakers are almost 57 per cent less likely to experience marital problems than non-Hindi speakers. Furthermore, when it comes to education, we yet again find a similarity with the results of the bivariate analysis. Higher level of education tends to exacerbate one's marital experience by multiplying marital problems as those with low level of education being about 97 per cent less likely to experience marital problems than those with high level of education. An important finding here is the effect of the most caring member in the family. Those who reported their spouse as the most caring member tend to be almost 81 per cent less likely to report marital problems.

### 3.6. Marital Stability

As far as marital stability is concerned, the sample represents a section of population with highly stable marriages. The frequency table shows the result:

**Table 3.53: Frequency table showing the number of respondents with 'stable' and 'unstable' marriage**

Stability Index_binomial					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Unstable	39	12.9	12.9	12.9
	<b>Stable</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>87.1</b>	87.1	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Moving on, it was found that in consonance with other findings as to the impact of religion on marital quality, it was found that *Hindu marriages are stabler than marriages of people*

practising other religions. Likewise, the Hindi-speaking chunk within the sample seems to be enjoying greater stability within marriage. The finding is summarized in the following table:

**Table 3.54: Summary of the relationship that marital stability holds with ‘religion’ and ‘mother tongue’**

		Religion		Mother Tongue	
		Hindu	non-Hindu	Hindi	non-Hindi
<b>Degree of stability</b>	<b>Unstable</b>	* 11.7	28.6	* 9.2	19.4
	<b>Stable</b>	88.3	71.4	90.8	80.6
<b>N = 303</b>		<b>N = 282</b>	<b>N = 21</b>	<b>N = 195</b>	<b>N = 108</b>

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

Other than these cultural factors, it was found that a rise in the level of education tends to introduce an element of instability to marriage. The table below shows the relationship:

**Table 3.55: Relationship between ‘level of education’ and Marital Stability in India**

<b>Stability Index_binomial * Education Crosstabulation</b>						
				Education		Total
				Low	High	
Stability Index_binomial	Unstable	Count	6	33	39	
		% within Education	5.7%	16.7%	12.9%	
	Stable	Count	99	165	264	
		% within Education	<b>94.3%</b>	<b>83.3%</b>	87.1%	
Total		Count	105	198	303	
		% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.007 for Pearson chi-square test.

Although type of family does not affect marital stability in a significant way, it must not be overlooked that couples living in a nuclear setting with their children only seem to enjoy a stabler marriage than others. The finding is represented by the following figures:

**Table 3.56: Relationship between Marital Stability and who the couple lives with**

<b>Stability Index_binomial * Living with? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Living with?		Total
			Couple and children	Other family members	
Stability Index_binomial	Unstable	Count	6	33	39
		% within Living with?	4.8%	18.6%	12.9%
	Stable	Count	120	144	264
		% within Living with?	<b>95.2%</b>	<b>81.4%</b>	87.1%
Total		Count	126	177	303
		% within Living with?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

Quite understandably, those who reported to be living away from their spouse for some reason tend to be experiencing greater marital instability. The difference in this case seems quite substantial as could be made out from the bar chart below:

**Table 3.57: Relationship between Marital Stability and whether the spouse lives away**

<b>Stability Index_binomial * Spouse living away? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Spouse living away?		Total
			No	Yes	
Stability Index_binomial	Unstable	Count	21	18	39
		% within Spouse living away?	<b>8.0%</b>	<b>46.2%</b>	12.9%
	Stable	Count	243	21	264
		% within Spouse living away?	92.0%	53.8%	87.1%
Total		Count	264	39	303
		% within Spouse living away?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

It is indeed a big contrast to be noticed that almost half of those (46.2 per cent to be exact) who admitted that they live away from their spouse also reported instability in marriage. However, it must be pointed out that spouse's living away might not be a cause of unstable marriage; rather,



it could be an effect of it. Whichever way the relation tilts, the noticeable fact here is the highly significant association between marital stability and whether one live away from one’s spouse.

Other than these factors, spousal employment seems to be bearing a considerable impact on marital stability. The crosstabulation below shows the result:

**Table 3.58: Relationship between ‘Spousal employment’ and Marital Stability**

<b>Stability Index_binomial * Is the spouse employed? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Is the spouse employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
Stability Index_binomial	Unstable	Count	15	15	30
		% within Is the spouse employed?	16.1%	7.8%	10.5%
	Stable	Count	78	177	255
		% within Is the spouse employed?	<b>83.9%</b>	<b>92.2%</b>	89.5%
Total		Count	93	192	285
		% within Is the spouse employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.032 for Pearson chi-square test.

From the above result, one might conclude that those with an employed spouse seem to be enjoying greater marital stability. However, it must be added here that when looked at from a gender perspective, it was found that the relationship is significant for women, and not men, in the sample. The result is as shown:

**Table 3.59: Relationship between ‘Spousal employment’ and ‘marital stability’ with respect to women in the sample**

<b>Stability Index_binomial * Is the spouse employed? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Is the spouse employed?		Total
			No	Yes	

Stability Index_binomial	Unstable	Count	3	12	15
		% within Is the spouse employed?	<b>33.3%</b>	<b>9.1%</b>	10.6%
	Stable	Count	6	120	126
		% within Is the spouse employed?	66.7%	90.9%	89.4%
Total		Count	9	132	141
		% within Is the spouse employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.022$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Besides employment, health conditions also seem to affect marital stability (divorce proneness) for the sample. More than current state of health, perception of change in health emerged as a more significant variable. And it comes as no surprising a fact that those who reported to be facing worsening health conditions over the last one year tend to be facing greater marital instability. The table below shows the relationship:

**Table 3.60: Relationship between Marital Stability and perception of change in health**

Stability Index_binomial * change in health_binomial Crosstabulation					
			change in health_binomial		Total
			Worse	Better	
Stability Index_binomial	Unstable	Count	18	21	39
		% within change in health_binomial	<b>40.0%</b>	<b>8.1%</b>	12.9%
	Stable	Count	27	237	264
		% within change in health_binomial	60.0%	91.9%	87.1%
Total		Count	45	258	303
		% within change in health_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

The table clearly shows that two-fifths of those who reported that their health has worsened in last one year tend to be facing marital instability. It would be important to establish causality in this case as the association here might be interpreted to be working in both directions. Poor health conditions might, at times, be responsible for inducing marital instability. Nonetheless, it could also be hypothesized that unstable marriage and the resulting distress might lead to deteriorating conditions of health.

Extending the topic of health further, it was also found that addictive habits such as smoking, drinking, etc., tend to reduce marital stability. The following table shows the relationship:

**Table 3.61: Relationship between ‘addictive habits’ and Marital Stability in India**

Stability Index_binomial * addictive habits Crosstabulation					
			addictive habits		Total
			No	Yes	
Stability Index_binomial	Unstable	Count	27	12	39
		% within addictive habits	11.0%	21.1%	12.9%
	Stable	Count	219	45	264
		% within addictive habits	<b>89.0%</b>	<b>78.9%</b>	87.1%
Total		Count	246	57	303
		% within addictive habits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.041$  for Pearson chi-square test.

However, a binary logistic regression analysis including all the 18 variables did not show a significant relationship for any of the variables. Thus, marital stability in our society is *not* significantly affected by the variables included for analysis in this study when taken together.

Finally, a word must be said about the fact that those who confessed to their spouse being the most caring person in the world, scored better on all five dimensions. *That is to say, there's no*

better recipe of a good quality married life than a spouse who's caring in nature. The table<sup>8</sup> below summarizes the relationship:

**Table 3.62: Relationship between 'most caring person' and the five dimensions of Marital Quality**

Most Caring Person			
		Spouse	Others
Degree of Happiness	Unhappy	** 3.4	21.4
	Happy	96.6	78.6
Degree of Interaction	Low	** 3.4	26.2
	High	96.6	73.8
Disagreement level	Worse	* 25.4	38.1
	Better	74.6	61.9
Problems level	Worse	** 13.6	35.7
	Better	86.4	64.3
Degree of stability	Unstable	** 3.4	26.2
	Stable	96.6	73.8

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

\*\* refers to significance at 99% confidence level.

A comment need also be included about the fact that social category, i.e., caste does not seem to impact marital quality as a whole for this sample. However, as far as individual impact of indicator variables is concerned, a significant relationship between social category and some of the variables could be detected. It seems worth reporting that when it comes to overall happiness with one's marital life it is the 'General' category that lags behind. The association is as shown:

**Table 3.63: Relationship between 'caste' (social category) and 'overall happiness' within marriage**

overall recode * Category label Crosstabulation		
	Category label	Total

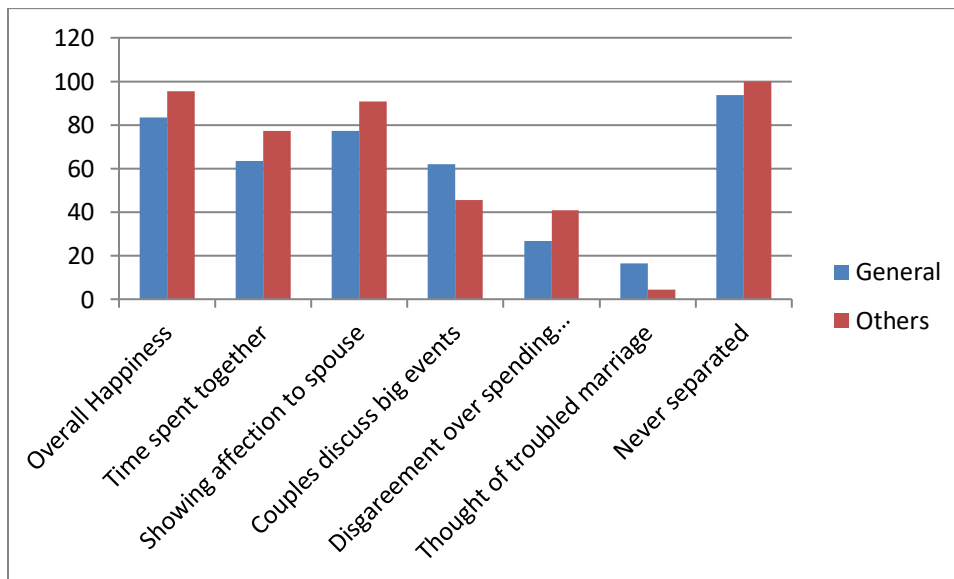
<sup>8</sup> The figures in the table represent the percentage of respondents within each category.

			General	Others	
overall recode	Unhappy	Count	39	3	42
		% within Category label	16.5%	4.5%	13.9%
	Happy	Count	198	63	261
		% within Category label	<b>83.5%</b>	<b>95.5%</b>	86.1%
Total		Count	237	66	303
		% within Category label	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.013$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Quite clearly, it can be seen that 16.5 per cent of the respondents from the General category seem to be ‘Unhappy’ compared to just 4.5 per cent of the respondents belonging to other categories. Apart from this, there are other variables that vary with social category. A summary of the relationships is shown below:

**Figure 3.5: Relations between ‘caste’ (social category) and various indicator variables used to measure marital quality**



In sum, it can be said that the General category seems to be worse off on most of these aspects concerning marital quality. However, they perform better when it comes to a couple of aspects

describing positive marital interaction such as discussing big events and negotiating disagreement over spending money.

### 3.7. Factors affecting Marital Quality

Having seen the effect of socioeconomic variables on the dimensions of marital quality, we may now venture into a new domain of inquiry that deals with the impact these variables bear on marital quality as a whole. To accomplish the task, marital quality was recoded into a binomial variable with those having a cumulative score of 80 and above classified as ‘high’ and those below it as ‘low’. The frequency table below shows the distribution of respondents according to the classification:

**Table 3.64: Frequency table showing the number of respondents with ‘low’ and ‘high’ degree of Marital Quality**

Marital Quality recode_binomial					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Low	120	39.6	39.6	39.6
	High	183	60.4	60.4	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

We find here a sample where the majority of the respondents seem to be enjoying ‘high’ marital quality.

Crosstabulation with the variables proved that there are quite a number of variables that may be considered determinants of marital quality. It is important to note that both religion and mother tongue turn out to be significantly related to marital quality as shown in the tables below:

**Table 3.65: Marital Quality according to religious groups**

Crosstab					
			Religion Type		Total
			Hindu	non-Hindu	
Marital Quality recode_binomial	Low	Count	105	15	120
		% within Religion Type	37.2%	71.4%	39.6%
	High	Count	177	6	183
		% within Religion Type	<b>62.8%</b>	<b>28.6%</b>	60.4%
Total		Count	282	21	303
		% within Religion Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.002$  for Pearson chi-square test.

**Table 3.66: Marital Quality according to ‘mother tongue’ of the respondents**

Crosstab					
			Mother Tongue		Total
			Hindi	non-Hindi	
Marital Quality recode_binomial	Low	Count	69	51	120
		% within Mother Tongue	35.4%	47.2%	39.6%
	High	Count	126	57	183
		% within Mother Tongue	<b>64.6%</b>	<b>52.8%</b>	60.4%
Total		Count	195	108	303
		% within Mother Tongue	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.044$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Besides these, individual perception regarding change in one’s health conditions over the past one year seems to be affecting marital quality. Those who believe that their health condition has improved are more likely to score high on marital quality.

**Table 3.67: Relationship between Marital Quality and perception of change in health conditions**

Crosstab					
			change in health_binomial		Total
			Worse	Better	
Marital Quality recode_binomial	Low	Count	24	96	120
		% within change in health_binomial	53.3%	37.2%	39.6%

	High	Count	21	162	183
		% within change in health_binomial	46.7%	62.8%	60.4%
Total		Count	45	258	303
		% within change in health_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.041$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Moreover, economic dimensions do seem to play a vital role in determining marital quality in India. Essentially, three variables, namely, satisfaction with income, spousal employment, and ownership of house turned out to be significantly associated with marital quality. The results of crosstabulation are presented below:

**Table 3.68: Relationship between ‘income satisfaction’ and Marital Quality in India**

Crosstab					
			Income satisfaction_binomial		Total
			Low	High	
Marital Quality recode_binomial	Low	Count	99	21	120
		% within Income satisfaction_binomial	42.9%	29.2%	39.6%
	High	Count	132	51	183
		% within Income satisfaction_binomial	57.1%	70.8%	60.4%
Total		Count	231	72	303
		% within Income satisfaction_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.038$  for Pearson chi-square test.

**Table 3.69: Relationship between ‘Spousal employment’ and Marital Quality in India**

Crosstab					
			Is the spouse employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
Marital Quality	Low	Count	51	60	111



recode_binomial		% within Is the spouse employed?	54.8%	31.3%	38.9%
	High	Count	42	132	174
		% within Is the spouse employed?	<b>45.2%</b>	<b>68.8%</b>	61.1%
Total		Count	93	192	285
		% within Is the spouse employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

**Table 3.70: Relationship between Ownership of House and Marital Quality in India**

Crosstab					
			Ownership of House		Total
			No	Yes	
Marital Quality recode_binomial	Low	Count	51	69	120
		% within Ownership of House	33.3%	46.0%	39.6%
	High	Count	102	81	183
		% within Ownership of House	<b>66.7%</b>	<b>54.0%</b>	60.4%
Total		Count	153	150	303
		% within Ownership of House	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.024 for Pearson chi-square test.

If the satisfaction with income is high, people tend to enjoy greater marital quality. Those with an employed spouse also seem to perform better on this front. However, people who own a house are more likely to score low on marital quality.

As Marital Quality is the key variable in this study around which all other analysis revolves, it becomes imperative to find out how the aforementioned variables affect marital quality. Thus, we ran a binary logistic regression analysis which produced the following results:

**Table 3.71: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with Marital Quality as the dichotomous dependent variable**

<b>Block 1: Method = Enter</b>				
<b>Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients</b>				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	82.893	18	0.000
	Block	82.893	18	0.000
	Model	82.893	18	<b>0.000</b>
<b>Model Summary</b>				
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square	
1	295.178 <sup>a</sup>	0.255	0.345	
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.				
<b>Hosmer and Lemeshow Test</b>				
Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.	
1	21.382	8	<b>0.006</b>	

We find that the model is not a good fit as the Hosmer and Lemeshow test gives a significant value of the Chi-square test. Nonetheless, the model seems to adequately fit the data. The classification accuracy of the model is shown below:

***Table 3.72: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with Marital Quality as the dichotomous dependent variable***

<b>Classification Table<sup>a</sup></b>					
			Predicted		
			Marital Quality recode_binomial		Percentage Correct
Observed		Low	High		
Step 1	Marital Quality recode_binomial	Low	<b>60</b>	51	54.1
		High	24	<b>147</b>	<b>86.0</b>
Overall Percentage					<b>73.4</b>

a. The cut value is .500

We find here that both sensitivity and classification accuracy of the model seem fairly high. Hence, we must take a look at how individual variables tend to affect marital quality in India.

The table below shows the relationship:

**Table 3.73: Relationship between independent and dependent variables with Marital Quality as the dependent dichotomous variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	0.771	0.422	0.068	2.162
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.660	0.339	0.052	0.517
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.272	0.383	0.477	0.762
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	1.744	0.432	<b>0.000</b>	<b>5.720</b>
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.729	0.505	0.149	0.483
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	-2.453	0.818	<b>0.003</b>	<b>0.086</b>
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	-0.479	0.351	0.173	0.620
Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	0.826	0.411	<b>0.045</b>	<b>2.284</b>
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	-1.184	0.369	<b>0.001</b>	<b>0.306</b>
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	0.095	0.497	0.848	1.100
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	-1.227	0.343	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.293</b>
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	0.084	0.425	0.844	1.087
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	1.053	0.384	<b>0.006</b>	<b>2.865</b>
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	-0.792	0.446	0.076	0.453
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	0.572	0.360	0.112	1.771
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	0.458	0.333	0.169	1.581
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	0.315	0.399	0.429	1.371
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	0.917	0.409	<b>0.025</b>	<b>2.502</b>
Constant		1.905	1.834	0.299	6.720

A total of *seven* variables seem to have a determining effect on marital quality in India. Representing the economic dimension, spousal employment and satisfaction with income seem to bear a positive impact on marital quality. Those with an employed spouse seem to be 5.7 times more likely to enjoy better marital quality than others with an unemployed spouse while people with high satisfaction with income are 2.5 times more likely to have higher marital quality than those with low satisfaction with income. When it comes to religion, the Hindus, in comparison

with non-Hindus, seem to be 91 per cent less likely to report 'low' marital quality. Considering the dimension of caste, people from the 'reserved' categories seem to be almost 2.3 times more likely to enjoy better marital quality. When it comes to accounting for the impact of education, one is bound to say that those with *low* level of education seem to be about 70 per cent less likely to report *low* marital quality than those with high level of education. Looking at the issue from the viewpoint of the type of family, we would like to argue that those living in a 'joint family' seem to be 2.8 times more likely to enjoy better marital quality among Indians. Last but not the least, it was also discovered that if one's spouse turns out to be the most caring member, they are almost 70 per cent less likely to report low marital quality.

*With this we conclude this chapter keeping in mind the association of a number of social, cultural, and economic variables with marital quality and its dimensions. It came out quite visibly that 'religion' and other socioeconomic factors such as income, employment (especially spousal employment), caste, and education act as determinants of marital quality in India. Thus, one might argue that both 'caste' and 'class' seem to be determining factors of marital quality in this country. Nonetheless, it captures our attention that the aspect of 'gender' seems to bear statistically no significant impact on marital quality in this study, though it is associated with marital happiness which is one of the two dimensions constituting marital quality (recall the best model fit with two dimensions in the last chapter). Therefore, gender forms the theme of the next chapter as it seems to be the most important variable defining any heterosexual marital relation as every marital dyad is composed of a man and a woman. Besides gender, we shall take a look at the impact of cultural values and marital commitment on marital quality in subsequent chapters.*

## Chapter Four

### Gender and Marital Quality

*'Gender' has often been portrayed as the major determinant of marital relations, largely because of the impact of feminist theory on marital research. But research investigating the topic has discovered that gender difference in society is often amplified than its actual presence. Scholars have gone so far as to propose 'gender similarities hypothesis' which sounds antithetical to the much-hyped gender difference in most marital research. This chapter deals with the 'gender' question based on the analysis of data from a wide variety of sources, including the data collected in Delhi – NCR solely for the purpose of this study, keeping in view the goal of uncovering the role of gender in determining marital quality in India.*

---

*Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus*, the title of John Gray's (1992) bestseller says it all regarding the centrality of gender difference in society. Any doubt cast on Gray's thesis as to its cross-cultural validity seems to be fragile as one encounters the fact that the book was translated into forty languages. Therefore, there's no denying the fact that men and women are, indeed, different in many aspects. Looking at it from a social relations perspective, one might argue that men and women differ according to two factors – *dispositional* and *structural* (Fischer & Oliner, 1983). In short, gender differences owe their origin to both internal and external, i.e., psychological as well as sociological factors.

A more pointed response in elaborating upon gender differences seems to have emanated from Jessie Bernard's (1972) thesis that points to the division of marital experience into two categories – "his" and "hers". She contends: "There are two marriages in every marital union, his and hers. And his...is better than hers" (Bernard, 1972, p. 14). The forceful assertion from Bernard (1972) imparted the issue a huge thrust, especially in regard to the role of gender in shaping people's

marital experience. Originating in Bernard's (1972) analysis, the question of gender has since occupied quite a central position in almost all marital research based on feminist theory.<sup>1</sup>

#### **4.1. Evaluating the relevance of the feminist approach to this study**

But before we get started with the analysis of the effect of gender on marital quality, it seems a prudent idea to take a look at the way feminists have dealt with the issue of gender in society. One of the foremost feminist opinions in the Indian context comes from Leela Dube (1997) who argues that it is the form of kinship structure that is largely at the base of the manner in which gender ideologies are constructed and propagated. Adopting a 'social constructionist' approach, Dube (1997) is of the view that female sexuality is controlled by men in most South Asian societies. Therefore, the idea of the marital bond representing an egalitarian relationship in such societies doesn't seem too probable.

Arguing in a similar vein, another feminist scholar, Uma Chakravarti (1993) portrays ancient India as a society characterized by patriarchy (which has continued to the present day without much attenuation in intensity). In fact, Chakravarti's (1993) views could be seen as bordering on Gerda Lerner's (1986) thoughts who argues that women have historically been subject to men's domination. As an offshoot of this line of argument, there emerges a plethora of literature on marriage where one encounters the term *patriarchy* on numerous occasions. Hence, one needs to take a look at various connotations that the term seems to have acquired with time.

Patriarchy, as an academic term, is of quite recent origin. It emanated from the academic discourse of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when it meant "the disproportionate control of the father in families or clans" (Meyers, 2014, p. 9). The initial focus of the term seems to have been on the 'family'

---

<sup>1</sup> Bernard (1972) published her revolutionary views in her book entitled *The Future of Marriage*.

where the father was often the head of the family. Although there have been scholars like Bachofen (1861) who argued that ancient societies were based on matriarchy, the notion was largely contested in the academic field and it was believed that in most societies, it was the father who headed the affairs of the family.

A rather compelling argument in this regard seems to have come from Edward Westermarck:

“But such cases are rare. Besides, most of them imply only that the children in a certain way belong to the uncle, not that the father is released from the obligation of supporting them. Even where succession runs through females only, the father is nearly always certainly the head of the family” (Westermarck, 1901, p. 41).

However, departing from its family-centric connotation, the concept of patriarchy assumed a new form in the twentieth century when it was extended to engulf the whole of society. The new definition implies “the organization of an entire society in ways that exclude women from community positions” (Meyers, 2014, p. 9). This version of patriarchy probably lies at the heart of the feminist discourse on the institution of marriage whereby women always get an unfair deal in the name of marriage (Bernard, 1972; Oakley, 1974).

But, not all feminism looks at the society as a ceaseless ‘gender war’. In fact, there are other issues to be resolved in the feminist analysis of society which have been well highlighted in the writings of feminist scholars such as Christina Hoff Sommers, Wendy McElroy, Kathy Young, Camille Paglia, and Daphne Patai, just to name a few. Christina Hoff Sommers (1994) opened the preface to her book, *Who Stole Feminism* with an exposé of one of the popular authors on the subject of *feminism*. Sommers confirmed: “In *Revolution from Within*, Gloria Steinem informs

her readers that ‘in this country alone . . . about 150,000 females die of anorexia each year.’” (Sommers, 1994, p. 11).

Thought to have spearheaded the third wave of Feminism, Gloria Steinem presented a poignant account of starvation deaths in her 1992 book entitled, *Revolution from Within*. Steinem claimed that 150,000 females die of anorexia every year in the United States. To strengthen her claim, Steinem (1992) referred to Naomi Wolf’s 1991 bestseller, *The Beauty Myth* which bases its argument on the same statistical data according to Christina Hoff Sommers (1994). The root of this data could be traced back to Joan Jacobs Brumberg’s book entitled, *Fasting Girls: The Emergence of Anorexia Nervosa as a Modern Disease*.

When Sommers (1994) sought to investigate the truth behind the claims popularized by Steinem (1992) and Wolf (1991), she, to her surprise, found that the data presented was far from the truth. In fact, she herself tried to dig deep into the matter and accessed relevant data furnished by *American Anorexia and Bulimia Association*. In a 1985 newsletter, the association had admitted that there were 150,000 to 200,000 sufferers of ‘anorexia’ in the United States, but they were certainly not fatalities. In order to gain greater clarity over the issue, Sommers (1994) put in some extra effort to peep into National Health Statistics that provided data for anorexic deaths for three years. The figures are as shown:

***Table 4.1: Figures showing the number of anorexic deaths in USA***

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of anorexic deaths in the US</b>
1983	101
1988	67



Sommers (1994) did not leave it at that. She did let Naomi Wolf know of her mistake which she agreed to rectify in a later edition of *The Beauty Myth*. Having gone through the 2002 edition of the book published by *HarperCollins*, one would certainly find that the figure of 150,000 deaths due to anorexia stands revised, although Wolf's concern with anorexic women in America still formed one of the main themes of the book. She clarifies her position in the Introduction to the book with the help of a statement that stands out in this context. Wolf writes, "Anorexia is the biggest killer of American teenage girls" (Wolf, 2002, p. 5). Although the figure seems to have been corrected, the one fear raised by Sommers (1994) still lingers on in Wolf's thesis. As words of encouragement directed at women, Wolf writes:

"Women must claim anorexia as political damage done to us by a social order that considers our destruction insignificant because of what we are-less. We should identify it as Jews identify the death camps, as homosexuals identify AIDS: as a disgrace that is not our own, but that of an inhumane social order" (Wolf, 2002, p. 208).

Thus, even if the data got revised, the underlying battle that Sommers (1994) called "gender war" has continued. What Sommers asked then is still quite relevant. Even if one rectified one's mistakenly quoted figures, "will it even matter?" (Sommers, 1994, p. 12). Thus, one must ponder on the logic behind such attempts to misquote data. If the real picture was something else, what prompted Gloria Steinem (1992) and Naomi Wolf (1990) to cite a skyrocketed figure that had the potential of sending tremors into the minds of many a reader? The reasons are only best

known to the authors, but it definitely carried the potential of instituting in society a battle of the sexes.

Although the famous “Battle of the Sexes”<sup>2</sup> appeared to be limited to the world of tennis as the battle was considered to exist more in a figurative sense than, the popular notion of it seems to have acted as a precursor to the ideas that flooded the scenario two decades later. Indeed, the last decade of the last century actually witnessed a battle of sorts in this regard, at least in the works of some ardent supporters of the thread of feminism called *Gender Feminism*. The recent opinion by Mary Beard (2017) says it all. It attempts to posit an explanation that sees every aspect of civilization as a mark of patriarchy and every act of men as an attempt to silence feminine voices drawing a close parallel with the story of Philomena’s tongue having been ripped off in ancient Rome so that she could not reveal to the world the trauma of her rape.

“Gender Feminism”, the term first coined by Christina Hoff Sommers (1994) became the guiding star for Steven Pinker (2003), who in his attempt to undertake a threadbare analysis of the situation, devised a new schema within the movement of Feminism. He divided the whole idea of feminism into two – *Equity Feminism* and *Gender Feminism* and the above depiction of feminism that recognizes no succour for women in society belongs to the latter version. It contains so strong overtones of almost a war between men and women that there are scholars who advocate a kind of social engineering that would get rid of the maximum possible males from the earth. Daphne Patai (2000) highlights a popular opinion among gender feminists that only ten percent of the human population should be allowed to be male. Isn’t it a sign of extreme

---

<sup>2</sup> “Battle of the Sexes” was an international challenge between men and women tennis players that had its inaugural match played between Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs in 1973.

dislike for men? What caused it? Is it all about social and historical conditions of women? Whatever be the case, it is surely not a view to be accepted and propagated academically.

#### **4.2. Feminist Theories in Everyday Life**

It must also be considered whether the assumptions of the feminist scholars hold true when analyzed from an empirical perspective, looking at the levels of social consciousness of the members belonging to both sexes constituting so called antagonistic classes. The idea of power and domination that won much favour with scholars from Marx to Foucault needs to be studied from the perspective of the individuals leading simple everyday lives in society. Do these concepts really affect our actions? Are we really conscious enough to deal with the outer world keeping these concepts at the centre? Kate Leaver<sup>3</sup> recently revealed that she has, in fact, managed to get over her anorectic displeasure after she had read the feminist theory. Although she particularly thanks Susie Orbach (2005) for providing her some comfort in the form of her book, *Hunger Strike*, Naomi Wolf's (1991) *The Beauty Myth* certainly featured on the list of other books that made Kate Leaver (2017) acquainted with feminist theory. She confesses that the idea of the objectification of the woman's body caused her to think that the cause of her anorexia lies outside her body, perhaps, in the social and political conditions. The thought acted as some sort of mental therapy that made her feel better. One aspect of marital theorizing with quite a visible impact of feminism relies upon examining the institution from a legal-historical point of view that seeks to question the traditional understanding of gender-roles. As a corollary to this vision of society, feminists view marriage as a compulsory imposition on women that

---

<sup>3</sup> Kate Leaver expressed it in the *Opinion* section of *The Guardian* published on 16 November, 2017 in her article entitled, "Feminist reading really can help beat anorexia. It worked for me."

relegates them to a subordinate position in the social hierarchy. A significant incident in this regard could be taken from the following words by Heather MacDonald:

“The opinion of the federal district court striking down California’s Proposition 8 (declaring that marriage was an institution uniting men and women), for example, was steeped in the women’s studies notion that marriage originated as a way to impose a subordinate “gender” role on females.”<sup>4</sup>

One could cite from Pinker’s (2003) data which suggests that association with the term, “feminism” in everyday lives of women invites embarrassment. In an article entitled, *One Casualty of the Women's Movement: Feminism* by Sarah Boxer published in New York Times on December 14, 1997, it was reported that when asked whether they are feminists, seventy percent of the American women answered in the negative, but when their responses were cross-checked based on some key characteristics of feminism, it turned out to be otherwise. Most of them agreed with key feminist positions but chose to dissociate themselves from the movement. Thus, no doubt the world and living conditions are different for men and women in human societies all over the world, but the solution offered by feminists such as Gloria Steinem, Naomi Wolf and Carol Gilligan is far from being emulated by women in everyday life. The idea of gender feminism could lead to an undeclared war between the two sexes, an idea that does not find many takers even in Western societies. In quite a satirical tone, Daphne Patai presents a clearer picture of the helplessness experienced by gender feminists with a marvellous illustration:

Go to the beach or the movies, and see heterosexual couples cavorting unself-consciously.

Could it really be that all these people are unaware of the “power differentials” and

---

<sup>4</sup> See the concluding section entitled ‘From 1970s High Theory to Transgender Bathrooms on Campus’ of Chapter 9 of Part II entitled ‘Gender’ of her book, *The Diversity Delusion*.

“asymmetries” that supposedly distort their relationships? They appear not to have heard about them. This indifference goes some way, I believe, toward explaining the fervor with which workplace and academic reformers approach the task of regulating sex. No doubt they are discouraged by the persistence of rampant heterosex as a fact of life, feminist warnings and strictures notwithstanding (Patai, 2000, p. 4).

The feminist warnings seem to be emanating from a kind of fear that has set in due to political and ideological underpinnings of feminism as a programme. The repugnance that most feminists express when faced with questions on the nature-culture divide is a consequence of their opinions being subsumed completely under the rubric of “constructionism” which emerged as a reaction to the dominance of a number of naturalisms in post-1968 era (Grosz, 2005). However, it does not mean that biology and the theory of evolution should be seen as antagonistic to the feminist theory. Elizabeth Grosz (1999) is of the opinion that feminists should look to engage with Darwin’s theory in a more positive manner leaving their political bias aside. Similar guidance could be sought in, perhaps, the only comprehensive anthology on the subject, *Feminism and Evolutionary Biology* edited by Patricia Adair Gowaty (1997) who expressed her concern over the misunderstanding of Darwinism in the following words: “This scientific illiteracy has led to shallow understandings of the nature of science and ignorance of basic Darwinian processes.” (Gowaty, 1997, p. 1).

The foregoing discussion is not to suggest that women should resign to their natural fate and should stop dreaming of equality between sexes. From an academic viewpoint, suggesting that would amount to rationalizing social apathy to the issue of gender. Owing to these concerns, a number of feminist authors and thinkers have chosen to stay with another brand of feminism called *equity feminism* (Pinker, 2003). This form of feminism is based on the ideals of

Enlightenment<sup>5</sup> and seeks to do away with any frailty that women experience. Falling in line with this type of feminism, one can look to achieve ‘Equality of the Sexes’ over and above ‘Battle of the Sexes’.

### **4.3. A Critique of the idea of Social Constructionism**

Thus far we have seen that overreliance on the feminist perspective might lead one to believe that human biology has as negligible effect on people’s behaviour in society, probably the mainstay in the arguments put forward by those adhering to social constructionism. But, what otherwise appears to be entirely socially constructed may just be a mirage of sorts. Anthony Giddens (1992) took up the issue of sexual revolution that has taken place in complete consonance with the modern standards of democracy. He is of the view that of late, economic satisfaction has been replaced by emotional satisfaction as a consequence of this revolution in society (Giddens, 1992, p. 3). The transformed nature of intimacy is devoid of any obligations. Rather, it is a purely voluntary act, often based on pure relationship. Thus, no matter how much we worry about the declining significance of the institution of marriage (Winch 1970; Cherlin 2004) based on statistical data from developed countries, one must be made aware of the increased importance of personal touch and special recognition in everyday lives of both men and women. Sometimes the interpretation seems to be limited by the definition of marriage one adopts as the working definition for convenience, although the concept of pair-bonding representing the natural form of marriage seems indubitable, irrespective of the culture one studies.

---

<sup>5</sup> Steven Pinker (2003) considers it to be inspired by the ideas of continental Enlightenment.

It is in this context that one must not overlook the concept of pair-bonding before proceeding any further. The significance of the natural roots of marriage is expressed in the following fashion:

“Marriage is the humanization, the institutionalization, the sociocultural expression of the relatively durable union between the sexes in subhuman primate society. In the transformation of anthropoid society into human society mating became marriage.” (White, 1959, p. 94, quoted in Chapais, 2008, p. 166).

This point of view expressed by Leslie White (1959) more than threescore years ago has been analyzed and developed further by those looking at the phenomenon of pair-bonding as the originating signs of what we now call marriage in our society. Sociologists such as Jonathan Turner and Alexandra Maryanski (1992) suggest that a change in the emotional circuitry in the human brain led to a different kind of group-forming behaviour among humans in the African Savanna (Maryanski & Turner, 1992). Alexandra Maryanski’s *cladistic* analysis does seem to establish close links between us as a species and the great Apes in behavioural terms. This is not to suggest that the behaviour of non-human primates is in any way a true reflection of human social behaviour. What is being argued here is the simple fact that what seems a social construction of sorts from the scratch could well have its origin in our evolutionary past when ‘society’ as such had barely come into existence.

Furthermore, Bernard Chapais (2008), in his book, *Primeval Kinship*, argues that there are deep structures of kinship that we inherit from other primates that forms the backbone of our kinship model. He specially emphasizes the significance of the brother-sister bond and ‘philopatry’ among other primate species that could very well be seen to be behind ‘patrilocal’ marriages in our society. Thus, one could now argue that what Leela Dube (1997) seems to contend could just

be a perspective and a story partially told. The kinds of kinship systems we have inherited from our ancestors may be shown to have roots deeply embedded in our evolutionary past as is evident from the primatological data we have access to. Hence, overemphasis on themes such as social construction of gender and the accompanying gender ideologies that ought to be held responsible for the kinship structures seem to be largely deficient in rigour and depth when it comes to explaining marriage as a social institution.

#### **4.4. The aspect of gender in relation to marital quality**

It has been maintained by some that upholding the ideals of egalitarianism and sharing within the institution of marriage by spouses, both at the ideological and practical plane, play a key role in determining their chances of deriving a heightened sense of satisfaction from marriage (Hochschild, 1989). This spirit of egalitarianism points to the delicate foundation of the institution of marriage. Although composed of the smallest possible group called a dyad, marriage is seemingly a battleground (gender being the dividing factor) as far as the modern quest for an egalitarian society is concerned. The claim finds support from the fact that conflict-resolution strategies do vary based on gender (Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Wheeler, Updegraff, & Thayer 2010). Furthermore, the effect of *attribution* on marital quality also varies with gender, the correlation being stronger for wives than for husbands (Bradbury & Fincham, 1992; Miller & Bradbury, 1995; Bradbury, Beach, Fincham, & Nelson, 1996). To this end, two explanations have been put forward. One, it could be because wives are more responsive to immediate contexts than husbands (Carels & Baucom, 1999). Second, it could be because wives are more attentive to the subtle details of interpersonal interaction (Acitelli, 1992). Thus, we get some evidence in support of the fact that the aspect of gender does play a crucial role in shaping marital dynamics, and thus, affects marital quality.



A thumb rule finding in marital research suggests that women, in general, experience lower marital satisfaction than men (Connides, 2001; Amato et al., 2003; Inaba, 2004; Rosenfeld, 2018). One of the least discussed factors with a big role to play in determining marital quality, *marital commitment* has been found to be dependent on gender (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002). An intersectional approach including age and gender, based on a life course approach to studying marital quality in late midlife, found that husband's marital strain and positive marital quality depend on their employment status (past as well as current) and their gender role ideology. On the other hand, wives' marital strain and positive marital quality depend on the corresponding states of these variables with regard to their husbands (Hofmeister & Moen, 1999). It seems rather interesting to find that even intergenerational transmission of marital quality varies by gender, females being more sensitive to it (Feng et al., 1999). What's more, taking a call for marital dissolution is also found to be impacted by gender, women being more likely than men to initiate divorce (Montenegro, 2004; Rokach, Cohen, & Dreman, 2004; Rosenfeld, 2018).

On the other hand, there are studies to suggest that marital quality does not differ significantly by gender (Gager & Sanchez, 2003; Broman, 2005). In fact, gender difference *per se* is so narrow that Janet Shibley Hyde (2005) saw enough ground for proposing the "gender similarities hypothesis" based on her meta-analysis of research studies on gender differences. Hyde's (2005) conclusions gain further significance in the context of this study as she highlights the misgivings of the corpus of literature that tells us about the unbridgeable gap that characterizes the difference between men and women. In the last section we noted how feminist assumptions at times might go awfully wrong carrying far-reaching consequences. One consequence of such mental infusion of ideas amplifying gender difference is that people find it hard to take a conciliatory position marked by better communication in the face of conflict within marital

relationships (Hyde, 2005). In light of this, Hyde’s (2005) advice to marital therapists comes out in unequivocal terms as she writes: “Therapists will need to dispel erroneous beliefs in massive, unbridgeable gender differences” (Hyde, 2005, p. 590). In a similar vein, a more recent meta-analytic study investigating the impact of gender differences on marital satisfaction confirmed Hyde’s (2005) conclusion in suggesting that marital satisfaction is not significantly related to gender differences (Jackson, Miller, Oka, & Henry, 2014). It must be added at this point that an analysis of a sample of 303 married men and women for our study falls in line with these findings. It was found that marital quality as a dependent variable did not vary significantly by gender. The results obtained on SPSS are as shown:

**Table 4.2: Result of one-way ANOVA with Marital Quality as the dependent variable and gender as the factor variable**

<b>Descriptives</b>								
Index of Marital Quality								
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Female	144	<b>80.29</b>	10.816	.901	78.51	82.07	51	95
Male	159	<b>80.08</b>	11.938	.947	78.21	81.95	42	98
Total	303	80.18	11.400	.655	78.89	81.47	42	98

<b>ANOVA</b>					
Index of Marital Quality					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.532	1	3.532	.027	<b>.869</b>
Within Groups	39244.844	301	130.382		
Total	39248.376	302			

We earlier saw in the first chapter that men’s attitudes to gender-roles and wives’ employment are key factors in determining the overall marital dynamic of the family (Miller & Kanna,

1999). Furthermore, contrary to popularly held notion in this regard, Miller & Kannae (1999) demonstrated that wives' employment seldom sparks conflict based on gender. Instead, it augments the quality of marriage (Miller & Kannae, 1999). Even in the Indian context, there was some ambivalence discovered in regard to women's employment and their role in decision-making when correlated with marital satisfaction of the family (Shukla & Kapoor, 1990). Our study seems to corroborate Miller and Kannae's findings in this regard. Spouse's employment has verily emerged as a factor determining marital quality in India. The result of our analysis is as follows:

**Table 4.3: Result of one-way ANOVA with Marital Quality as the dependent variable and 'spousal employment' as the factor variable**

Descriptives								
Index of Marital Quality								
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
No	93	<b>78.39</b>	12.102	1.255	75.89	80.88	42	98
Yes	192	<b>82.08</b>	9.334	.674	80.75	83.41	51	96
Total	285	80.87	10.442	.619	79.66	82.09	42	98

ANOVA					
Index of Marital Quality					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	853.560	1	853.560	8.021	<b>.005</b>
Within Groups	30113.893	283	106.410		
Total	30967.453	284			

But that only states the statistical significance of spousal employment with regard to marital quality. What seems rather more concerning is how it impacts marital quality. The finding in this

regard based on our sample runs parallel to Miller and Kannaë's (1999) conclusions drawn from their study based in Ghana. Instead of forming a ground for conflict, employment of the spouse does augment overall marital happiness as far as our sample based in India's national capital region is concerned. It was found that 92.2 per cent as against 77.4 per cent of all respondents whose spouses were employed reported themselves as being happier. It needs to be emphasized here that 41.7 per cent men in the sample report that their wives are employed while only 18.3 per cent of them fall within the bracket of 'unhappy' husbands on the head measuring overall marital happiness. Thus, wives' employment cannot be regarded as a source of discontent for husbands in the Indian context. Moreover, the gender effect in this regard seems to be rather non-existent on account of the fact that out 192 (132 females and 60 males) respondents who reported their partners as being 'employed', 90 per cent husbands and 93.2 per cent wives registered a high overall marital happiness.

In this regard, gender-neutral feminism of Hannah Arendt (Maslin, 2013) does seem to play a defining role in producing such effects in society. When most feminist narrative attacked traditional gender-roles as the main reason behind the historically lower status of women, Hannah Arendt (1951) differed sharply in not only upholding gender-roles but also viewing women as elevated 'selves' as a consequence of the roles they perform by virtue of being women. While she accepts the fact that gender differential has historically remained skewed unfavourably against women, which to her was no mean a problem, Hannah Arendt (1951) would not settle for a solution that was seemingly fixated to and obsessed with the theme of 'gender' alone. Instead, Hannah Arendt looked at the problem of gender as an instance of the complete set of problems that the human condition has had to endure for quite a long time. She explained it through her characterization and deep analysis of the concept called "pariah"

(Arendt 1973).<sup>6</sup> Thus, the problem of gender in relation to marital quality can't be demonstrated as a simple cause-effect relationship. Rather, it is a composite state produced by the interplay of both subjective and objective factors.

#### **4.5. Indian attitude to Gender: An analysis of World Values Survey, 2014**

As to the subjective component of the issue of gender in society, one must take into consideration the role of human values in that respect. Keeping this in view, let us take a look at people's perception with regard to gender and the position of women in society. Wave 6 of World Values Survey conducted in 2014 does promise to shed some useful light on the relevant aspects of the question related to gender. The five variables (V45, V47, V48, V50, and V54) encapsulating the issue posed the following five questions:

1. Do you agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements?:  
*"When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women".*
2. Do you agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements?:  
*"If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems".*
3. Do you agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements?:  
*"Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person".*
4. For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?:  
*"When a mother works for pay, the children suffer".*
5. For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?:  
*"Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay".*

---

<sup>6</sup> Though the book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* was first published in 1951, the edition used here is a later edition published in 1973 by Harcourt Brace & Co.

The response to these questions does imply a gender differential so far as the opinion of the people of India is concerned. The result obtained by running a Mann-Whitney U test is shown below:

**Table 4.4: Result of the Mann-Whitney U test with sex as the factor variable**

<b>Hypothesis Test Summary</b>				
	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.005	Reject the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.015	Reject the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person. is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.016	Reject the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of When a mother works for pay, the children suffer is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.261	Retain the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.326	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

It is clear that the response to the first three variables (V45, V47, and V48) show a significant relationship to gender differences. Hence, a more detailed analysis of the three questions shall be

undertaken here. A summary of the results obtained from WVS, 2014 with regard to these three variables is summarized in the table<sup>7</sup> below:

**Table 4.5: Responses to V45, V47, and V48 classified according to gender**

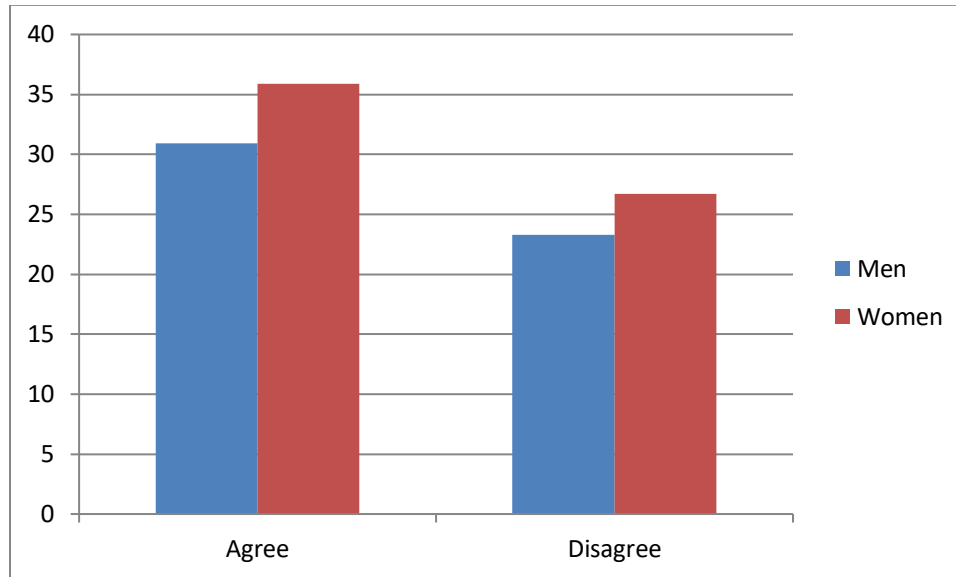
	Question 1 (V45)	Question 2 (V47)	Question 3 (V48)
Agree	Men: 54.8 Women: 44.8	Men: 30.9 Women: 35.9	Men: 32.6 Women: 29.0
Neither agree/disagree	Men: 30.3 Women: 30.9	Men: 43.7 Women: 36.2	Men: 41.9 Women: 44.2
Disagree	Men: 14.7 Women: 23.9	Men: 23.3 Women: 26.7	Men: 24.8 Women: 26.3

The table shows the percentage of men and women in agreement or disagreement with the three statements (V45, V47, and V48) in the survey. The second question is the one that draws our attention more than questions 1 and 3 as it tries to directly capture the attitude of men and women living in this country with regard to working wives. Whether the very fact that a wife is employed outside the boundaries of the household is a potential cause of problems in the family is intended to be gauged with the help of this question. It is noteworthy that more women than men feel that women earning more than their husbands are sure to cause as well as face problems in marital life as shown in the following bar graph:

---

<sup>7</sup> The numbers in the table indicate the percentage of men and women within the sample of 1581 respondents drawn from India.

**Figure 2.1: Gender difference for the statement “If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems” (V47) from WVS, 2014**



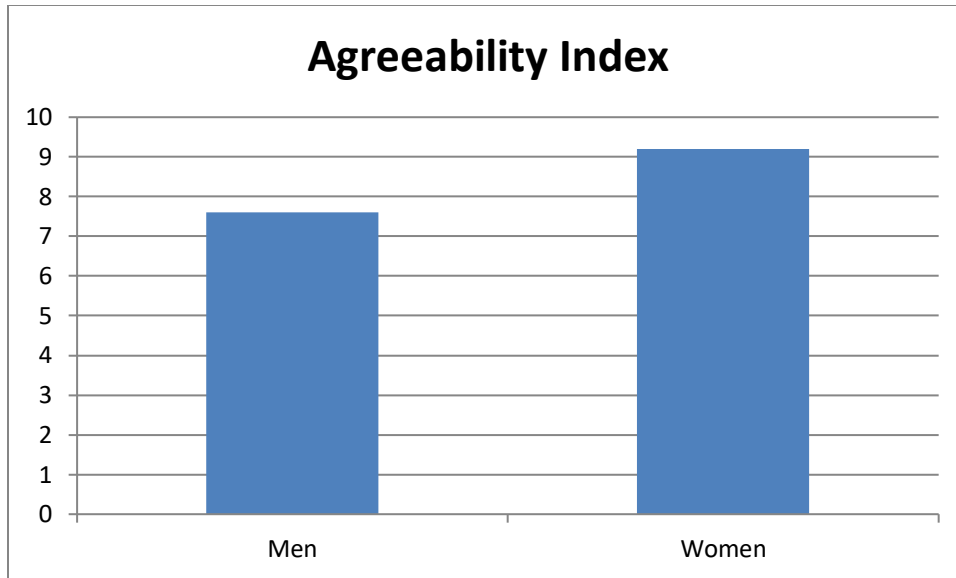
*\*Numbers of the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents within each gender*

Although the difference for the ‘agree’ column seems quite pronounced, we notice that even for the ‘disagree’ response, though only marginally behind, more women than men disagree with the statement.

A better way of interpreting the data is by working out the difference between the percentage of the sample who agree and those who disagree measuring the ‘agreeability’ of the sample within particular gender. That would, perhaps, bring out the gender difference with regard to people’s opinion elicited by the question in a more pronounced manner. The figure below shows the result:

**Figure 4.2: Agreeability Index for the statement “If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems” (V47) from WVS, 2014**





*\*Numbers on the Y-axis represent the difference of percentage of respondents within each gender*

The difference here implies that there are more women who agree with the statement. What could be a plausible explanation? Fincham (2003) argues that “marital dissatisfaction” stems from conflict over power between husband and wife. He also contends that wives do report jealousy on the part of their husbands as a reason for marital conflict (Fincham, 2003, p. 23). But jealousy is something that exerts a gender-neutral influence on marital conflict. There’s research to show that in some cases, husbands are more likely to see their wife’s jealousy as a major cause of marital problems (Amato & Rogers, 1997, p. 617).

Moreover, jealousy in marital relations is mostly a function of normative sexual exclusivity that either partner claims (Buunk, 1984; Buss, 2003; Gatzeva & Paik, 2011). Therefore, in this context, although jealousy could be seen as emanating from a competitive nature of the marital relationship, it can’t be accepted as the chief cause of marital problems. It would not seem out place here to highlight the fact that the sample for our study exhibited a tendency that rules out the impact of jealousy between couples and employment of the spouse. The two variables in our questionnaire showed no significant relationship. In fact, ‘jealousy’ *per se* did not figure as an

important factor in determining marital quality at all. In the sample of married individuals that we worked with, only 9 reported within-couple jealousy as a source of marital problems. Nonetheless, it must be mentioned here that jealousy between couples could be seen to bear a significant relation to an important economic dimension of family life which is ‘Ownership of House’. The relationship found is as shown in the table:

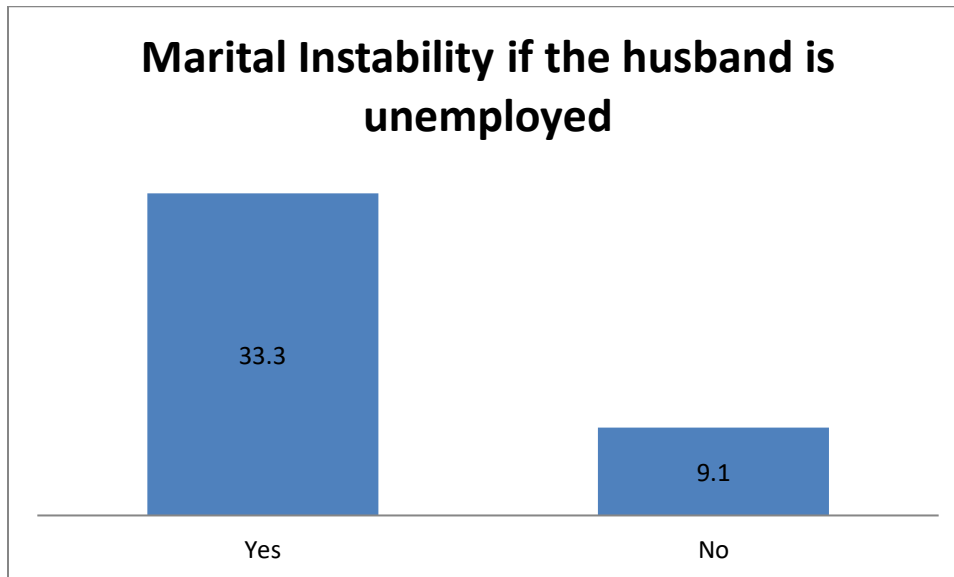
**Table 4.5: Relationship between ‘ownership of house’ and ‘jealousy’ between partners**

One of the two was jealous	Ownership of house	
	Yes	No
<b>Worse</b>	** 0	5.9
<b>Better</b>	100	94.1

\*\* refers to significance at 99% confidence level.

It might be inferred from this that those who own a house have a lower tendency to face jealousy as a marital problem. However, it was found that the relationship did not vary according to difference in gender. Therefore, the argument that rests on economic independence of the wife (discussed in chapter 1) seems not to be playing a major role in this case. However, it has been found that the effect of wife’s employment is stronger on women’s initiative to divorce in comparison to men’s initiative to divorce (Kalmijn & Poortman, 2006). Thus, an effort was put into finding out the nature of relationship in this regard for the sample taken for this study. Broadly speaking, it was found that marital stability (or instability, i.e., tendency to initiate divorce) varies with their own employment for men and employment of the spouse for women. That said, it came up as an interesting piece of fact that all 24 husbands who were unemployed reported their marriage as stable. Things take a negative turn only when the women’s perspective is included in the analysis. For women, unemployment of the spouse seems to be a cause of unstable marriage. The contrast is better explained in the bar graph below:

**Figure 4.3: Marital Instability among women (in per cent) if the husband is unemployed**



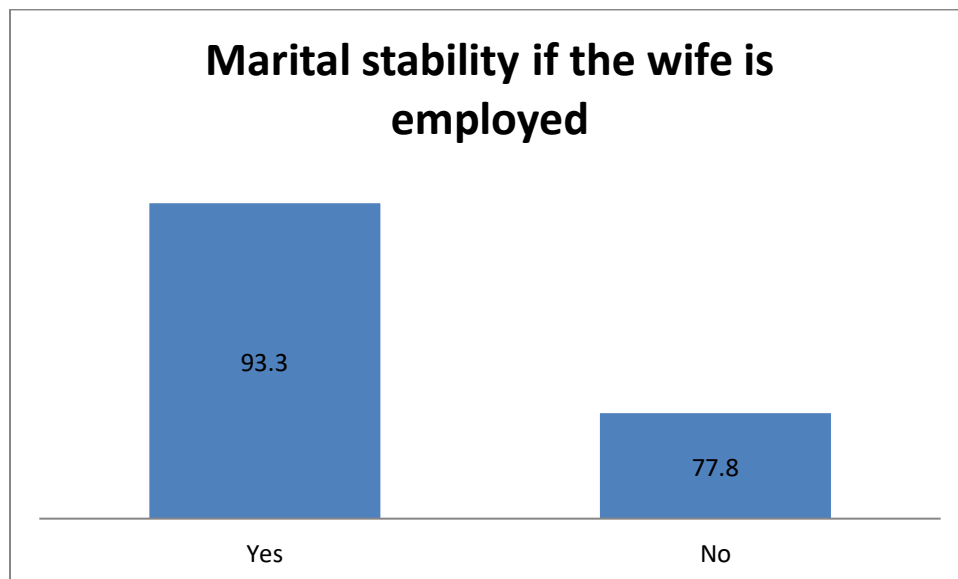
*\*Numbers embedded in each bar denote the per cent of women respondents in each case*

In absolute figures, the number represented here as percentage was just 3 which means it is just three cases out of a sample of 303 that were observed to be unstable if the husband is unemployed. To be specific, the marriages in these cases had the status of being ‘separated’ which is a prelude to divorce in most cases, especially in India where separation is the more common form of marital disruption (Chandrashekhara & Ghosh, 2017). Nonetheless, in all three cases, the wife was employed which is suggestive of the fact that if the wife is employed and the husband is unemployed, a marriage might tend to be unstable. Otherwise, when both spouses are employed, marital stability does not seem to vary with gender differences for the sample.

It could be a probable reason for women to think that families with working wives might witness more marital problems. It should also not be overlooked that there are cultural factors that go against wife’s employment, thus leading to marital problems (Parsons, 1949). “Female status is an important cause of divorce in tribal societies” argue Pearson and Hendrix (1979). Thus,

conflict due to rise in female status is not limited to industrial societies alone. Rather, tribal societies have not remained untouched by its effects as well. However, it must be noted that the debate in this regard is far from settled as there is research to show that wives' employment and income does impart stability to marriage (Miller & Kannae, 1999; Schoen, Rogers, & Amato, 2006). Analyzing the data collected for this study with focus on marital stability, it was found that for women, the status of their own employment seems not to impact their marital stability in a significant way. However, when responses from women in the sample to individual indicator variables of marital stability were analyzed, it was found that employed women tend to enjoy more stable marriages. The response to the question '*Have you ever thought your marriage might be in trouble?*' turned out to bear a significant relation to employment among women. Confirming the aforementioned research findings, we came across the following result:

**Figure 4.4: Marital Stability among husbands (in %) if the wife is employed**

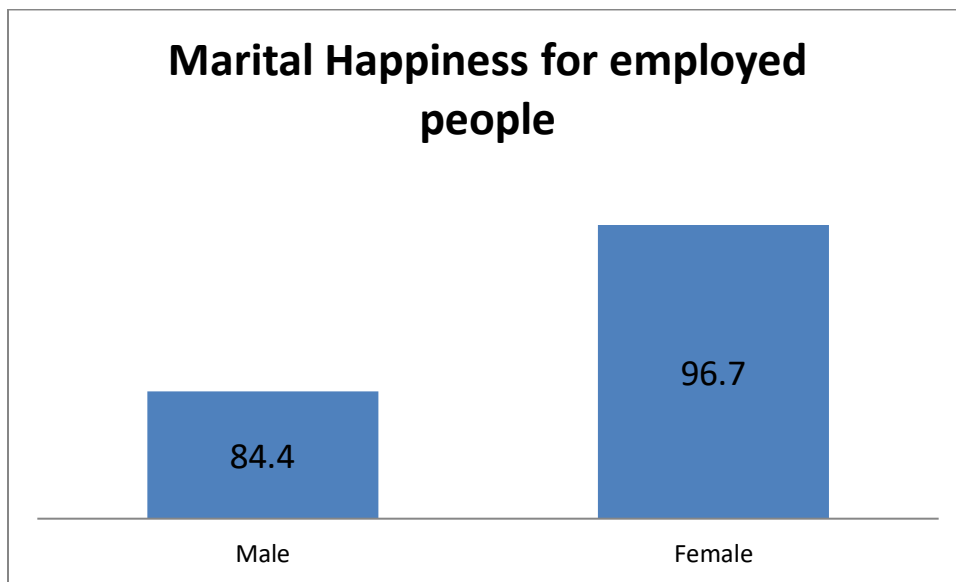


*\*Numbers embedded in each bar denote the per cent of men respondents in each case*

Thus, even for this sample, wife's employment appears to emerge as a source of marital stability.

Another vital insight in this regard seems to be emanating from the fact that employed women are happier than employed men with the relationship between employment and gender difference within the sample of employed persons (N = 225 within the total sample of N = 303) being significant at 99 per cent confidence level. The contrast between the men and women in this regard is shown in the figure below:

**Figure 4.5: Percentage (%) of employed persons within each gender category who report to be 'high' in terms of Marital Happiness**



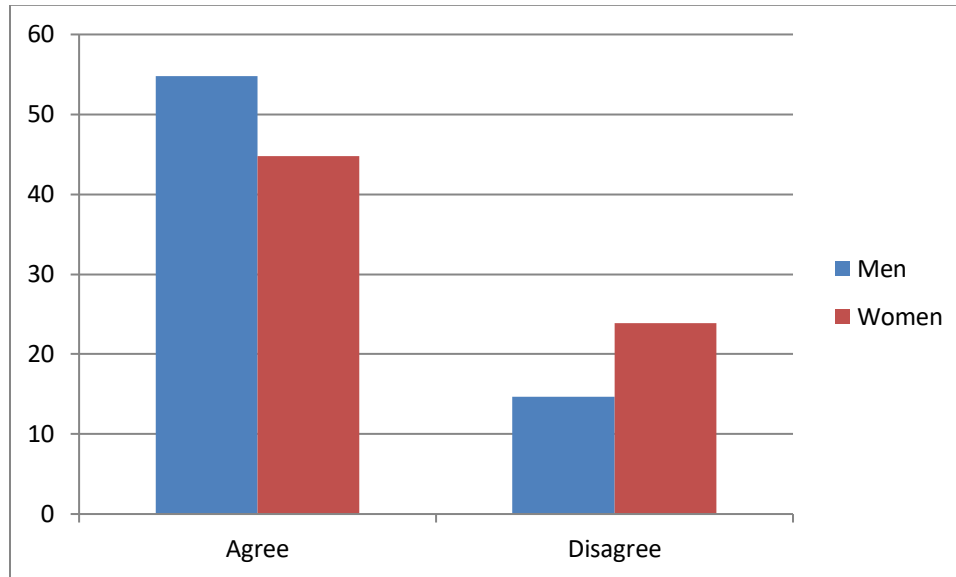
Therefore, one might say that for an upper middle class population representative of India's national capital region, employment of the wife acts as a catalyst leading to enhanced marital happiness.

If considered an isolated variable, one might be led to conclude erroneously that women hold regressive views as they think that working women tend to spoil their family life. Interestingly, the opinion expressed by Indian respondents to WVS, 2014 implies greater importance of work and employment for women which is indeed a marked change as far as traditional norms of the

Indian family are concerned. An analysis of the data published by the World Values Survey (2014) reveals that women do consider “work” to be more important in life than men. 44.9 per cent women compared to 42.6 per cent men admitted that “work” to them was “very important” in life. There exists a tiny but significant correlation ( $r = 0.052$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) between the variables, V8 and V47 of the survey. Therefore, one might argue that as they consider work to be of greater importance in life, women may seem to arrive at the conclusion that being employed might cast a negative influence on their role as housewife. As a result, they are more likely to agree with the statement: *If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems.*

But societal attitude to women’s employment reflects a change in cultural values in our society which draws our attention to questions 1 and 3. Both these questions point to important values defining gender norms in society. Question 1 is concerned with the rights of women as far as material resources are concerned. Perhaps, it seems to remind us of the viewpoint articulated by Nancy Fraser, a Marxist feminist who contends that despite a spurt in Hegel’s “struggle for recognition” in recent times, economic inequality and the problem of redistribution lie at the heart of the problem that the feminist movement aims to, rather should aim to address (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Quite revealing is the response to this question whereby women have clearly shown their opposition to anything that would seemingly undermine their right to equality in terms of material possession and access to resources. In keeping with Fraser’s (2003) observation, the figure below generated on the basis of the data collected by World Values Survey, 2014 shows that fewer women than men agree and more women than men disagree with the statement *“When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women”*.

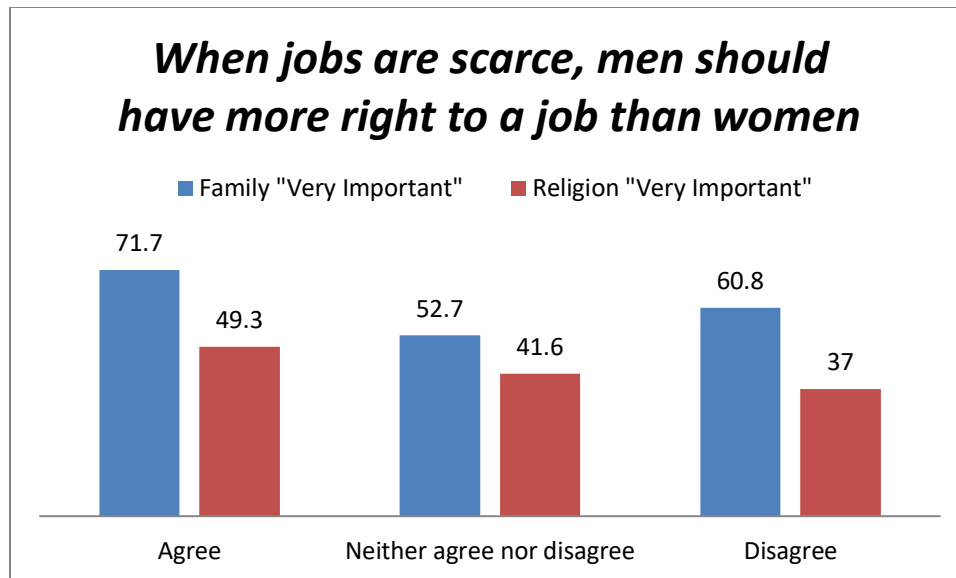
**Figure 4.6: Gender difference for the statement “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women” (V45) from WVS, 2014**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote the per cent of respondents within each gender category*

It is important to note that a low but significant positive correlation exists between V4 (Family most important in life) and V45 ( $r = 0.134$  at 99% confidence level) as well as between V9 (Religion most important in life) and V45 ( $r = 0.1$  at 99% confidence level) implying that those who think “family” and “religion” to be “very important” in life do have an opinion worth noting in this regard. Taking a closer look at this dimension, one comes to acknowledge the fact that those who assign greater importance to social institutions such as family and religion also tend to think on traditional lines that it is men who should have the first right over jobs in case of scarcity of jobs. The figure below sums up the relationship:

**Figure 4.7: Pictorial representation of responses to V45 (“When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women”) classified by people who say either ‘family’ or ‘religion’ is very important for them**



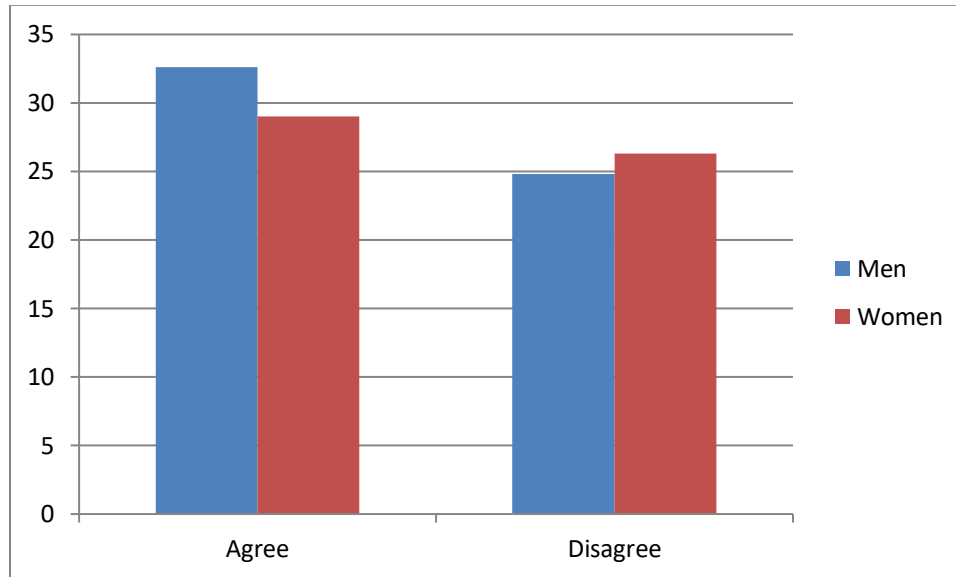
*\*Numbers on top of each bar represent the per cent of respondents within each category*

Although Weber’s “disenchantment of the world” might be glimpsed from the data at hand which reveals that only 44.8 per cent of Indians consider religion to be very important in life, the phenomenon has not resulted in the erosion of traditional values revolving around social institutions such as family and religion (Berger, 2014); more so when seen in terms of the traditional notions attached to the question of gender. It is said that progressive ideas such as freedom and equality have been embraced by people on a large-scale across cultures (Welzel, 2013; Inglehart, 2018) but it does not seem to be the case as far as gender norms in India are concerned, especially in regard to right over jobs. Thus, structural and ecological factors do seem to play a decisive role in determining people’s opinion in India.

Having noted that attitude to gender equality as to job opportunity for women, one should also turn one’s focus to opinion of the people studied by World Values Survey, Wave 6 regarding the central role played by employment in women’s independence. Surprisingly, compared with men, fewer women agree and more women disagree with the statement “*Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person*”. The figure below depicts the finding:



**Figure 4.8: Gender difference (in per cent) for the statement “Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person” (V48) from WVS, 2014**



\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote the per cent of respondents within each gender category

The relationship was found to be significant with respect to sex as shown below:

**Table 4.6: Responses to V48 (“Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person”) classified by ‘sex’**

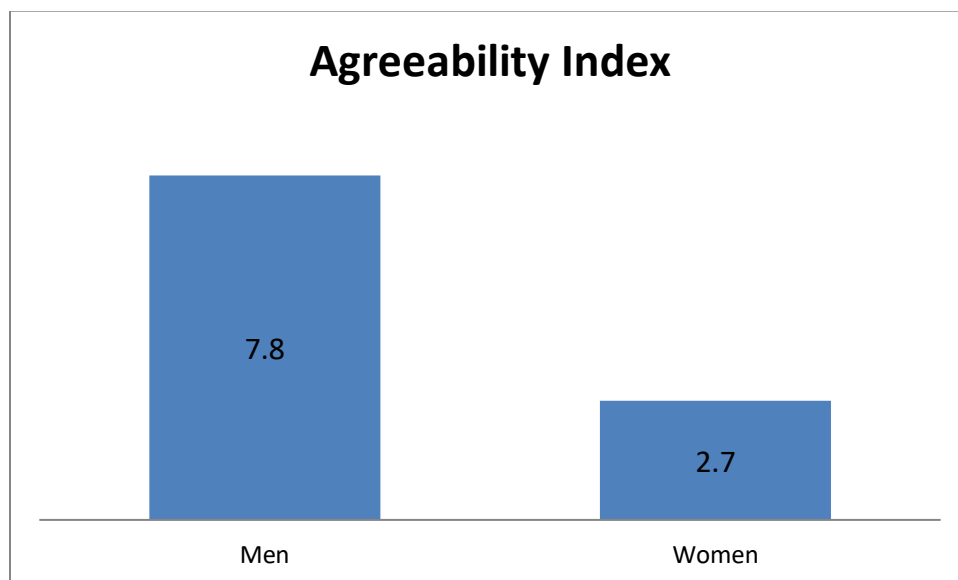
<b>Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person. *</b>					
<b>Sex Crosstabulation</b>					
			Sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person.	Agree	Count	362	176	538
		% within Sex	37.1%	29.8%	34.3%
	Neither	Count	377	259	636
		% within Sex	38.6%	43.8%	40.6%

	Disagree	Count	238	156	394
		% within Sex	24.4%	26.4%	25.1%
Total	Count		977	591	1568
	% within Sex		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship is significant at 95% confidence level.

In fact, a difference between those agreeing and disagreeing classified by gender renders the finding more amenable to being accepted as a fact. It is shown in the bar graph below:

**Figure 4.9: Agreeability Index for the statement “Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person” (V45) from WVS, 2014**



\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent the percentage difference within each gender category

A clear difference could be noticed with more men than women agreeing with the statement. It is hard to believe that women who are comparatively more work-centric than men (in the WVS sample) do not look at job as a source of gaining independence. In search of an explanation to this observed fact, one is led to discover that the response to question 3 (V48) does bear a small

but significant correlation with V9 which points to the importance of ‘religion’ in people’s lives ( $r = 0.051$  at 95% confidence level). It may probably be true that being guided by religious ethics, women are less susceptible to viewing employment as key to independence. Rather, traditional values and religious wisdom seek to reinforce their belief in traditional gender roles. One could also relate it to the comparatively low divorce rate in India as not many women seem to be keen on seeking employment in order to ensure their autonomy from their husbands.

Continuing with the analysis of the gender aspect as brought out in the results of the sixth wave of World Values Survey (2014), we stop at two more questions that seem to be closely related. Although the result obtained on the basis of Mann-Whitney U test noted above showed no significant relationship between the last two variables, V50 and V54 and gender, these variables (referred to as questions 4 and 5 here) need to be analyzed in other ways to find out any essentially interpretable information contained within. The questions invite responses on a 4-point Likert scale with two extremes worded as “strongly agree” and “strongly disagree”. The table below shows the percentage of men and women who came up with one of the four responses:

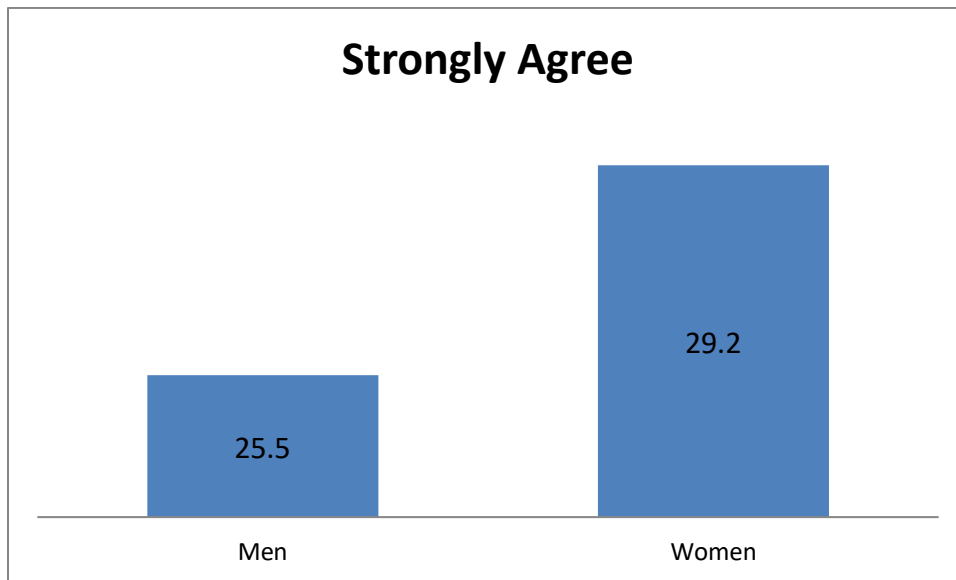
***Table 4.7: Responses to V50 and V54 classified according to gender***

	Question 4	Question 5
Strongly agree	Men: 25.5 Women: 29.2	Men: 33.9 Women: 20.8
Agree	Men: 47.7 Women: 39.0	Men: 30.9 Women: 41.8
Disagree	Men: 17.9	Men: 21.9

	Women: 24.0	Women: 21.7
Strongly disagree	Men: 8.3	Men: 12.6
	Women: 7.6	Women: 15.5

Question 4 (V50) poses a scenario that links women’s employment to the well-being of children. As far as opinions are concerned, at the extremes, compared with men, it’s the women that display a higher proclivity to agreeing with the statement. The figure below summarizes the pattern of responses:

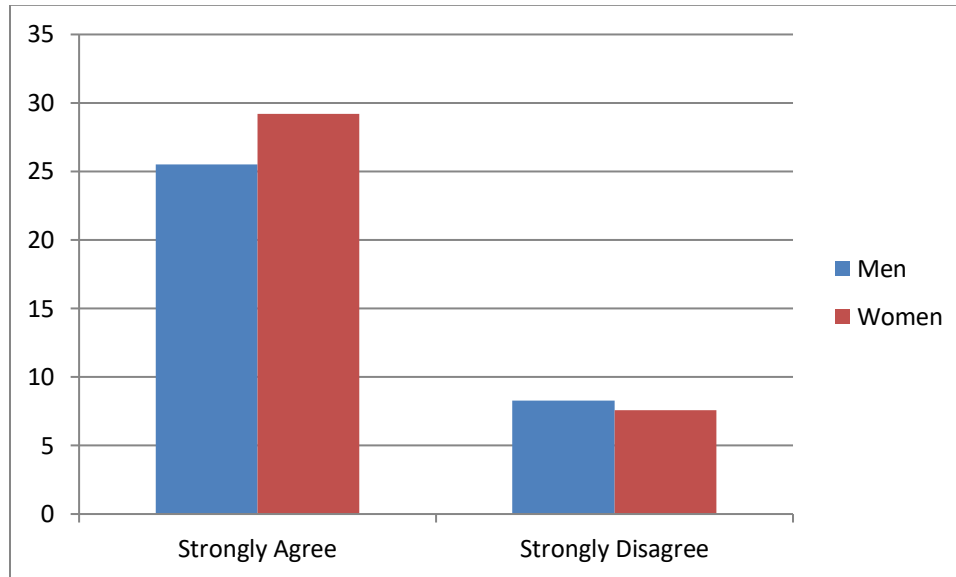
**Figure 4.10: Gender difference (those who ‘strongly agree’) for the statement “When a mother works for pay, the children suffer” (V50) from WVS, 2014**



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar denote the percentage of respondents within each gender category*

Better clarity is gained as one looks at the difference between the fractions of the sample choosing to strongly agree and strongly disagree segregated on the basis of gender as shown in the figure below:

**Figure 4.11: Gender difference (those who ‘strongly agree’ and ‘strongly disagree’) for the statement “When a mother works for pay, the children suffer” (V50) from WVS, 2014**



*\*Numbers of the Y-axis represent per cent of respondents within each gender category*

To get a better view of the problem, the variable was recoded to convert it into a binomial variable with only two values – Agree and Disagree. On this occasion the variable was found to be significantly varying with sex. The result obtained is as shown:

**Table 4.8: Responses to V50 (“When a mother works for pay, the children suffer”) classified by ‘sex’**

<b>V50 recode binomial * Sex Crosstabulation</b>					
			Sex		Total
			Male	Female	
V50 recode binomial	Disagree	Count	301	212	513
		% within Sex	30.7%	35.7%	32.6%
	Agree	Count	681	382	1063

		% within Sex	69.3%	64.3%	67.4%
Total		Count	982	594	1576
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.039$  for Pearson chi-square test.

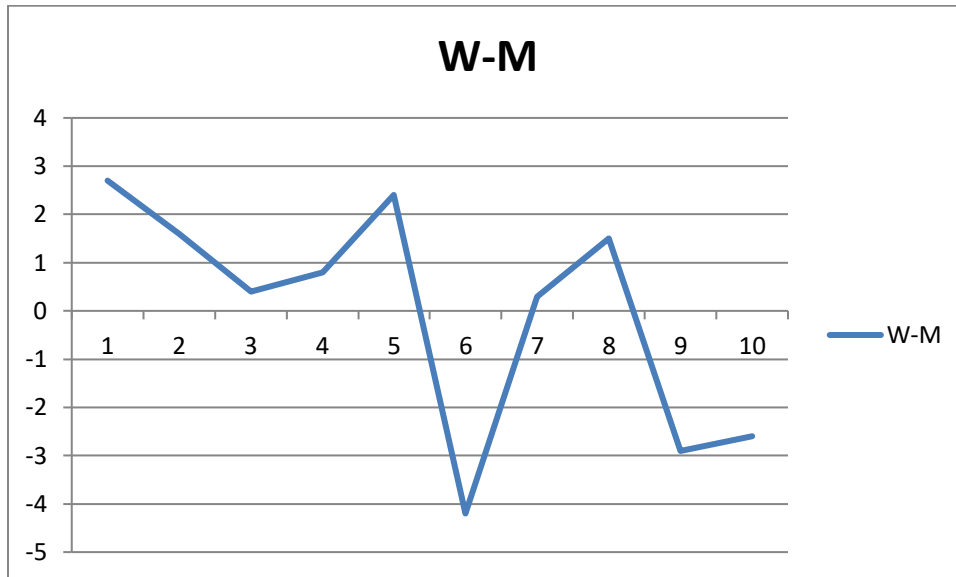
A survey of literature on the topic suggests that there is no clear sign of a negative impact on children due to mother's employment. The outcome varies according to the stage of childhood. It was found in a study that children in their first year after birth do experience some negative effects if the mothers are employed (Blau & Grossberg, 1990; Baydar & Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Parcel & Menaghan, 1994; Smith, 1994). However, the effect vanishes as they enter second and third years of their life (Smith, Brooks-Gunn, & Jackson, 1997, p. 285). It is also noteworthy that the negative effect in the first year after birth is stronger in the case of full-time employment as compared to part-time employment (Baydar & Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Smith, 1994).

An interesting aspect of the findings that research related to this issue reveals is that more than employment *per se*, it's the role satisfaction of the mother that matters. A mother without "role strain" (Goode, 1960) has a positive effect on her children (Farel, 1980; Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber 1983; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Gove & Zeiss, 1987; Spitze, 1988; Hoffman, 1989). Even though mothers are employed, jobs that augment attitudes of autonomy and self-direction have been found to have a positive impact on mother-child interaction at home (Parcel & Menaghan, 1994).

In light of this, it seems rather important to check how people perceive the degree of freedom and choice they enjoy. V55 of the World Values Survey captures this facet of people's lives. So far as gender is concerned, a comparison of means of the ordinal data measured on a scale of 1 to 10 shows that though only marginally so, women regard their lives to be characterized by lower

freedom and choice when compared to men (M = 5.61 for men and for women, M = 5.20). A detailed picture of the situation is shown with the help of the following figure:

**Figure 4.12: Difference in the perception of ‘freedom’ classified according to gender (WVS, 2014)**



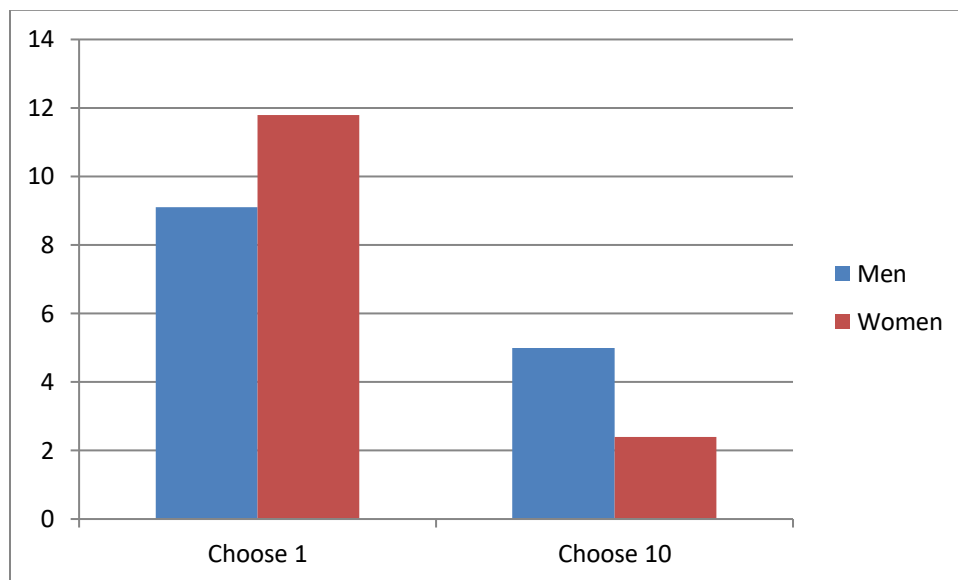
\*Numbers on the X-axis represent the degree of the perception of freedom of choice.

\* Numbers on the Y-axis represent the percentage difference between men and women for each level of choice.

The zigzag nature of the curve implies that nothing conclusive can be said on its basis. Thus, it seems to be a prudent idea to compare the extremes. Hence, the first and the last numbers on the scale were chosen (1 that stands for “no choice at all” against 10 representing “a great deal of choice”). The percentage of men and women who answer either 1 or 10 were compared in order to find out the gender difference in this respect. As noted from the figure above more women tend to choose 1 and less women choose 10 in comparison to the corresponding choices made by men in the sample.<sup>8</sup> In other words, more women than men feel that they lead a life with reduced levels of freedom and choice. The figure below shows the pattern:

<sup>8</sup> In the survey, 1 represents “No choice at all” whereas 10 represents “A great deal of choice”.

**Figure 4.13: Gender difference (in per cent) in the extent to which people feel they have freedom and choice in life (at the extremes), WVS, 2014**



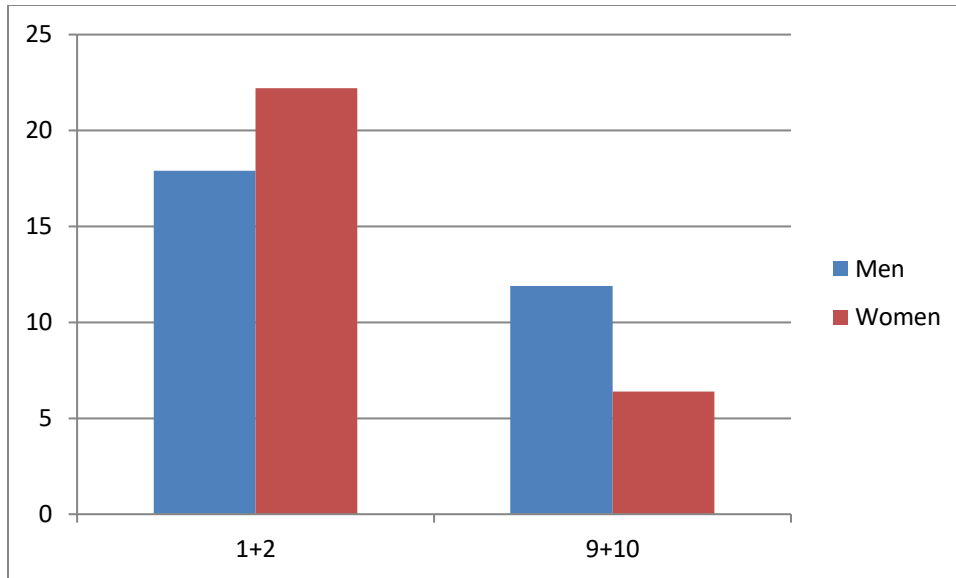
\*'Choose 1' represents those who feel they have "no choice at all"

\* 'Choose 10' represents those who feel they have "a great deal of choice"

It is also a noticeable trend that the higher end of the scale has less number of women than men for two consecutive numbers, 9 and 10, thus implying that women are less likely to feel that they have greater autonomy in life. On the other hand, women tend to outnumber men for values 1 and 2. The figure below shows the comparison:

**Figure 4.14: Gender difference in the extent to which people feel they have freedom and choice in life (cumulative values for two consecutive responses representing the two extremes), WVS, 2014**

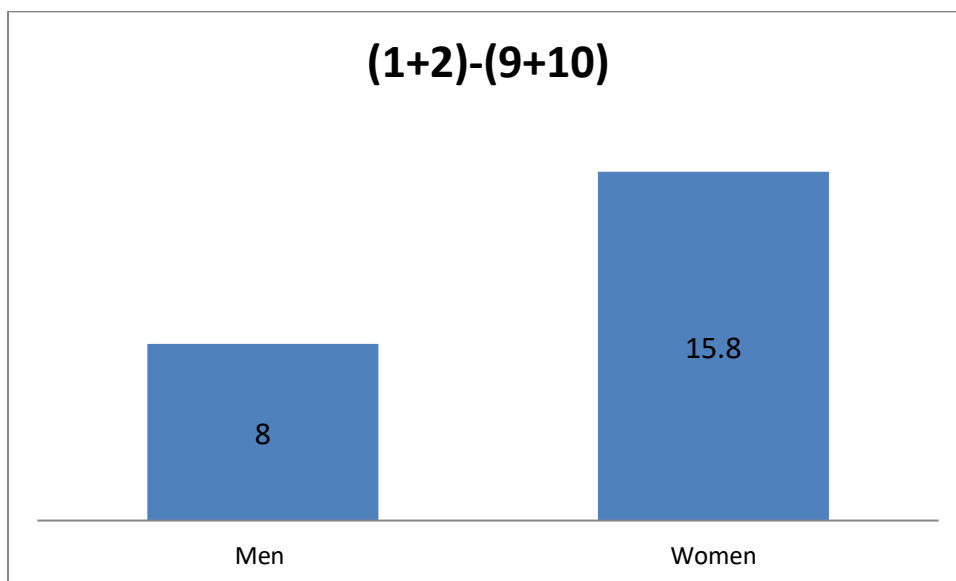




*\*Numbers on the Y-axis represent per cent of respondents within each gender category*

The values for 9 and 10 were added for both genders and subtracted from a cumulative number obtained after adding the corresponding numbers for 1 and 2 as shown below:

***Figure 4.15: Gender difference in agreeability regarding the extent to which people feel they have freedom and choice in life, WVS, 2014***



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent the percentage difference within each gender category*

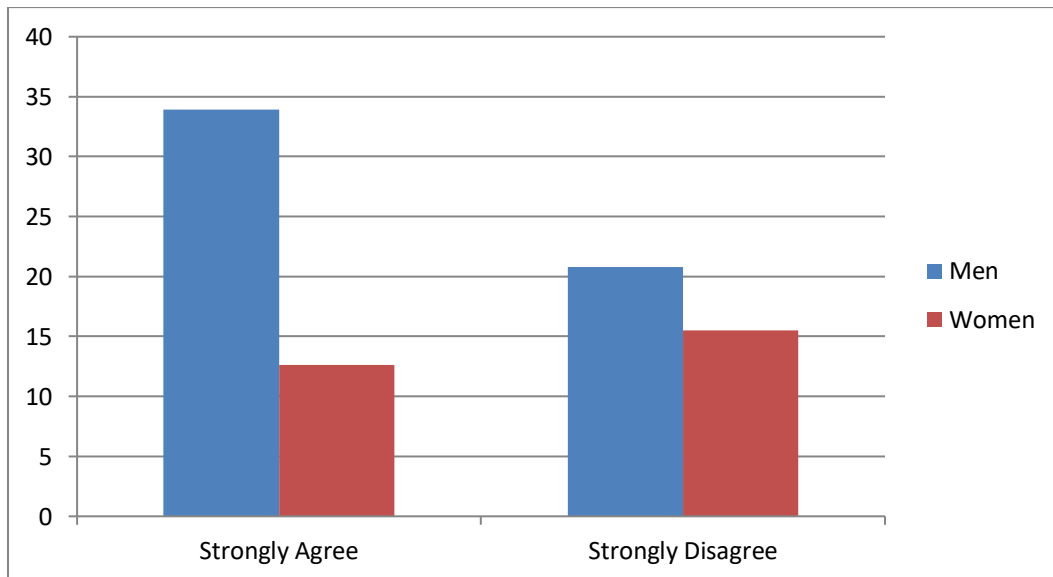
A positive value for this number shows that more people feel that they have lower freedoms in life which is true for both men and women. However, as evident from the figure above, women are more likely than men to take that position. Thus, the trend at the extremes does not seem to refute the conclusion based on the values of means calculated for the entire sample, i.e., women being more dissatisfied with the levels of choice and freedom they enjoy.

Closely related and more pointed is the next question, i.e., Question 5 (V54). Concerned with women's employment, the question attempts to compare the people's perception regarding the role of the housewife vis-à-vis working wife. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree on a 4-point Likert scale to the statement: "*Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay*". The language of the statement at once reminds us of the famous sociological analysis of housework performed by wives that Ann Oakley published in the form of two books in 1974. Oakley (1974) based the first of the two books, *The Sociology of Housework* on the interview data that she collected from 40 British housewives. She detested the ideological formation of the role of the housewife that subjected women to an average 77 hours of "unpaid" housework per week. To back her arguments, she came up with another publication, *Housewife* (Oakley, 1974) which traces the historical trajectory leading to the separation of "home" and "work", thus creating a new social entity known as housewife. Writing in quite a dismissive language, Ann Oakley (2018, p. vii) calls housework by the term "dirty work". She also laments the situation that in spite of undergoing remarkable change, the society has not much repulsed the overarching sway of gender-based ideology that still relegates most married women to the role of the housewife, although she considers it a welcome change that seems to have reduced the use of term "housewife" for self-identification by women since 1970s (Oakley, 2018).

With this theoretical background, let us take a look at how the role of housewife is viewed in the Indian perspective. It is also important to note as a caveat that Oakley (1974) took Robert Blauner’s (1964) study on alienation as the guiding framework for her research. Both Blauner and Oakley carried out their research work in a western setting. Hence, the Indian response to a question that looks to address a theme holding similarity with a theme from their works calls for an extra bit of caution before jumping to conclusions.

In the WVS survey, 2014, it was found that at the extremes, more women resent being compelled to remain content with the position of the housewife, and hence, there is a clear gender difference in the opinion of those who strongly agree or strongly disagree. The figure below presents it in a graphical form:

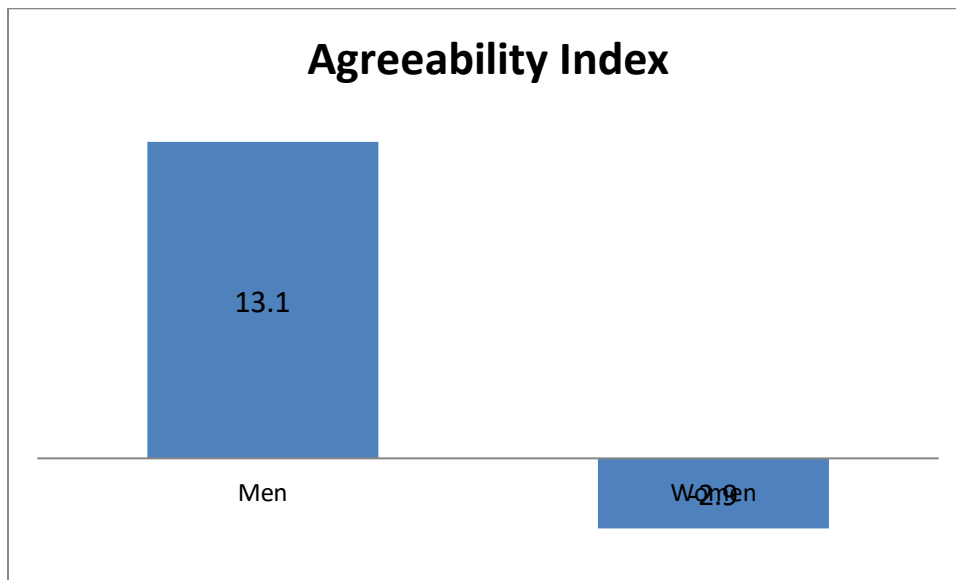
**Figure 4.16: Gender difference (those who ‘strongly agree’ and ‘strongly disagree’) for the statement “Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay” (V54), WVS, 2014**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each gender category*

The difference comes out with clarity as one takes a look at the degree of agreeability by subtracting the figures for “strongly disagree” from “agree strongly”. The bias is unambiguously against women as shown below:

**Figure 4.17: Gender difference in agreeability for the statement “Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay” (at the extremes), WVS, 2014**

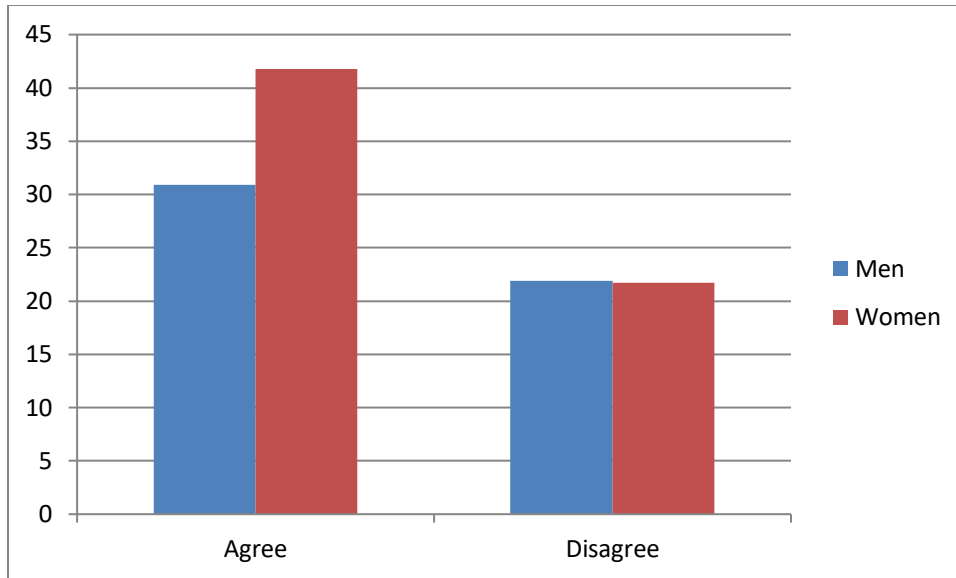


*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent the percentage difference within each gender category*

But the situation seems to get somewhat reversed to show that more women agree rather than disagree with the statement that the role of the housewife is as fulfilling as paid employment.

The agreeability is shown in the bar chart below:

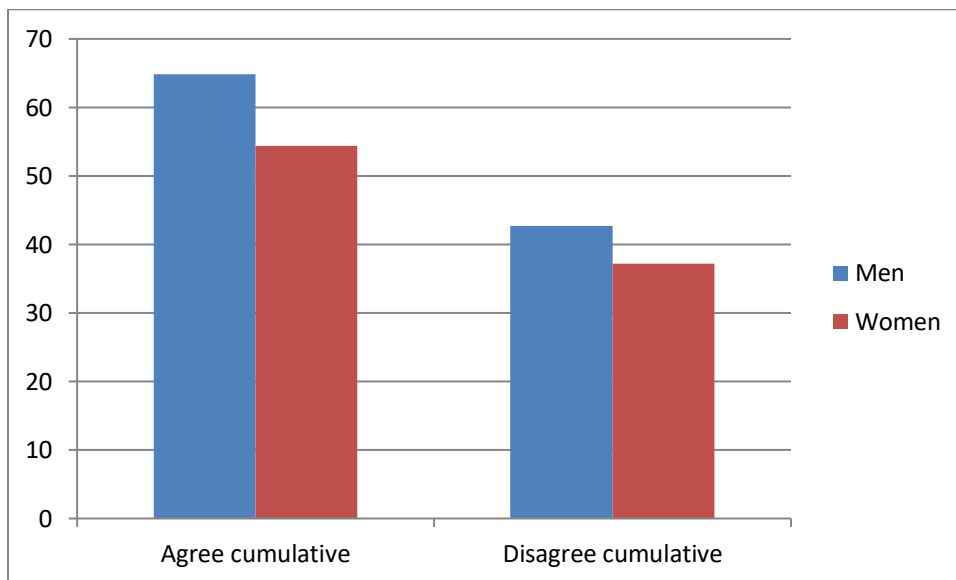
**Figure 4.18: Gender difference for the statement “Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay” (in terms of moderate responses), WVS, 2014**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each gender category*

The difficulty can only be resolved if one takes a look at the cumulative tendency among men and women respondents to agree or disagree. The final result is shown with the help of the bar graph below:

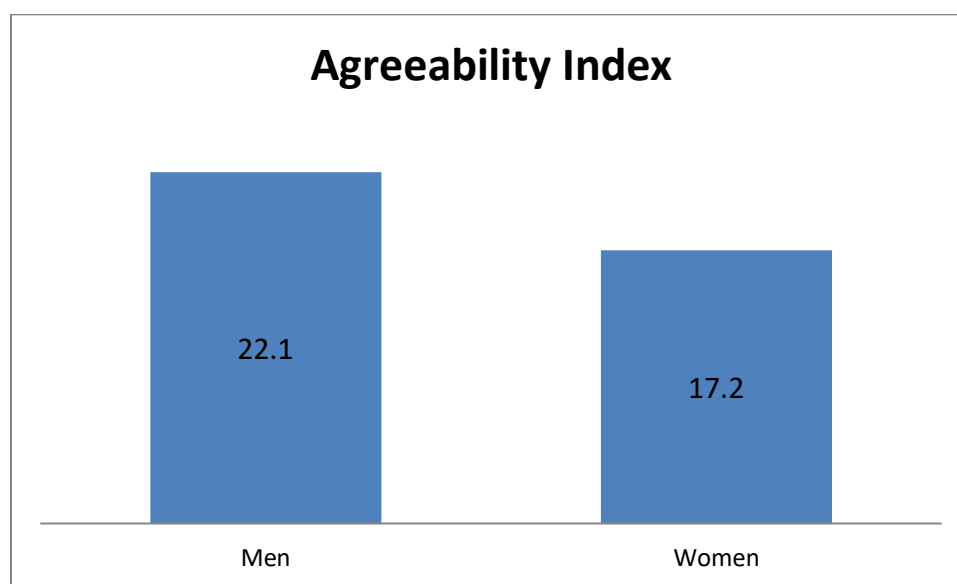
**Figure 4.19: Gender difference for the statement “Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay” (in terms of cumulative agreement and disagreement), WVS, 2014**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each gender category*

The difference between cumulative agreement and disagreement varying by gender could be shown by means of agreeability index which is obtained by deducting cumulative disagreement from cumulative agreement for each gender. The figure below shows the difference:

**Figure 4.20: Gender difference in agreeability for the statement “Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay” (V54), WVS, 2014**



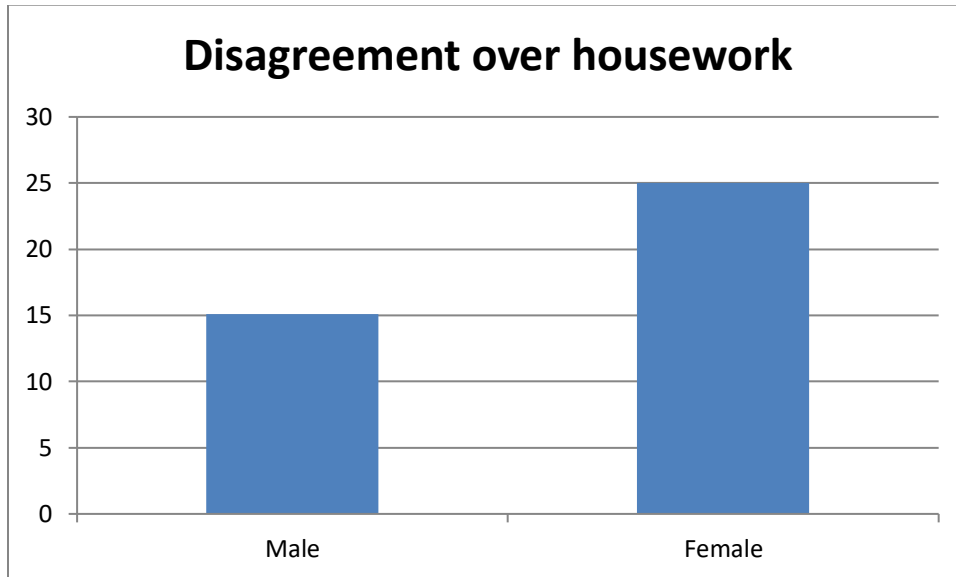
*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent the percentage difference within each gender category*

*The overall response is much to the satisfaction of those who seem to side with Ann Oakley and Jessie Bernard who look at marriage as being unfavourably biased against women. Fewer women tend to agree with the statement which is indicative of the fact that the role of the housewife even in India is less celebrated by women as compared to men.*

Unlike the above sample, our sample presents a rather different picture. As an indicator of how the role of housewife might affect the dynamics of marital life, it was discovered that ‘Disagreement over housework’ features as a factor that varies significantly with gender ( $p < 0.05$ ) with more women than men (25 per cent against 15.1 per cent) reporting it to be a source

of marital disagreement that ultimately reduces marital quality. The bar chart below summarizes the relationship:

**Figure 4.21: Disagreement over housework classified by gender**



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent the percentage of respondents within each gender category*

However, one can't lose sight of the fact that most analysis that takes the housewife role to be detrimental to women's health and well-being is grounded in highly industrialized western cultures with high regard for economic individualism. Miguel E. Basanez (2016) argues that the world began with cultures of honour that dominated most of the ancient world and agrarian societies, followed by a shift towards culture of achievement marked by rapid industrialization where time is money and efficiency and result-oriented approach are rewarded. Nevertheless, the post-WWII era saw humanity's movement towards a culture of joy stressing social interaction more than anything else. Interpersonal relations based on norms such as friendship take precedence in such culture (Basanez, 2016). Although this analysis seems redolent of Marxism with its acceptance of a linear progression of history (and with it culture represented by the

ownership of the means of production), societies across the world do contain elements of all three types in varying proportions.

For example, there's ambivalence in the status and role of women in the Igboland in Africa. Women are both revered and marginalized with little resemblance to western feminist discourse (Kalu, 1991). Closer home, as one reads through the ancient Indian texts alluding to marital ethics, one need not toil too hard to discover accounts antithetical to what much of history written about ancient India by scholars such as Uma Chakravarti and Leela Dube contends. While Uma Chakravarti (1993) quotes from some Vedic texts, her selection of relevant verses can be put to question on account of the fact that some verses in the very texts she picks up to make her case reveal totally contradictory opinions regarding issues related of marriage. To Chakravarti, Chapter IX of the *Manusmriti* seems like a precept for unequal treatment of women within conjugal bond. She quotes from verses, IX. 26-27 (which she wrongly cites as "X. 26-27"). But it is worth noticing that the same verse (IX. 26) reads as follows:

“On account of offspring, a wife is the bearer of many blessings, worthy of honor, and the light within a home; indeed, in a home no distinction at all exists between a wife (*strī*) and Śrī, the Goddess of Fortune.” (Olivelle, 2005, p. 191).

By any logic, the verse, not even in the least, reeks of discriminatory attitude toward women or the institution of wifhood as the ending clause of the sentence equates the wife with the “Goddess of Fortune”. Moving further, in the next verse (IX. 27), Manu exalts the status of the wife in the household by calling her “the linchpin of domestic affairs” (Olivelle, 2005, p. 191). That, once again, is in no way spoken in a pejorative sense as to the position of the wife in the family. What, then, was behind Uma Chakravarti's misinterpretation of the verses? While



reasons could be many, one thing that must be stated here is the choice of the wrong text from the huge corpus of Vedic literature in the form of Manu's *Dharmashastra*. Having recognized the error of judgment in Chakravarti's thesis (1993), attention must be paid to the following opinion expressed by Sir Henry Maine in the nineteenth century:

“The Hindoo Code, called the Laws of Manu, which is certainly a Brahmin compilation, undoubtedly enshrines many genuine observances of the Hindoo race, but the opinion of the best contemporary orientalist is, that it does not, as a whole, represent a set of rules ever actually administered in Hindostan” (Maine, 1876, pp. 17-18).

A supporting view comes from Montstuart Elphinstone as to why *Manusmriti* would be an improper choice for one looking to investigate India's social history dating far back to Vedic times. In reference to the *Manusmriti*, he wrote: “I should scarcely venture to regard it as a code drawn up for the regulation of a particular state under the sanction of a government.” (Elphinstone, 1850, p. 21). As regards the inaptness of the text, an important point seems to be raised by Patrick Olivelle, in whose opinion, *Manusmriti* is a book of “contradictions” (Olivelle, 2005, p. 35). Hence, it does not seem appropriate to draw far-fetched conclusions on the basis of a selected portion of verses from the book. Moreover, Olivelle (2005) points to the poetic nature of *Manusmriti* arising out of its hyperbolic text that renders it almost impossible to interpret.

Besides *Manusmriti*, there are plenty of verses in other extant texts from Vedic times whereby we are led to cast an eye of doubt on some feminist historians' views regarding ancient India. By no means was the conjugal home in ancient India merely a dungeon for chastisement and hardship for women. In fact, there are moral precepts that put the onus on the husband charting out a set of duties which he must perform. A couple of verses gleaned from the *Atharvaveda* (14.

1. 31, 35) show that it was a moral obligation on the part of the husband to show a pleasant demeanor to his wife in his attempt to fulfill all her needs. Such dutiful behavior is also expected of the husband by another Indian sage named *Yājñavalkya*, who in his *Yājñavalkya Smriti* (III. 81), wrote: “Or he may act according to her desire, remembering the boon given to women. And he should be devoted to his wife alone...” (Vidyárñava, 1918, p. 153). A similar opinion is also expressed by a portion of the *Vedāngas* known as the *Grihyasūtras*. The *Āpastamba Grihyasūtra* (1. 3. 20) declares: “A wife who is pleasing to his mind and his eyes, will bring happiness to him; let him pay no attention to the other things: such is the opinion of some.”<sup>9</sup> In a similar vein, it was categorically stated in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (VI. 1. 8. 5) that the conduct of the husband with his wife should be one of decorum and he should act only on her advice in every situation. A contemporary opinion in this regard coming from Veena Das (1975) hints at the inseparability of the husband and wife within the conjugal bond as she writes: “The terms for wife, such as *ardhāngini*, *sahdharmini*, emphasise her non-duality with the husband.” (Das, 1975, p. 85). In sum, the strongest argument germane to this discussion comes from none other than Manu himself who opined (*Manusmriti*, III. 56): “Where women are revered, there the gods rejoice; but where they are not, no rite bears any fruit.” (Olivelle, 2005, p. 111).

Thus, Marxist-Feminist historians have missed the point by a huge margin when it comes to appreciating the interdependence of the husband and wife in conjugal affairs as revealed by a thorough study of the Vedic literature. It could be the outcome of the Marxist assumption that history is nothing but a lamentable saga of the oppression of man by man. While human suffering is an undeniable fact of life in all three conceivable dimensions – past, present, and future – of time-perception, it can’t be taken as all-pervading and the only definitive

---

<sup>9</sup> See Oledenberg’s (1886) English translation.

characteristic of everything human, especially when the context of marriage since antiquity presents a strange mix of cooperative and competitive behavior by both spouses rendering it quite impossible over the course of one's analysis should one hope to explain it as a zero-sum game.

More so, from the viewpoint of our current problem that seeks to study marital quality. Much research supports that contrary to popular belief, families with traditional gender norms are high in terms of marital quality (Shukla & Kapoor, 1990; Miller & Kannae, 1999). One reason for this could be the one-sided picture presented by scholars such as Jessie Bernard and Ann Oakley. While Oakley (2018, p. x) herself acknowledges the methodological deficiency in her research (sample size in her research was tiny), Bernard's thesis was termed "propagandistic" and rejected for having analyzed the available data from women's perspective alone (Glenn, 1975, p. 594).<sup>10</sup>

However, an interesting facet encircling the issue is the phenomenon of value transmission between spouses within a conjugal bond. Research proves that when it comes to transmitting postmodern values such as social criticism and hedonism, wives get the upper hand. A 5-year longitudinal study conducted on Dutch couples found that the wives transmit these values to their husbands (Roest et al., 2006). It clearly implies that contrary to Bernard's contention, marriage is not just an affair marked with passivity on the wife's part. Rather, from the perspective of inter-spousal value transmission, the wife plays a far more active role than Bernard (1972) had observed. Besides this, it must also be mentioned that the finding is more relevant if the quality of marriage is above average (Roest et al., 2006). That is no less a confirmation of the doubt

---

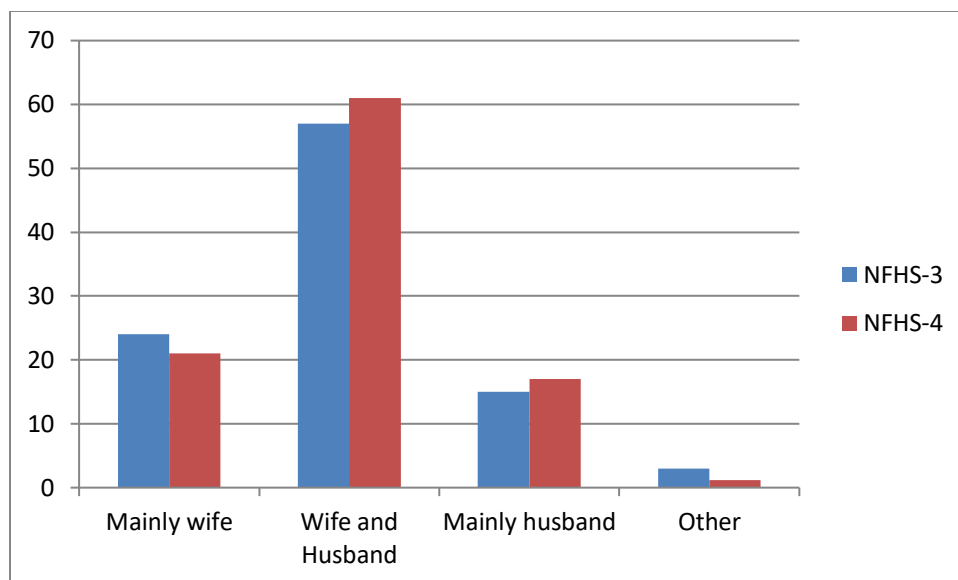
<sup>10</sup> Jessie Bernard did not generate her own data to propose the thesis that she put forward in the form of *The Future of Marriage* (1972). Rather, she used data from Norman Bradburn (1969) contained in his book *The Structure of Psychological Well-Being*, Chicago: Aldine.

raised by Norval Glenn (1975) that Jessie Bernard had, perhaps, taken only distressed marriages into account while formulating her thesis.

#### **4.6. Analyzing NFHS data**

More about the changing nature of gender roles can be discovered through an analysis of NFHS (National Family Health Survey) data, especially for the third and fourth rounds conducted in 2005-06 and 2015-16. It is because these rounds introduced a special section on “Women’s Empowerment” in the final report. Of the various facets that the survey identifies as indicators of women’s empowerment, there are quite a few that seem relevant from the viewpoint of analyzing marital dynamics in the lives of Indian people. Already a lot has been said about the impact of wives’ employment on the dynamics of marital life. Staying in line with this kind of analysis, NFHS provides a useful insight into the matter as it includes data on who decides how the money earned by the wife is spent. A comparison of the patterns that show a decennial variation (2005-06 to 2015-16) in this regard is shown below:

*Figure 4.23: Bar graph showing a comparison regarding who makes decisions in the family based on responses obtained in NFHS-3 and NFHS-4*



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for category*

The trend seems to contradict the expectation that is founded on the logic that in recent decades, increasing modernization marked by an expansion in education and employment opportunities for women has impacted gender-roles and traditional norms of marriage to a degree that is sure to enhance women's autonomy. The bar chart above clearly shows that between 2005-06 and 2015-16, the decision regarding wife's earning has declined as far as wife alone is taken to be the final arbiter in the matter.<sup>11</sup> In addition to it, the proportion of families where mainly husband plays the dominant role in the matter has gone up.

However, it should also be noted that the proportion of families where a joint decision is made has registered an increase from 57 per cent to 61 per cent which, one must admit, is an appreciable difference. How do we interpret the pattern then? It has been rightly observed that the rise in education and employment for women is not by itself the carrier of change so far as traditional norms of marriage and gender-roles are concerned (Jeejeebhoy & Sathar, 2001, p. 709). It is more about the ideological barrier that seems to be at work.

---

<sup>11</sup> The data is based on women's reports.

However, there could be structural constraints that go beyond ideology. In the above figure, the rise in joint decision-making is coupled with a fall in the column marked “Other” which may be seen as being indicative of the fact that the role of in-laws and other relatives in making a decision regarding wife’s earning has registered a slump in the past decade. That shows us another dimension that could be a potential contributor to women’s autonomy. There is a probability that in the decade under consideration, the decisions earlier made by relatives other than husband have either shifted to the husband or have been taken up as a matter worthy of a joint decision by both spouses. Thus, the trend observed here seems rather inconclusive as regards the existence of a clear gender differential.

Nonetheless, another point highlighted in the NFHS-4 report (p. 510) sheds some vital light on this issue as it brings out the fact that the proportion of women who said that the wife alone controls her husband’s earnings has taken a leap from 2 per cent to 8 per cent between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4. That is definitely in consonance with the expected narrative of women’s empowerment in family affairs. Nevertheless, at this point one is reminded of the following lines from F. Scott Fitzgerald’s beautiful poem, *The Great Gatsby*:

‘She’s got an indiscreet voice’, I remarked.

‘It’s full of—’ I hesitated.

‘Her voice is full of money’, he said suddenly.

That was it. I’d never understood before.

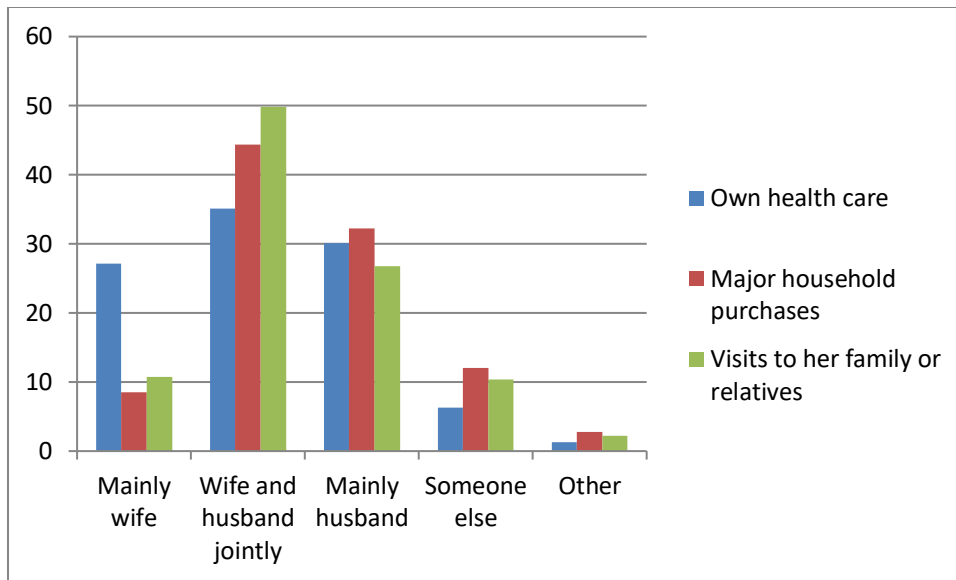
It was full of money—that was the inexhaustible charm that rose and fell in it, the jingle of it, the cymbals’ song of it.

Money does have a unique characteristic of its own, and because of it a comparison based on the use of money alone might not show us the full picture of the dynamics of decision-making within

the marital setting. Therefore, the issue of autonomy enjoyed by the wife in making important household decisions must be analyzed in a more holistic manner. A rather fuller picture can be drawn if we consider the question of women's 'autonomy' which is defined as "the degree of women's access to (and control over) material resources (including food, income, land, and other forms of wealth) and to social resources (including knowledge, power, and prestige) within the family, in the community, and in the society at large" (Dixon, 1978, p. 6). Roughly abiding by the framework, NFHS has developed a method to measure women's autonomy as wives by analyzing their role in decision-making regarding household affairs.

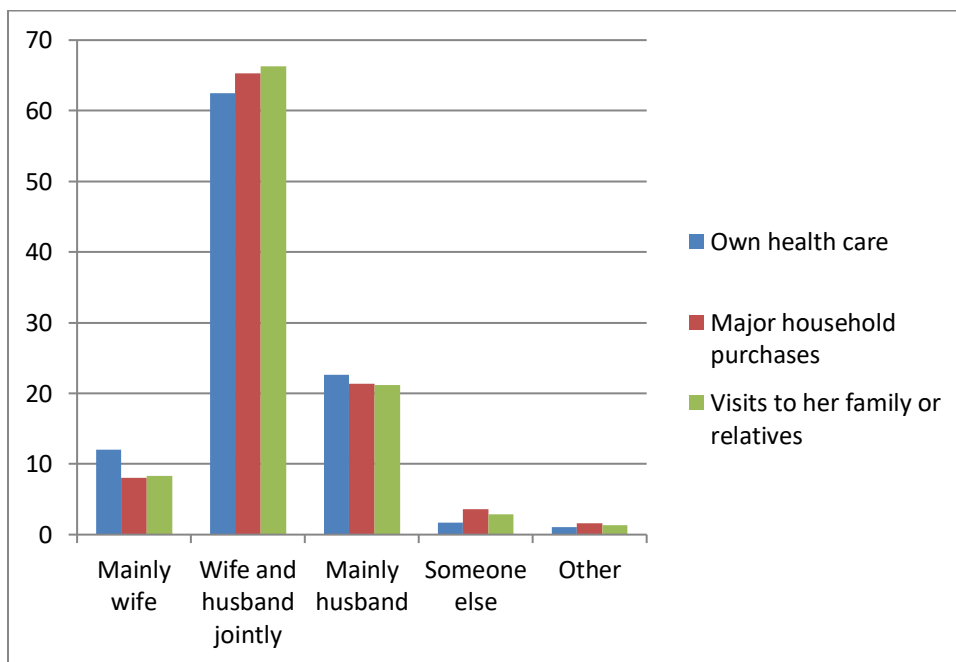
NFHS-3 identified four indicators – *own health care, major household purchases, purchases of daily household needs, and visits to her family or relatives* – to gauge the participation of the wife in household decisions. Of the four, only three were retained by NFHS-4. Hence, the data in regard to the three indicators shall be compared to find out the degree of change in terms of women's participation in household decision-making over the decadal period. The figures below show how the participation of women (of course, along with their husbands) has been in the two rounds of NFHS survey:

***Figure 4.24: Bar graph showing who between husband and wife makes decisions in the family in selected issues (NFHS-3)***



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each category*

**Figure 4.25: Bar graph showing who between husband and wife makes decisions in the family on selected issues (NFHS-4)**

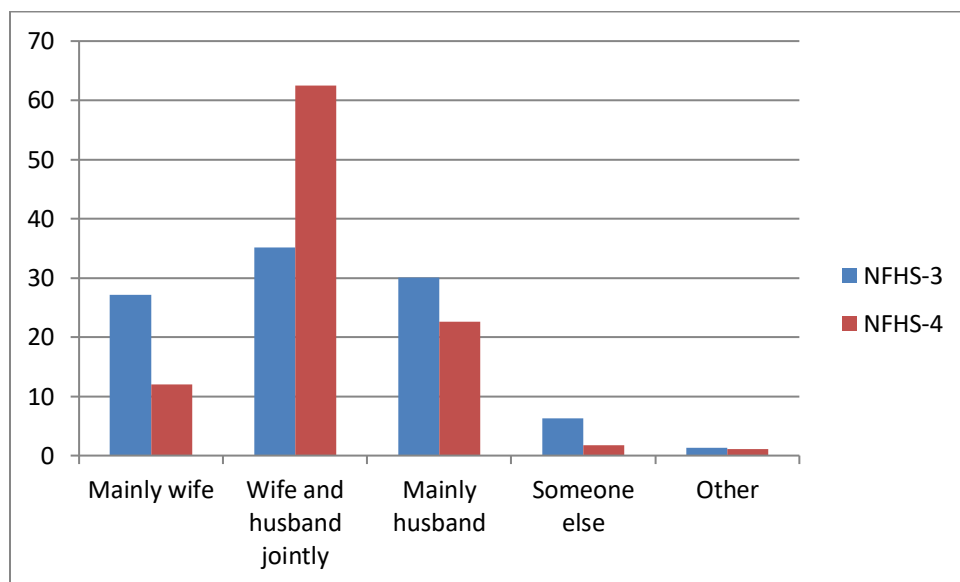


*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each category*



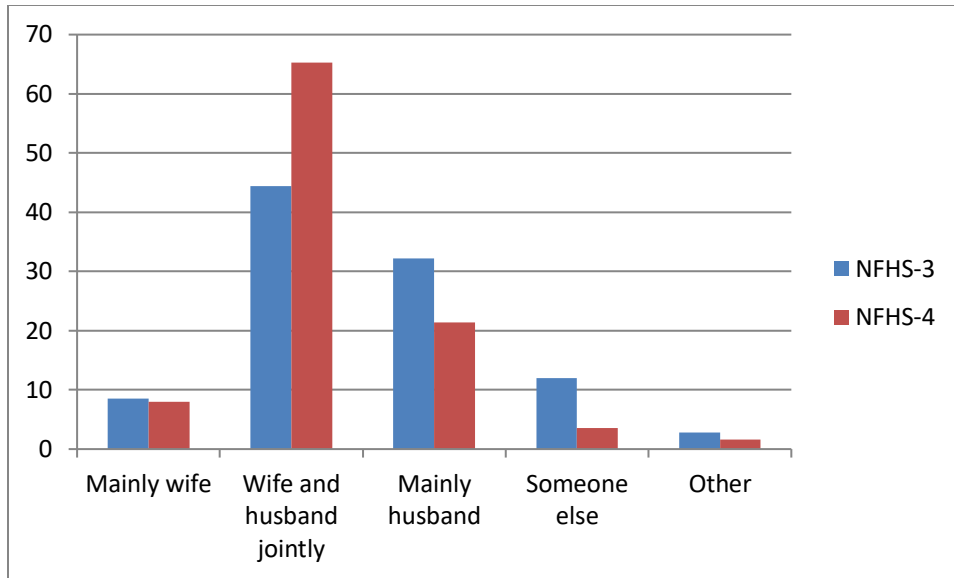
We see that in both these rounds of NFHS, a joint decision by husband and wife was the most common form of decision-making among Indian families. However, what stands out as a matter of fact is that the difference of the joint decision has gone significantly up over the decade in comparison to both “mainly wife” and “mainly husband” as the mode of decision-making within families. The three figures below show the decadal variation with respect to all three indicators:

**Figure 4.26: Bar graph showing a comparison between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4 regarding who between husband and wife makes decisions in the family related to one’s ‘own health’**



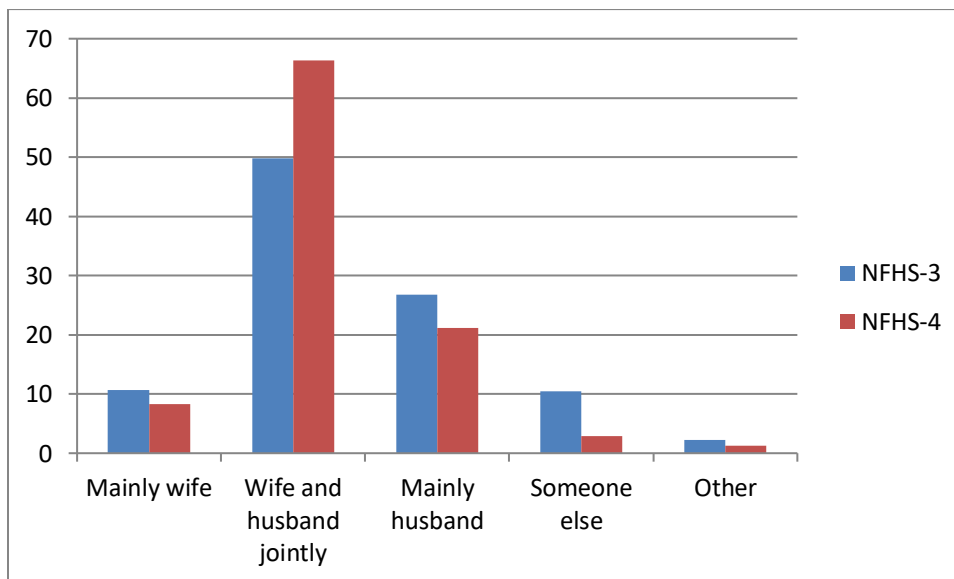
*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each category*

**Figure 4.27: Bar graph showing a comparison between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4 regarding who between husband and wife makes decisions in the family related to making ‘purchases’**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each category*

**Figure 4.28: Bar graph showing a comparison between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4 regarding who between husband and wife makes decisions in the family related to ‘wife’s visit to her family or relatives’**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each category*

For all three heads of decision-making, ‘joint decision’ has taken a substantial leap in the period elapsed between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4. It is also noteworthy that the proportion of decisions made mainly by the husband alone has also gone down for all three indicators over the period. Hence, it may be argued that in recent times, marriages in India have tended to move toward a more egalitarian form insofar as decision-making within the family is concerned.

#### **4.7. Gender and Marital Quality in India**

Thus far we have come across a couple of interconnections, especially in reference to overall happiness and marital disagreement over housework, between data collected for this study and data accessed from other sources during the course of the above analysis focusing on the role of gender differences in affecting marital dynamics in the Indian context. To straighten things up a bit, it might be said that the data collected for this study confirms Hyde’s (2005) “gender similarities hypothesis” in a big way. As already noted, for the sample included in this study, *marital quality does not vary significantly with gender differences*. Nonetheless, when tested for individual dimensions (five in number) composing marital quality, gender did emerge as a factor affecting one of the dimensions called marital happiness. The result of hypothesis testing based on Mann-Whitney U test confirms the assertion:

***Table 4.9: Result of Mann-Whitney U test for the dimensions of Marital Quality with ‘sex’ as the factor variable***

### Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of Happiness Index_binomial is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.014	Reject the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of Interaction Index_binomial is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.225	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of Disagreement Index_binomial is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.842	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of Problems Index_binomial is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.444	Retain the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of Stability Index_binomial is the same across categories of Sex.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.855	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

The table below summarizes the finding as regards the association between gender difference and marital happiness:

**Table 4.10: Relationship between ‘sex’ and Marital Happiness**

Degree of Happiness	Sex	
	Male	Female
Unhappy	* 15.1	6.3
Happy	84.9	93.8

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

As a research finding, it seems worth noting that more women compared to men enjoy happier married lives in India. That is a straight negation of Jessie Bernard's much heralded thesis that women seem to be at a disadvantage within every marriage. The reasons for this departure could be attributed to the already noted Norval Glenn's (1975) critique of Bernard on the ground that Bernard (1972) might have been tempted to conclude on the basis of a sample that included more distressed women which cannot be considered as being representative of women in general.

Assuming a more micro-level approach, it was found that of the five indicator variables that constitute marital happiness, only two showed some variation with gender differences as shown in the table below:

**Table 4.11: Relationship between sex and two indicator variables measuring Marital Happiness**

		Sex	
		Male	Female
happiness with home	Unhappy	* 15.1	6.3
	Happy	84.9	93.8
overall happiness	Unhappy	** 18.9	8.3
	Happy	81.1	91.7

\* refers to significance at 95 per cent confidence level.

\*\* refers to significance at 99 per cent confidence level.

It must be said here that for both these variables, it is the women who fare better. More noticeable is the fact that overall happiness of the respondent with their marital lives is significant at 99 per cent confidence level with the bar clearly tilting in favour of women. Thus, *Indian women tend to enjoy greater overall happiness from their married lives as compared to men.*

Leaving discussion on marital happiness at that, we now turn our attention to other variables that bear a correlation to gender differences for the sample under study. As already noted, it must be mentioned here that disagreement over housework is tilted against women for this sample. Nonetheless, marital interaction is one domain where gender seems to acquire some significance as shown in the table:

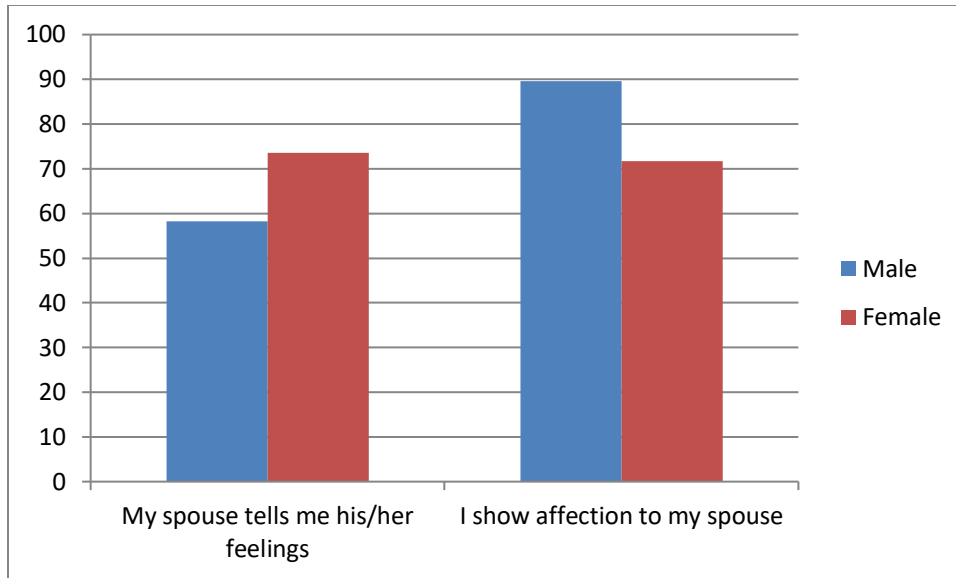
**Table 4.12: Relationship between sex and two indicator variables measuring Marital Interaction**

		Sex	
		Male	Female
<b>Feelings B to A</b>	Low	** 41.7	26.4
	High	58.3	73.6
<b>Affection A to B</b>	Low	** 10.4	28.3
	High	89.6	71.7

'A' denotes respondent and 'B' denotes spouse. \*\* refers to significance at 99 per cent confidence level.

On a closer look, it can be identified that both these variables tend to put men in a disadvantageous position summarized with the help of the following bar chart:

**Figure 4.29: Gender difference for the two indicator variables measuring Marital Interaction mentioned in the above table**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote per cent of respondents for each gender category*

In contrast to their tendency to show more affection to their wives, men in the sample receive a less favorable response in the form of marital interaction where their wives reveal their feelings relatively less to them.

Another variable that may barely lose our attention is the gendered nature of the effects of physical violence within marriage. It is no surprise that men seem to maintain a clean record in this regard. It is the women who tend to be at the receiving end of physical violence. The difference is shown in the table below:

**Table 4.13: Relationship between ‘sex’ and physical ‘violence’**

		Sex	
		Male	Female
physical violence	Worse	** 0	4.2
	Better	100	95.8

\*\* refers to significance at 99 per cent confidence level.

*Thus, on the basis of the inferences drawn above, it could be concluded that as far as the sample of persons selected for this study is concerned, the impact of gender difference on marital quality*

*does not seem to be considerable. However, the importance of gender can't be dismissed completely. Vital aspects of marital life such as disagreement over housework and domestic violence do seem to be bearing a correlation with gender difference which keeps the debate regarding the role of gender in determining marital quality alive though at a much reduced tempo. How do we explain this relationship? A plausible explanation could be the changing dynamics of culture steered by processes such as globalization and modernization effecting change in cultural values.*



## Chapter Five

### Globalization, Cultural Values, and Marital Quality

*Steve Derne (2008) spent a few decades studying the topic of marriage in India before he proposed a thesis that draws a link between the transformation in India's cultural values with regard to marital norms and Globalization. Therefore, it doesn't seem out of place to investigate the relationship between marital quality in India and the cultural change driven by globalization that has swept across the length and breadth of India in the last couple of decades. This chapter aims to provide a general overview of the phenomenon called 'globalization' and its impact on humanity as a whole followed by a closer scrutiny of the changes introduced in Indian society in special relation to marital quality and cultural values such as 'individualism' and 'hedonism'.*

---

#### 5.1. Roots and Wings of Globalization

*Globalization*, which became a part of the academic discourse less than five decades ago (Scheuerman, 2018), has a topsy-turvy history as far as the acceptability of the term is concerned. In fact, globalization has, since its inception, gone through three phases. The phases have been brilliantly summarized with the help of three questions in the Introduction to the article entitled *What is Globalisation?* The author of the article concludes: “Summing up, the debate moved from the questions, ‘Does globalisation exist?’ and ‘what are the consequences of globalisation?’ to ‘How to govern globalisation?’” (Talani, 2019, p. 413).

Nonetheless, these observations are not, in the least, to suggest that globalization as a process has this recent an origin. Rather, the earliest signs of a concept with some resemblance to its modern avatar can be discerned in Adam Smith's thought.<sup>1</sup> Advocating a mechanism to establish international peace without coercive law, Adam Smith held that commercial intercourse among

---

<sup>1</sup> Adam Smith is considered the father of modern Economics. Therefore, even a faint allusion to something like globalization by Adam Smith points to the deep-rootedness of the concept in Political Economy since Enlightenment.

self-interested nations could present a positive possibility in that direction (Forman-Barzilai, 2000). Although this opinion emanates from a reading of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), a more comprehensive view in this regard seems to have been documented by Adam Smith (1776) in his *Wealth of Nations*. P. J. O'Rourke (2007), in his book entitled *On the Wealth of Nations*, argues that the essence of Smith's vision of globalization lies in a global marketplace without boundaries among nations.

Not only Adam Smith, but Karl Marx also acknowledged the potential impact of bourgeoisie capitalism that had already begun to show early signs of what would later be called globalization. Marx wrote: "The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere" (Marx, 1848, p. 8). Maintaining the same line of argument, he added:

"In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations." (Marx, 1848, p. 8).

These observations by Marx (1848) in *Communist Manifesto* seem self-explanatory if one tries to relate it to the characteristics of the modern phenomenon called globalization. Therefore, more recent theories of globalization (Harvey, 1989, 1996) have derived heavily from the Marxist perspective. But a more comprehensive and apt definition of the term maintains that Globalization refers "to processes of change which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and

continents” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, p. 15). A sort of working definition of the phenomenon coined by KOF Index of Globalization perhaps talks in a similar vein. It says:

Globalization is defined for this index as the process of creating networks of connections among actors at multi-continental distances, mediated through a variety of flows including people, information and ideas, capital and goods. It is a process that erodes national boundaries, integrates national economies, cultures, technologies and governance and produces complex relations of mutual interdependence.<sup>2</sup>

## **5.2. The social dimension of Globalization**

What seems noteworthy in the above definition is the emphasis on the flow of “information and ideas” that is seen to bear a mediating effect on the process of globalization. And it is this aspect of globalization that is, perhaps, of utmost concern to us in the context of this study on marital quality. Not only does it refer to an economic process, globalization verily entails a social aspect which is explicitly stated in the following statement:

The social dimension of globalization refers to the impact of globalization on the life and work of people, on their families and their societies. Concerns and issues are often raised about the impact of globalization on employment, working conditions, income and social protection. Beyond the world of work, the social dimension encompasses security, culture and identity, inclusion or exclusion and the cohesiveness of families and communities.<sup>3</sup>

Going further, a more sociological definition of globalization looks at globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local

---

<sup>2</sup> See <https://www.statista.com/statistics/268168/globalization-index-by-country/>

<sup>3</sup> World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization. See <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/wcsdg/globali/index.htm>

happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa” (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). This definition brings out the spatial dimension of globalization in a rather terse fashion. It reminds us of the fact that globalization seems to challenge the notion of *territoriality* characterizing the world we live in, reflected in the term, “global village” (McLuhan, 1994).<sup>4</sup> The shrinking space so far as the exchange of material goods and ideas is concerned renders globalization much more than a mere economic phenomenon. Rather, it is truly ‘global’ in its ambit and impact, summed up succinctly in this statement:

Globalization is not only, or even primarily, an economic phenomenon; and it should not be equated with the emergence of a ‘world system’. Globalization is really about the transformation of space and time. I define it as action at distance, and relate its intensifying over recent years to the emergence of means of instantaneous global communication and mass transportation (Giddens, 1994, p. 4).

Anthony Giddens (1994), by way of this statement, tries to pinpoint the shortcoming in some of the modern sociological efforts that have gone into understanding the concept of globalization. He opines against the idea of equating globalization with the emergence of a world-system. Immanuel Wallerstein’s World Systems Theory has come to pass as a phenomenal macroscopic view applied to the analysis of international affairs since 1970s. Consequently, it has occupied the central place in most academic discussions looking to explain the emergence of globalization. But in contrast to Giddens’ (1994) view, Wallerstein believes that globalization does not represent a break with the past. In fact, a “world-system” characterized by a set of “unequal economic and political relationships” has existed for centuries among societies scattered

---

<sup>4</sup> Reference to the term can be originally found in the 1964 edition of his book *Understanding Media* (McGraw-Hill). The edition used here is the 1994 edition published by MIT Press.

throughout the globe (Strikwerda, 2000, p. 334). In Wallerstein's own words, "Capitalism was from the beginning an affair of the world economy and not of nation-states...Capital has never allowed its aspirations to be determined by national boundaries in a capitalist world economy" (Wallerstein, 1979, p. 199).

The reference to 'inequality', not only economically but also in other domains, by Wallerstein carries a Marxist undertone which takes us to another related theoretical approach that influenced many an academic since it was first proposed by André Gunder-Frank (1967) who termed it 'Dependency Theory'. The theory tries to unravel the unequal relationship characterizing the trade relations among countries of the world.<sup>5</sup> The theory contends that the great powers of the world use their superior economic and military capability to impose their will on others. Thus, both world-systems and dependency theory go to show that the wheels of globalization have differential impact for different populations of the world. But these Marxist perspectives on globalization stress the economic aspect of the phenomenon over and above other dimensions of Globalization. Hence, the real essence of globalization could be made sense of only after one has located it in its right perspective from a more pragmatic point of view that talks about its multi-dimensional character.

In the beginning, globalization was seen as an economic phenomenon and some of its earliest analyses looked to relate it to economic growth (Dollar & Kraay, 2004; Dreher, 2006). Thus, globalization since its inception remained the exclusive domain of the economists for quite some time. However, in recent years, theorists and analysts have modelled it as a multi-dimensional concept. To be precise, globalization has three dimensions – economic, political, and social

---

<sup>5</sup> The main focus of Andre Gunder-Frank (1967) in the book entitled *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* was on Chile and Brazil. He came up with an economic history of these two countries to develop the core concepts of 'Dependency Theory'.

(Keohane & Nye, 2000). While economic globalization refers to long-distance flow of goods, services, and capital that operate according to the dynamics of exchange in the market, political globalization is the modification that governments and institutions have undergone as a result of and in order to sustain the process called globalization. That said, what assumes much greater significance, especially in the context of the analysis at hand in this study, is the third dimension known as “social globalization”. By social globalization, one should mean a process involving the spread of ideas, people, information, and images (Dreher, 2006). In other words, globalization stands for a “process of extension in time and space of social relations and the accentuation of dependencies, networks and interactions between contexts, localities and regions distanced in the planetary social space.” (Vlasceanu, 2011).

### **5.3. Globalization: The Cultural Aspect**

George Ritzer (1996), who coined the term, “McDonaldization” of Society, is primarily concerned with the cultural dimension of globalization.<sup>6</sup> As regards the cultural aspect of Globalization, three paradigms have essentially emerged – *cultural differentialism*, *cultural convergence*, and *cultural hybridization* (Pieterse, 2003). Of these three, cultural differentialism is the one that accepts cultural differences in terms of language, religion, region, etc. On the other hand, cultural convergence looks to represent the process of cultural homogenization achieved as an outcome of globalization encapsulated in terms such as Americanization, McDonaldization, and Coca-colonization. The third paradigm called cultural hybridization “refers to a politics of integration without the need to give up cultural identity” (Pieterse, 2003, p. 56). While all three theories show that globalization exerts influence of varying degree in

---

<sup>6</sup> Ritzer coined the term in 1983 in an article entitled ‘The “McDonaldization” of Society’ published in the *Journal of American Culture*, 6(1), 100-107. He then published his thesis in the book with the same title in 1993.

different cultures, they are nothing but ideal-types looking to explain the interconnection between culture and Globalization. Therefore, every particular occurrence of the phenomenon known as globalization should be seen as a combination of all three.

Another strand of thought that seems closely intertwined with globalization is modernization that might mean different things to different people separated by time and location. While there may be various shades of modernization, the cultural aspect of modernization could be discerned in the form of *reflexive modernization* (Beck, Giddens, & Lash, 1994). A general reference to modernization reminds us of a science-based society of the West that saw its model of capitalism and technological advance as an inevitable, linear process, the course of which could be fairly accurately predicted based on scientific knowledge. But, that version of modernization, rather modernity, is not ubiquitous in our time. Neither can we show that capitalism has progressed on lines that seemed obvious may be half a century ago nor is it true that we can even faintly predict its course by any means. Under these circumstances, people construct their own modernity based on reflexive interaction with the environment which is veritably called 'reflexive modernization'.

In a similar vein, it might be argued that in respect of family and marriage in our society, the impact of globalization seems enormous. If the homemaker-breadwinner model of the family set up by a married couple was an invention of the society based on industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century (Hernandez, 1993), can it be assumed that the intrusion of the values of egalitarianism in our family life is a consequence of reflexive modernization? It could very well be a possibility given the fact that reflexive modernization is a phenomenon that has barely left any corner of the world untouched according to Anthony Giddens (2007). In his own words,

Reflexive modernization responds to different circumstances. It has its origins in the profound social changes briefly referred to in the introduction and which need to be spelled out more fully here: the impact of globalization; changes happening in everyday and personal life; and the emergence of a post-traditional society. These influences flow from Western modernity, but now affect the world as a whole – and they refract back to start to reshape modernization at its points of origin (Giddens, 2007, p. 80).

#### **5.4. Globalization and Individualism**

A corollary to this process of reflexive modernization emerges in the form of the rise of individualism as a human value in our society, a phenomenon that is also referred to as “institutionalized individualism” (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Hence, the growth of individualism could be said to have been closely intertwined with globalization at the global scale. Individualism could be regarded as the end-state of the process called “individualization” that in turn could be discerned in the manifold increase in “political freedom” in modern societies (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Nonetheless, there’s more to individualism than mere improvement in political freedom. A brilliant analysis of the contemporary society in this regard explains the phenomenon in the following words:

Everything, so to speak, is now down to the individual. It is up to the individual to find out what she or he is capable of doing, to stretch that capacity to the utmost, and to pick the ends to which that capacity could be applied best - that is, to the greatest conceivable satisfaction. It is up to the individual to ‘tame the unexpected to become an entertainment’ (Bauman, 2000, p. 62).



Taking note of this accentuated form of individualism, theorists have also looked to label it as “excessive individualism” (Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 2000).

But that is not to suggest that individualism is a theme in social science of that recent an origin. In fact, it has occupied some of the best minds who have ever walked the earth. The centrality of the concept in social theory over the past century or so has been lucidly pointed out by means of the following statement:

A concern with the nature of individualism, balanced between a fear that it might be growing at the expense of our social engagement and the desire for its cultivation as a project in life, has been central to Western thought at least since the age of romanticism. Almost all the founding figures of social science ascribed to a grand narrative which took for granted a general movement towards individualism in the Western world. In different ways this would include Mauss, Marx, Simmel, Tonnies and Weber (Miller et al., 2016, p. 181).

Theoretically speaking, individualism here connotes an adaptation to a new type of moral belief, which, by virtue of carrying a moral appeal, does carry the potential to affect the patterns of interaction between people as well as the entire worldview they hold. This piece of thought seems to be embedded in Durkheim’s analysis of the emergence and development of moral belief in society. Alvin Gouldner (1958), in the Introduction to Durkheim’s work, *Socialism* (originally published as *Le Socialisme* in French) remarked: “What Durkheim began to see was that moral beliefs had to be treated in a systematically scientific manner, that their emergence and development as well as their contribution to society needed empirical study” (Gouldner, 1959, p. xxi).

Contextualizing Durkheim's observation in the backdrop of modern scenario characterized by the interplay between individualistic and communal values as a result of the impact of globalization, one, without much difficulty, notes the over-arching influence of 'ideology' or 'world-view' on the degree of individualism and collectivism in society (Nafstad et al., 2013). In this regard, one cannot overlook the vital role played by 'media' and 'communication' in making it possible. The undeniable impact of media and communication could be made out from Anthony Giddens's (2007) remark wherein he considers the first broadcast transmission, successfully accomplished via satellite, as the point of departure marking the inauguration of the form of modernity in which we live. Thanks to modern modes of rapid communication, a picture flashed on a media platform thousands of miles away reaches its antipode on earth in a matter of a few minutes. That sets things wide open with all forms of things (not to mention *memes*) being circulated at the global scale carrying the potential to cause innumerable shift in norms and patterns in societies scattered all over the globe. There's no denying the fact that one is bound to get only a partial picture of the family dynamics if one chooses to ignore the impact of the modern media and its many offshoots in the form of social media. Thus, one may ask: In what ways has social media come to shape and reshape the mental constitution of people eventually redefining the meanings of individuality and sociality?

A popular argument in this regard points to the destruction of traditional forms of sociality as a result of the rise of social media coupled with the creation of narcissistic individuals in society (Miller et al. 2016). To reinforce this claim, one may cite the results from a recent study that problematic use of the internet has negative social impacts such as reduced friendship and "increased loneliness" leading to the development of narcissism among users involved in visual use of the internet (Reed et al., 2018). A meta-analytic approach to studying the problem reveals

that there is a significant association between “grandiose narcissism” and Problematic Facebook Use, although the result is not consistent across all social media platforms (Casale & Banchi, 2020).

Nonetheless, what these studies suggest is that there exists a discernible relationship between the use of social media and individualism, often manifested in the form of narcissism. Interestingly, this individualism does not necessarily sound a death knell for social connections. Rather, it may be responsible for the emergence of a new type of individualism called “networked individualism” (Miller et al., 2016, p. 182). The formation of such networks on social media, in contrast to popular belief, could in fact, compensate for the loss of social connections in some instances. For example, it was found that single mothers tend to be more active on Facebook than their peers for it acts as a support system for them (Miller et al. 2016). And this tendency to regroup, instead of moving away from it, has resulted in the strengthening of social networks based on traditional categories such as caste, family, social class, etc. (Miller et al., 2016, p. 183). The phenomenon is so pronounced that Miller et al. (2016, p. 185) call it “kinship media” while referring to the pattern of networking among the lower strata in south India. Thus, a new form of individualism seems to have emerged as a consequence of the greater use of social media in recent times.

Deriving from it, one might argue that individualism might assume different forms in different cultures as is evident from the statement below:

Many Asian cultures have distinct conceptions of individuality that insist on the fundamental relatedness of individuals to each other. The emphasis is on attending to others, fitting in, and harmonious interdependence with them. American culture neither

assumes nor values such an overt connectedness among individuals. In contrast, individuals seek to maintain their independence from others by attending to the self and by discovering and expressing their unique inner attributes (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 224).

Thus, it must be borne in mind that the thesis that relates the impact of globalization to Americanization or Westernization alone might be telling a partial story. It has been observed that it is due to globalization that many a local tradition have discovered new modes to air their voice, and hence, local nationalisms have developed (Giddens, 2007). Thus, there is a substantial possibility that the impact of globalization could cause a turning of the tide in favour of the local over and above the cultural norms imported from the West. Hence, the foregoing discussion that stresses the rise of a new form of individualism that looks to retain traditional categories of socializing appears relevant as to the dynamics of marital relationship. As has been observed in the context of India (Miller et al., 2016), the tendency to conserve what one has inherited from one's culture can verily be attributed to the impact of globalization. Hence, it may be investigated whether the rise in individualism in Indian society in recent years bears an impact on marital quality. But before that it would be a better idea to examine the nature and extent of the impact of human values on Indian society.

### **5.5. Human Values in Indian society**

In this context, the results of the World Values Survey (WVS), Wave 6 (2014) turn out to be a handy source of information to aid our understanding. The questionnaire used in the survey included questions from the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) developed by Schwartz et al. (2001). PVQ measures ten basic human values that seemingly affect human actions with the help

of forty statements (or questions for that matter) calibrated on a 6-point Likert scale. The WVS questionnaire picked one question measuring each of the ten values.

We shall first take a look at the general distribution of these values in the Indian population as reported in the final results published by WVS, 2014, our main focus being the variation in basic human values by age-group. This approach might shed light on the intergenerational aspect of the cultural change that India has undergone as a result of the rising tide of globalization in recent times.

The WVS, 2014 questionnaire asked the respondents to choose the most appropriate description of an imaginary person expressed in the following statement: “Now I will briefly describe some people. Using this card, would you please indicate for each description whether that person is very much like you, like you, somewhat like you, not like you, or not at all like you?” The percentage of the respondents who chose “*very much like me*” for each statement is as shown in the table below:

***Table 5.1: List of variables measuring human values in World Values Survey, 2014<sup>7</sup>***

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Up to 29 years</b>	<b>30-49 years</b>	<b>50 years and more</b>
V70	self-direction	17.6	23.5	25
V71	Power	16.3	19.1	19.6
V72	Security	21.3	18.5	22.4
V73	Hedonism	11.1	15.1	22.8
V74	Not from PVQ <sup>8</sup>	21	28.3	25

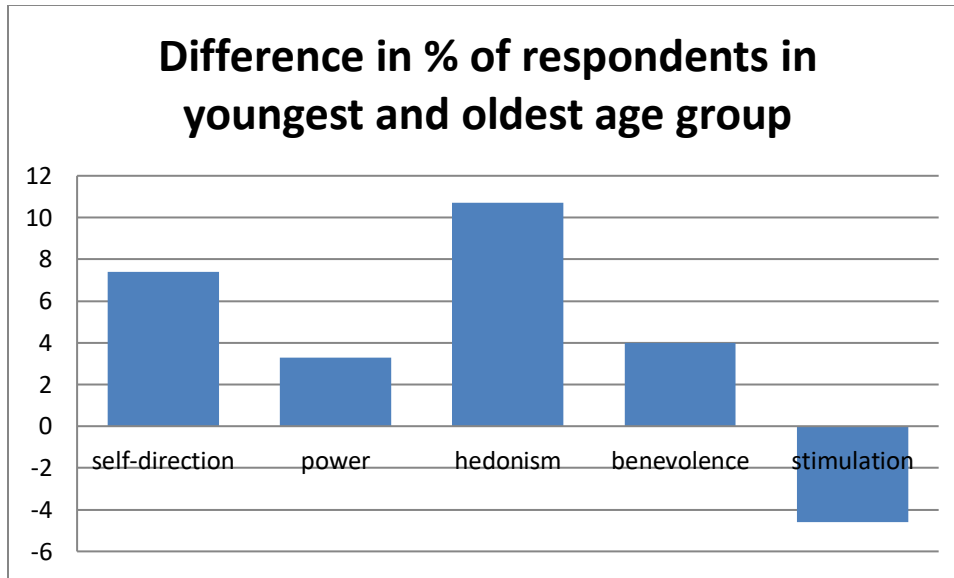
<sup>7</sup> The age-groups are based on respondents’ age in completed years. The figures in the cells represent per cent of the respondents in each age group choosing the option “very much like me”.

<sup>8</sup> Although the statement used for this variable is not from PVQ, the statement relates to ‘benevolence’.

V74B	Benevolence	22.7	21.2	20.2
V75	Achievement	27.1	23.6	25.6
V76	Stimulation	22.1	18	17.5
V77	Conformity	17.6	18.9	16.6
V78	Universalism	28.1	20.6	27.9
V79	Tradition	27.3	23.3	27

Before resorting to the use of more sophisticated statistical tests, we may draw a handy set of inferences by simply looking at the figures in the table above. In view of the focus of this analysis on discovering intergenerational patterns of change in human values, those variables that showed a considerable difference between the first and the last age group (column 3 and 5) were identified. Even a cursory look at the table would suggest that the variables that matter the most in this analysis are five in number measuring self-direction, power, hedonism, benevolence, and stimulation. The difference of the percentage of people within each age group (“Up to 29 years” and “50 years and more”) choosing “very much like me” for the statements was calculated and plotted in the form of a bar chart as shown below:

***Figure 5.1: Intergenerational difference in human values***



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis represent percentage difference for each human value.*

An important point of observation from this graphical representation as regards the difference in cultural values prized by the young and the old in India is the positive difference for all but one of the five human values considered here. As an interesting bit of factoid, it suggests that the older generation (above 50 years) in India adheres to all of these values, except *stimulation*, more than the younger generation (18-29 years). In this regard, one is drawn to the fact that the value of hedonism is the one with the largest difference. In other words, the older generation of India is keener on fulfilling their hedonic desires than the younger generation. This fact seems to be of greater importance, as we shall see later, that hedonism is quite directly a determinant of psychological well-being bearing a direct impact on marital quality.

Coming back to the analysis, testing for statistical significance with regard to the relationship between age-group and human values we found that only three human values – Hedonism (V73), Benevolence (V74), and Achievement (V75) – vary significantly with age as far as Indian population is concerned. To simplify things, the variables, V70 thru V79 were recoded to come up with a 3-scale output ‘Like Me’, ‘Somewhat Like Me’, and ‘Not Like Me’. On this occasion it

was found that age becomes a factor for V73 (hedonism), V75 (achievement), and V78 (Universalism). The distribution of the respondents within each age-group is summarized by means of the frequency tables shown below:

**Table 5.2: Frequency table for Hedonism**

<b>V73 recode</b>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Like Me	538	34.0	34.3	34.3
	Somewhat Like Me	598	37.8	38.1	72.4
	Not Like Me	434	27.5	27.6	100.0
	Total	1570	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	11	.7		
Total		1581	100.0		

**Table 5.3: Frequency table for Achievement**

<b>V75 recode</b>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Like Me	815	51.5	52.2	52.2
	Somewhat Like Me	486	30.7	31.2	83.4
	Not Like Me	259	16.4	16.6	100.0
	Total	1560	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	21	1.3		
Total		1581	100.0		

**Table 5.4: Frequency table for Universalism**

<b>V78 recode</b>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Like Me	745	47.1	47.5	47.5
	Somewhat Like Me	515	32.6	32.8	80.3
	Not Like Me	310	19.6	19.7	100.0
	Total	1570	99.3	100.0	



Missing	System	11	.7		
Total		1581	100.0		

Crosstabulation for each of the above values with age group (recoded into younger, middle-aged, and older) was run. The results are as shown:

**Table 5.5: Relationship between age and Hedonism**

<b>V73 recode * Age recode Crosstabulation</b>						
			Age recode			Total
			Younger	Middle-aged	Older	
V73 recode (Hedonism)	Like Me	Count	123	266	149	538
		% within Age recode	28.8%	34.7%	39.5%	34.3%
	Somewhat Like Me	Count	171	286	141	598
		% within Age recode	40.0%	37.3%	37.4%	38.1%
	Not Like Me	Count	133	214	87	434
		% within Age recode	31.1%	27.9%	23.1%	27.6%
Total		Count	427	766	377	1570
		% within Age recode	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The association is significant at 95 per cent confidence level.

**Table 5.6: Relationship between age and Achievement**

<b>V75 recode * Age recode Crosstabulation</b>						
			Age recode			Total
			Younger	Middle-aged	Older	
V75 recode (Achievement)	Like Me	Count	238	393	184	815
		% within Age recode	55.9%	51.8%	49.1%	52.2%
	Somewhat Like Me	Count	136	221	129	486
		% within Age recode	31.9%	29.1%	34.4%	31.2%
	Not Like Me	Count	52	145	62	259
		% within Age recode	12.2%	19.1%	16.5%	16.6%
Total		Count	426	759	375	1560
		% within Age recode	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The association is significant at 95 per cent confidence level.

**Table 5.7: Relationship between age and Universalism**

<b>V78 recode * Age recode Crosstabulation<sup>9</sup></b>						
			Age recode			Total
			Younger	Middle-aged	Older	
V78 recode (Universalism)	Like Me	Count	226	332	187	745
		% within Age recode	53.1%	43.3%	49.5%	47.5%
	Somewhat Like Me	Count	129	272	114	515
		% within Age recode	30.3%	35.5%	30.2%	32.8%
	Not Like Me	Count	71	162	77	310
		% within Age recode	16.7%	21.1%	20.4%	19.7%
Total		Count	426	766	378	1570
		% within Age recode	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To further confirm the findings, the Kruskal-Wallis test was run with the same data to find out whether basic human values within the sample of Indian population varies with age-group. The result obtained is as follows:

**Table 5.8: Table showing the result of the Kruskal-Wallis test run for all variables measuring human values with ‘age’ being the factor variable**

<sup>9</sup> The association is significant at 95 per cent confidence level.

### Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of V70 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.232	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of V71 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.968	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of V72 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.479	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of V73 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.003	Reject the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of V74 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.141	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of V74B recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.042	Reject the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of V75 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.058	Retain the null hypothesis.
8	The distribution of V76 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.039	Reject the null hypothesis.
9	The distribution of V77 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.149	Retain the null hypothesis.
10	The distribution of V78 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.006	Reject the null hypothesis.
11	The distribution of V79 recode is the same across categories of Age recode.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.626	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Once again it is V73 (Hedonism), V74B (Benevolence), V76 (Stimulation), and V78 (Universalism) that emerge as human values of importance for our study. It would thus be interesting to see how *hedonism* affects marital quality in our study as it is the only human value included in the study in addition to the personality trait called *individualism*.

### **5.6. Marital Quality: Intergenerational transmission and Individualism**

The intergenerational transmission of the dynamic of parental marriage was alluded to by Max Weber in a letter to his mother Helene Weber on the occasion of her seventieth birthday. Referring to his married life Max Weber wrote: “What for twenty years has been ripening between Marianne and myself would never have grown, if I had not understood your life...difficult without, beautiful within. For I could have very easily become quite a different human being” (Mayer, 1944, p. 14). The marital quality of his parents did play a major role in shaping Max Weber’s own attitude to marriage. It is worth noting that what Weber wrote to his mother has been established by research long after the letter was written.

It has been found in a number of research studies that parental marital quality has a strong bearing on the subsequent attitude towards marriage among children. A study conducted among college students found that students from divorced families held more favourable attitudes to divorce than students from intact families (Greenberg & Nay, 1982). In an earlier study, it was found that those from divorced families expressed more anxieties over their future marriage (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974). In fact, there exists a whole corpus of research literature to suggest that adults who have their parents divorced are themselves more likely to divorce than those who grow up in intact families (Amato, 1996; Bumpass, Martin, & Sweet, 1991; Glenn & Kramer, 1987; Glenn & Shelton, 1983; Kulka & Weingarten, 1979; Mueller & Pope, 1977; Pope &

Mueller, 1976; Wolfinger, 2005). In a more recent study, it was found that though adults from divorced families valued marriage, they were also aware of its limitations and show a tolerant attitude towards its alternatives (Amato, 1988). Not just in promoting divorce, but marital conflict between parents has also been found to result in a number of socially deficient behaviors in children (Gottman & Notarius, 2000, p. 934).

Before getting into the nitty-gritty of data analysis in order to figure out the relationship, one ought to take a look at how Globalization (growth in individualism to be specific) has affected the institution of marriage, and consequently, marital quality. There is evidence to suggest that marital satisfaction varies depending on whether a culture primarily identifies as an individualistic culture or a collectivistic one (Dillon & Beechler, 2010). Research has also established that with globalization, there has been a rise in the tendency among young adults, even in collectivistic cultures, to exercise personal choice in matters of mate choice (Buunk, Park, & Duncan, 2010). It is symptomatic of the growth in individualism as a cultural value affecting marital norms in these cultures. It has been found that more individualistic marriages tend to be more unstable, contributing to poor marital quality (Nicole & Wagner, 2016). It is further reported that higher collectivism at the cultural level is a positive predictor of marital quality for both men and women (Khalili, 2018; Cirhinlioglu, Tepe, Ozdikmenli-Demir, & Cirhinlioglu, 2019). Looking beyond the macro theories of globalization, if one assumes a more local perspective, especially with respect to the effects of Globalization on everyday lives of common people, one finds that the worldwide scenario has broadly revolved around two major themes nicely summed up in the statement below:

There has been much debate about the implications of globalization for local cultures. On the one hand, as exemplified by the McDonaldization thesis, globalization is associated

with cultural homogenization, and the dominance of a commodity-driven, Western-imposed world culture. On the other hand, as reflected in the hybridization thesis, there is the idea that local cultures do not just react, but rather interact with global forces in dialectical and reflexive ways (Kibria, 2006, p. 137).

Thus, one may proceed with the assumption that culture around the world may exhibit one of the two scenarios or a combination of both in varying proportions. Our attempt here is to study the cultural impact of globalization in determining people's experience of their marital lives which is often reflected in their subjective feelings. In the context of marriage, it has been argued by some that industrialization and urbanization could be seen as agents responsible for the weakening institutional basis of marriage in the early decades of the nineteenth century (Burgess & Cottrell, 1939; Burgess, Locke, & Thomes, 1963). Albeit the views so expressed are in relation to American society, considering the homogenizing effect of globalization, it can be assumed that processes very similar to those that brought about social change in American society have unfolded in places far and wide. Therefore, there is a high possibility that these processes of industrialization, urbanization, and globalization might bear an impact on the institutions of family and marriage in India quite akin to the manner they played out in American society.

It has long been established that attitudes to marriage does show a significant change at the intergenerational level for adults separated by forty years (Holahan, 1984). With this as an insight, it may be surmised that the attitude to marriage might have undergone a significant change under the influence of Globalization which, in an academic sense, can be seen as a phenomenon roughly forty years old. In this context, Globalization gains in significance because marriage today is delicately hinged on a tradition-modernity continuum as discussed in the introductory chapter. To gain further insight into the topic, one may borrow an idea from

Anthony Giddens (1994) who saw globalization as a process of “detraditionalization”. The process of detraditionalization is inarguably at work everywhere, nicely summed up by Giddens (1994, p. 47) by means of the following sentence: “In the current period, processes of detraditionalization bite more deeply than ever before, affecting the industrialized parts of the world in particular, but making themselves felt everywhere.”

Quite visibly, this process of detraditionalization has impacted Indian society in a big way as illustrated brilliantly by Steve Derne (2008). The entire domain of family and marriage seems to have been transformed under the influence of this cultural process. Hence, here shall be an attempt to take a look at the social and cultural changes that have ensued as an offshoot of the process of detraditionalization. Not only India but even a report from China in recent times is seemingly an indication of the impact that globalization has on marital norms. The report reads:

With economic reforms and improvements in living standards, the Chinese are experiencing a shift from collectivism to individualism, with greater tolerance of premarital sex, non-marital cohabitation, and divorce (Quach and Anderson, 2008). As a result, an increasing number of Chinese are seeking personal fulfillment through high quality marriages (Xu, Zhang, & Amato, 2011, p. 289).

The economic reforms alluded to in the passage are a feature of post-1978 China when China embarked on the path of globalization that caused it to make that vital shift from a strictly socialist economy to an economy based on ‘state capitalism’.<sup>10</sup> The link between individualism and this process in China has also been studied in relation to Chinese society. Minxin Pei (2006)

---

<sup>10</sup> The term originated in Engels’s (1880) *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, but it was first used as a distinct term by Wilhelm Liebknecht in 1896. State capitalism was thought to be an improved version of the socialist model of society initially advocated by Marxists. Therefore, post-Maoist revolution China made a transition from socialism to state capitalism under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. However, in recent years, under the presidency of Xi Jinping, China’s state capitalism has receded slightly to concede ground to private business firms (Lardy, 2018).

is of the view that it is globalization that could be held responsible for bringing individualism and cosmopolitanism to China. The allusion to the fact that this phenomenon has been marked by an increasing tolerance for divorce in Chinese society (Quach & Anderson, 2008) gels well with the fact that globalization has given rise to a “global war of talent” (Brown & Tannock, 2009) that lays more emphasis on self-worth, self-sufficiency, and personal competence in the labour market resulting in loosening of social ties that may prove detrimental to the health of family life.

This aspect of the social fact called individualism could not evade the attention of the sociologist, Daniel Bell whose opinion in this regard is summarized by Anthony Giddens (1994, p. 33): “Yet such experimentation, in Bell’s eyes, when it enters the areas of family life, sexuality, and moral activity more generally, produces a rampant individualism that threatens the social fabric and creates emptiness”. All this goes well with the research findings discussed above suggesting that individualism at the cultural level is negatively associated with marital quality. However, a counter claim can’t evade our attention as it has been noted that in the context of globalization, an important component of marital quality, i.e., *marital happiness* is found to be relatively similar across industrialized societies (Stack & Eshleman, 1998). Therefore, though the role of cultural difference can’t be overlooked when it comes to analyzing marital quality, the dynamics of the industrialized society do exhibit a levelling effect. Therefore, not just individualism, rather there’s a need to investigate how human values in general, including both individualism and hedonism, seem to impact marital quality.

## **5.7. Human Values and Marital Quality**



A discussion of these human values and their variation over age groups in relation to marital quality seems more apt to the aims and scope of this study as Byrne (1971) propounded a similarity-attraction thesis that suggests a greater bonding between individuals with similar value orientations. Reinforcing Byrne's conclusions, Boehnke (2001) showed correlations between husbands' and wives' value preferences. Since marriage is a bond between two individuals, the effect of values and their variation should be understood. Two human values – *achievement* and *hedonism* – have come out as key human values in this regard as a result of the analysis. Hence, there is a need to look at the impact that these values produce both over time and between couples at any given instant of time.

Interestingly, it has been found that marriage between two achievement-oriented individuals lies at a high degree of risk (Berman, Sacks, & Lief, 1975). It is also an established fact that achievement-orientation is the hallmark of an individualistic culture (Hofstede, 1980). Furthermore, research suggests that marital quality is affected by type of culture, especially in regard to the strategy that couples apply in order to negotiate marital conflict (Holt & DeVore, 2005; Wheeler, Updegraff, & Thayer, 2010). It has been found that confrontational strategies are more often resorted to in achievement-oriented, individualistic cultures whereas in collectivistic cultures, conflict avoidance is more common (Pearson & Stephan, 1998; Cai & Fink, 2002).

Nevertheless, in the present context, the value orientation called *hedonism* and its relationship to marital quality acquires greater importance. In consonance with Byrne's (1971) finding, it has also been recorded that value similarity between spouses contributes to better marital quality (Kindelan & McCarrey, 1979; Medling & McCarrey, 1981; Acitelli, Kenny, & Weiner, 2001). A reason behind this finding could be better understanding between spouses leading to greater sense of bonding and reduced conflict emanating from disagreement on issues of value

preference (Burlison & Denton, 1992; Anderson et al., 2003). However, it is interesting to observe that value transmission between spouses rises with an increase in marital quality with the direction of the arrow of influence being from wives to husbands (Roest et al., 2006, p. 1143).

Now, this is an observation highly relevant to our study. The introduction of a gender differential insofar as value transmission is concerned, that too, wives being the transmitting agent with the husbands merely receiving the values, also raises questions regarding the traditional understanding of the demarcation of gender-roles within marriage. Roest et al. (2006) also highlight the fact that it is the “postmodern values” such as social criticism and hedonism that wives successfully transmit to their husbands. In this context, the aforementioned observation that shows a clear difference in hedonistic values among Indians based on gender tends to be highly relevant. If there is a significant difference between inclinations towards hedonism determined by gender, every heterosexual marriage could be hypothesized as a potential relationship for value transmission in this regard. Since it has been noted that wives are the active agents in this scheme of value transmission, it should rather be interesting to find out the gender that shows a greater tendency towards embracing hedonism as a cultural value. The association between degree of hedonism and gender in Indian society is illustrated by the following crosstabulation:

**Table 5.9: Hedonism in India classified by sex**

<b>V73 recode * Sex Crosstabulation</b>					
			Sex		Total
			Male	Female	
V73 recode (Hedonism)	Like Me	Count	303	235	538
		% within Sex	<b>30.9%</b>	<b>39.8%</b>	34.3%
	Somewhat Like Me	Count	386	212	598
		% within Sex	39.4%	35.9%	38.1%

	Not Like Me	Count	290	144	434
		% within Sex	29.6%	24.4%	27.6%
Total		Count	979	591	1570
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.001$  for Pearson chi-square test.

It is important to note that for the ‘*Like Me*’ in the table above, the percentage of females outnumber the percentage of males which is suggestive of the fact that women in the sample collected for World Values Survey, 2014 display a higher tendency to be hedonistic in approach. Thus, one might say that marriage in today’s Indian society is analogous to an electric field where a potential difference exists with regard to hedonism between husband and wife, wife in this case being located in a situation of higher, that is, positive potential. That said, one can’t deny the positive aspect of a woman’s marriage which offers her an opportunity to cast a lasting influence on her husband as far as the transmission of hedonistic values is concerned.<sup>11</sup> However, the result can’t be generalized for the whole of India’s population.

In light of this, it may not seem improper to investigate how values in our society are related to attitudes to affairs of family and marriage. In the preceding chapter, we noticed some of the variables from the World Values Survey, 2014 that unravel the influence of gender on attitudes to marital life. Therefore, it might be a good idea to find out how these variables get affected by the kind of cultural values held by people. The simplest way to uncover the relationship is to check the correlation that each of these variables have with the variables measuring human values in the survey. Out of the five variables studied in the last chapter, three directly ask questions concerning marital life. Hence, these three variables, i.e., V47, V50, and V54 will be used here to see how they correlate with values in our society.

---

<sup>11</sup> Conjecture based on Roest et al. (2006).

The first variable, V47 asked the respondents to give their opinion on the statement: “If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems”. This surely points to a vital aspect of marital dynamic which often leads to marital conflict. Thus, it is important to find out how human values affect people’s attitudes in this regard. It was observed that only two variables V73 (hedonism) and V75 (achievement) show significant correlation of value greater than 0.1. Their respective correlations are shown in the table below:

**Table 5.10: Hedonism and achievement are oppositely related to the variable measuring people’s attitude to women’s surpassing their husband’s income (V47)**

<b>Correlations</b>				
		If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems	Schwartz: It is important to this person to have a good time; to “spoil” oneself	Schwartz: Being very successful is important to this person; to have people recognize one’s achievements
If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.103**</b>	<b>-.108**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.000</b>	<b>.000</b>
	N	1557	1547	1538
** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).				

It is noteworthy that here we find the same set of two values, i.e., hedonism and achievement-orientation that have a significant relationship with this aspect of marital life. In other words, the two values, though weakly correlated, do affect people’s attitude regarding marital problems resulting from wives’ employment and income. But an important point of observation here is the

difference in sign of the Pearson coefficient in the above table. A plausible explanation to this observation could be that greater hedonism could lead people to think that marriage is an arena of competition between spouses. Therefore, if the wife's income surpasses that of the husband's, marital problems are sure to arise. On the other hand, the value of achievement orientation tends to reverse this notion. Thus, achievement-oriented people do not tend to consider wives' higher income as a cause of marital problem. Although the literature reviewed above suggests that marriage between two achievement-oriented persons might see more problems, as far as attitude regarding income differential between couples is concerned, achievement-orientation as a value does not lead people to view it in a negative light.

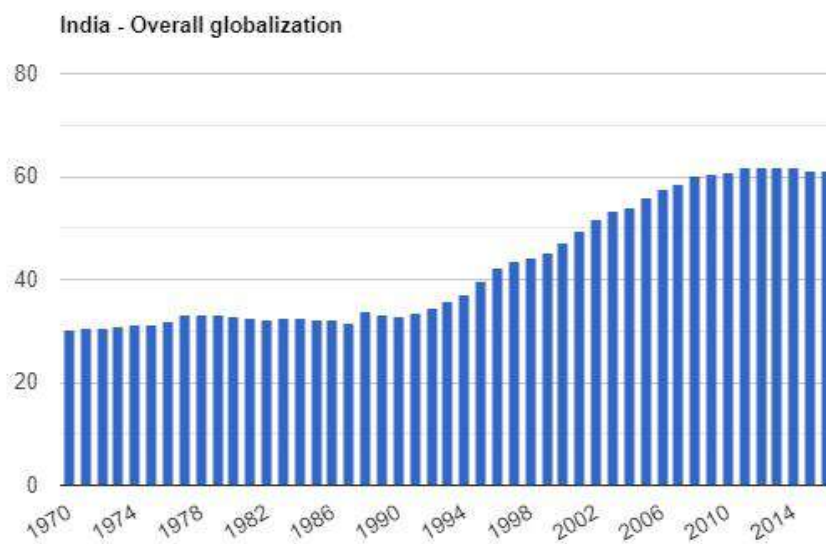
### **5.8. The Indian scenario**

Looking at the trend of globalization in India, one might argue that India has undergone rapid changes in almost every dimension – social, economic, and political due to globalization. The chart below shows the rate of overall globalization (comprising all three dimensions) in India:<sup>12</sup>

***Figure 5.2: The trend of Globalization in India, 1970-2017***

---

<sup>12</sup> The data is published by Swiss Institute of Technology based in Zurich.

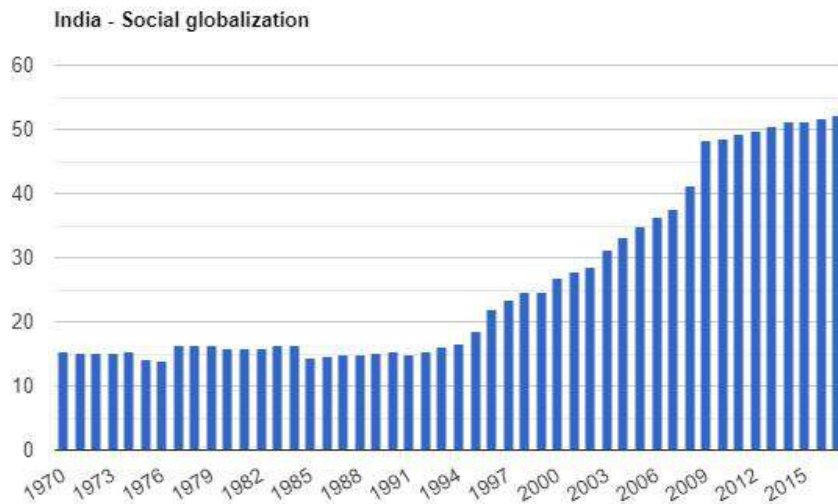


Source: TheGlobalEconomy.com, The Swiss Institute of Technology in Zurich.

It is clearly discernible that after over two decades of stagnation, India steadily embarked on the path of globalization, especially since mid-1990s. The “flattening” of the world, a phenomenon which was discovered by Thomas Friedman (2005) has undoubtedly affected India in a big way in the recent past, though Friedman himself did not find the process to have engulfed the whole of India at the time. He considered India to be relatively ‘unflat’ in the sense that not more than 2 per cent of the Indian population was found to be reaping the full benefits of globalization (Friedman, 2005, pp. 382-83). However, it must be said that Friedman published his book in 2005 which seems quite dated now as far as the trend of globalization in India is concerned. Globalization has progressed at an accelerated pace in the past one decade or so impacting India in several domains of social, economic, and political sectors. Since what interests us more in the context of this study is ‘social globalization’ rather than economic or political globalization, it

would aid our understanding to look at the trend of social globalization in India in the past decades. The figure<sup>13</sup> below shows the trend:

**Figure 5.3: The trend of social Globalization in India, 1970-2017**

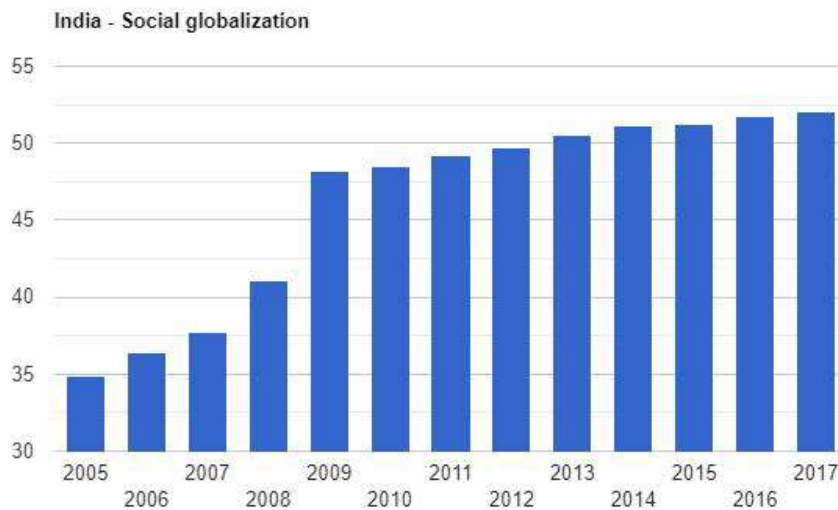


Source: TheGlobalEconomy.com, The Swiss Institute of Technology in Zurich.

What seems striking here is the almost zero gradient of the curve joining the bars (representing stagnation) from 1970 to the mid-1990s. It indicates that the process of social globalization struck its roots in India quite late. The figure shows two watershed moments in the history of the process. The first seems to have occurred after 1994 when India took a leap to register an upward trend in social globalization, accelerating from 20 to 40 points in just twelve years. The second jump appears to have taken place around 2009 since when the index has remained close to or above the 50-point mark, the highest value of 52.08 being achieved in 2017. To draw a comparison with Friedman’s (2005) opinion, let’s take another look at the trend from 2005-17:

<sup>13</sup> The data is published by Swiss Institute of Technology based in Zurich.

*Figure 5.4: The trend of social Globalization in India, 2005-2017*



Source: TheGlobalEconomy.com, The Swiss Institute of Technology in Zurich.

The figure is self-explanatory as regards the phenomenal rise in the index of social globalization since 2005 which proves that India has been comprehensively engulfed by the process in recent times.

But the impact of this phenomenon on the dynamics of family and marriage has not been researched extensively, although in most research in recent times, an underpinning of the process has inarguably been felt. Rise in urban population, increased labour migration, ease of intermarriage, heightened concern for women's rights within conjugal bond are some of the popular themes that have often featured in some of the prominent commentaries/research on Indian society, especially with regard to the changing norms of family and marriage.

One of the primary consequences of globalization is enhanced labour migration in India. Thus, it becomes imperative to take a look at the manner in which it has affected the institution of



marriage in recent times. Research suggests that owing to the phenomenon of moving out by the husbands there emerges a situation where a lot of families have left-behind wives. How it affects them is the aspect that interests us most at this point. A study found that there is a rise in both responsibilities as well as autonomy among left-behind wives if the wives do not reside in extended families (Desai & Banerji, 2008). The finding seems to be in agreement with another study based in southern Mozambique which entailed a survey of 1680 married women. The study discovered that men's migration does increase the autonomy of their wives in matters of decisions within family settings, a feature of family life that continues even after the return of the husband (Yabiku, Agadjanian, & Sevoyan, 2010).

An interesting bit of observation in this regard is that a rather feeble correlation (+0.17) exists between the number of divorced women and the number of migrants (those who migrated for "work/employment") across Indian states and UTs.<sup>14</sup> Hence, one might argue that migration for work in India is not too detrimental to the health of marital life, although in a much restricted way, it can lead to an increase in the incidents of divorce in India. Thus, it may be hypothesized that migration for work leads to a reduction in marital quality, although a final word on the subject can only be said once the hypothesis is tested which makes it an open question for further research.

The study by Steve Derne (2008) published in the form of a book entitled *Globalization on the Ground* provides some useful insights in this regard. It is a well-researched account on the concomitant changes within marital life due to the impact of globalization on Indian society. A key observation documented in the book is the occurrence of a mild but visible cultural shift in the attitude of Indians from collectivism to individualism. A marker of the change, according to

---

<sup>14</sup> The analysis is based on data from Census of India, 2011.

Derne (2008), is the rise in accommodative attitude to love marriage among Indians in recent times. Comparing his own data from two sets of interviews separated by a span of 10 years (first set of interviews being conducted in 1991), Steve Derne (2008) informs his readers that there has been a considerably greater degree of acceptance for love marriage among Indian men.

An interesting feature of Derne's (2008) findings is the telling impact of Bollywood movies on Indian culture. He tries to establish a causal relationship between celebration of individual heroism in Indian films and the cultural change it causes. The spread of cultural globalization has also made entry into Indian society through Hollywood movies which do command a greater respect among Indian movie-goers. Nonetheless, Derne (2008) points out the ambivalence caused by themes of movies and the cognitive impact some of those movies have on the Indian mind. He argues that the decisive character of parental choice and the high impact of family on individual life have hardly been undermined to any substantial degree (Derne, 2008, p. 170). Derne (2008, p. 171) elucidates: "This suggests that non-élite Indians *accommodate new meanings introduced by cultural globalization to obdurate structural realities they face*".<sup>15</sup>

Derne's (2008) account of the cultural change brought about by globalization and a cognizable tension between individualism and collectivism among Indians appears as a motivation enough for us to further investigate the theme. Quite visible change in values seems to have occurred in the past two decades, thanks to global trends sparked by globalization. In Steve Derne's (2008, p. 165) opinion, so far as Indian society is concerned, "consumerism" is "perhaps the most prominent way in which new individualism is expressed". This consumerism coupled with an emphasis on personal choice has given rise to a "fantasy culture of modernity" in India (Srivastava 2001: 233). Hence, it can be hypothesized without doubt that a process igniting an

---

<sup>15</sup> Italics in original.

overall change in the societal value system of this country has ensued following the impact of globalization.

### **5.9. Hedonism and Marital Quality in India**

In simple words, hedonism means the pursuit of pleasure. Etymologically, it is derived from the Greek word meaning pleasure. It is both a psychological and ethical value lucidly stated by Jeremy Bentham (1789): “Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain, and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do”. Thus, avoiding pain and seeking pleasure becomes the guiding force behind all human actions according to this principle explaining hedonism.

Hedonism has been found to be a vital human value that enhances people’s well-being (Bernecker & Becker, 2020). We have also seen earlier that hedonism has a positive role to play in marital relations. Therefore, it’s essential to find out the effect of hedonism on marital quality. The datasheet generated by us carries just one variable V60 that looks to measure the inclination toward hedonism as a cultural value.<sup>16</sup> The statement in the questionnaire is: “I seek every chance I can to have fun. It is important to me to do things that give me pleasure”. The respondents were asked to tell us the extent to which they agreed with the statement such as ‘very much’, ‘somewhat’, ‘a little’ or ‘not at all’. The distribution of hedonism as a value among the sample taken for this study is as follows:

***Table 5.11: Frequency table showing the distribution of ‘hedonism’ in the sample***

<b>seek pleasure (Hedonism)</b>
---------------------------------

<sup>16</sup> The single question was taken from Schwartz’s Portrait Values Questionnaire. The statement measuring hedonism in this regard corresponds to question # 10 of the questionnaire designed to measure pleasure-seeking quality of the respondents.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all	3	1.0	1.0	1.0
	A little	24	7.9	7.9	8.9
	Somewhat	117	38.6	38.6	47.5
	Very Much	159	52.5	52.5	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Thus, we might say that hedonism seems to be a value that in some degree is found in the entire sample. Thus, it becomes essential to find out how it varies with other variables included in this study and the manner in which it affects marital quality in India.

As a first, its relationship with gender was analyzed. *No significant relationship was found to exist between degree of hedonism and gender for our sample*, a finding that contradicts the finding of World Values Survey, 2014 (discussed above). This difference in observation could be due to the size and diversity of the two samples. The sample that we are working with is composed of highly-educated, fairly affluent class of the society which might serve as an explanation why both men and women tend to have a similar inclination towards hedonism.

That said, probing the influence of gender on hedonism as a human value is not the prime purpose of this study. Rather, the study aims to analyze the effect of hedonism on marital quality and its dimensions. To meet that goal, the variable measuring hedonism on a 4-point Likert scale was recoded to measure the degree of hedonism as a binomial variable. The distribution of the sample based on degree of hedonism is shown below:

**Table 5.12: Frequency table showing the distribution of ‘Degree of hedonism’ in the sample**

Degree of Hedonism					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Low	144	47.5	47.5	47.5

	High	159	52.5	52.5	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

Degree of hedonism seems to be evenly distributed among the respondents.

Before we take a look at the association between hedonism and the final score of marital quality for our sample, it seems essential to find out its connection to the five dimensions of marital quality. In that regard, it was found that hedonism holds a significant relationship with marital happiness only among all five dimensions. The table below summarizes the finding:

**Table 5.13: Relationship between ‘degree of hedonism’ and Marital Happiness**

**Happiness Index\_binomial \* Degree of Hedonism**

Crosstab					
			Degree of Hedonism		Total
			Low	High	
Happiness Index_binomial	Unhappy	Count	9	24	33
		% within Degree of Hedonism	6.3%	15.1%	10.9%
	Happy	Count	135	135	270
		% within Degree of Hedonism	<b>93.8%</b>	<b>84.9%</b>	89.1%
Total		Count	144	159	303
		% within Degree of Hedonism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.014 for Pearson chi-square test.

The above result shows that those with a high degree of hedonistic values are more likely to score relatively low in terms of marital happiness for the sample. 93.8 per cent of the respondents with low degree of hedonism think they are ‘happy’ with their marriage while the corresponding figure for those with high degree of hedonism comes out to be 84.9 per cent. Thus, there seems

to be a *negative relationship* between *hedonism and marital happiness* for the sample studied here.

Keeping this in view, one might try to look at how marital quality as a whole varies with hedonism. With the index of marital quality classified into low, moderate, and high, we arrive at the following result:

**Table 5.14: Relationship between ‘degree of hedonism’ and ‘marital quality’ in India**

<b>Marital Quality recode_binomial * Degree of Hedonism Crosstabulation</b>					
			Degree of Hedonism		Total
			Low	High	
Marital Quality recode_binomial	Low	Count	66	54	120
		% within Degree of Hedonism	45.8%	34.0%	39.6%
	High	Count	78	105	183
		% within Degree of Hedonism	<b>54.2%</b>	<b>66.0%</b>	60.4%
Total		Count	144	159	303
		% within Degree of Hedonism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.035$  for Pearson chi-square test.

The chi-square test here turns out to be significant implying that hedonism as a human value does have an impact on marital quality for the sample. *We find here that ‘high’ degree of hedonism tends to enhance marital quality.*

That noted, it would be an exercise worth performing to look at the relation hedonism has with some other demographic and socioeconomic variables of importance included in this study. In this context, it is important to highlight that age turns out to be an important demographic variable that seems to bear a relationship with hedonism for the sample under study. With the

sample bifurcated into older and younger respondents,<sup>17</sup> we get the following significant relation based on chi-square test:

**Table 5.15: Degree of Hedonism in India according to age group**

Degree of Hedonism * Age_binomial Crosstabulation					
			Age_binomial		Total
			Younger	Older	
Degree of Hedonism	Low	Count	72	72	144
		% within Age_binomial	41.4%	55.8%	47.5%
	High	Count	102	57	159
		% within Age_binomial	<b>58.6%</b>	<b>44.2%</b>	52.5%
Total		Count	174	129	303
		% within Age_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.013 for Pearson chi-square test.

It appears to be an interesting finding (not surprising though) that *the younger lot of the sample have a high degree of hedonism*. In the opening sections of this chapter, we made an assumption that globalization affects cultural values which can't be any different in the case of India. We also found some evidence suggestive of it in Steve Derne's (2008) insofar as the changing landscape of marriage in India is concerned. Therefore, it becomes imperative for us to find out whether the impact of individualism and hedonism found for our sample addresses the question of intergenerational difference. To meet this end, both these values were investigated for any association with age. When the entire sample was grouped into two – younger and older – only hedonism showed a significant relation.<sup>18</sup>

It confirms, rather reinforces, the finding reported by World Values Survey that found hedonism to be a human value that varies across age groups. What's more, even the spread of the

<sup>17</sup> Those less than 35 years of age were considered younger, the rest older.

<sup>18</sup> It is significant at 95 per cent confidence level.

population in this regard seems to follow a similar pattern for both samples. We earlier saw that the younger population had a greater tilt towards hedonism which is exactly what we find for our sample of 303 respondents. 58.6 per cent of the younger respondents as opposed to 44.2 per cent of the older ones tend to have high hedonistic values in life.

Another important variable worthy of investigation in this regard is the relationship between degree of hedonism and the presence of children. A crosstabulation gave the following result:

**Table 5.16: Relationship between Degree of Hedonism and whether the respondents have children**

<b>Degree of Hedonism * Children or not? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Children or not?		Total
			No children	Children	
Degree of Hedonism	Low	Count	21	120	141
		% within Children or not?	23.3%	57.1%	47.0%
	High	Count	69	90	159
		% within Children or not?	<b>76.7%</b>	<b>42.9%</b>	53.0%
Total		Count	90	210	300
		% within Children or not?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

There seems to be a negative association here with the degree of hedonism going down with if there are children. While the finding could be variously interpreted, one explanation could be commitment toward children and well-being of the family as a whole that rises with the coming of children.

Besides these dimensions of marital quality, hedonism as a cultural value might also be conjectured to bear an impact on marital commitment. When checked for our sample, the



relationship between the two did not turn out to be significant. However, hedonism turned out to be related to ‘loyalty to one’s partner’ as illustrated by the following crosstabulation:<sup>19</sup>

**Table 5.17: Relationship between ‘Loyalty to partner’ and ‘degree of hedonism’**

loyalty recode * Degree of Hedonism Crosstabulation					
			Degree of Hedonism		Total
			Low	High	
loyalty recode	Low	Count	18	6	24
		% within Degree of Hedonism	12.5%	3.8%	7.9%
	High	Count	126	153	279
		% within Degree of Hedonism	<b>87.5%</b>	<b>96.2%</b>	92.1%
Total		Count	144	159	303
		% within Degree of Hedonism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.005 for Pearson chi-square test.

What stands out here is the fact that loyalty towards the partner increases if the degree of hedonism is high.

It may be an instance that corroborates the thesis suggested by Lazartigues et al. (2005) that there has been a gradual movement from the Durkheimian model of family based on duty to a new model based on hedonism and consensus. The positive association is also indicative of the fact that as one’s inclination to pleasure-seeking increases, one becomes more loyal to one’s marriage partner. In addition to it, it was also found that hedonism is positively associated with one’s likelihood of sacrificing for the sake of one’s marriage partner. The crosstabulation below shows the relationship:

<sup>19</sup> The correlation is significant at 95 per cent confidence level.

**Table 5.18: Relationship between the tendency to make ‘sacrifice’ for one’s partner and degree of hedonism**

<b>sacrifice recode * Degree of Hedonism Crosstabulation</b>					
			Degree of Hedonism		Total
			Low	High	
sacrifice recode	Low	Count	33	21	54
		% within Degree of Hedonism	22.9%	13.2%	17.8%
	High	Count	111	138	249
		% within Degree of Hedonism	<b>77.1%</b>	<b>86.8%</b>	82.2%
Total		Count	144	159	303
		% within Degree of Hedonism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.027$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Hence, one is more likely to make sacrifices for one’s marriage partner if one has a high degree of hedonism. In other words, personal commitment to marriage goes up with the pursuit of hedonistic goals. A natural consequence of this is increased stability of marriage which, in turn, could be considered an agent contributing to improved marital quality. All this goes to corroborate the finding alluded to above that hedonism bears a positive impact on marital quality as a whole.

That said, a fascinating story seems to present itself as we try to investigate the relationship between hedonism and marital quality in the backdrop of the effect produced by marital commitment. Thus, it seems worthwhile to find out the manner in which these variables are related to each other and the effect they produce in determining marital quality. Taking one at a time, the independent variable measuring marital commitment in terms of loyalty to one’s partner representing a combination of both personal and institutional commitment was checked for any mediation effect on the relationship between marital quality and hedonism. To begin

with, it was confirmed whether the three variables are significantly correlated. The correlations are as follows:

**Table 5.19: Correlation between Marital Quality, ‘degree of hedonism’ and ‘loyalty’ to spouse**

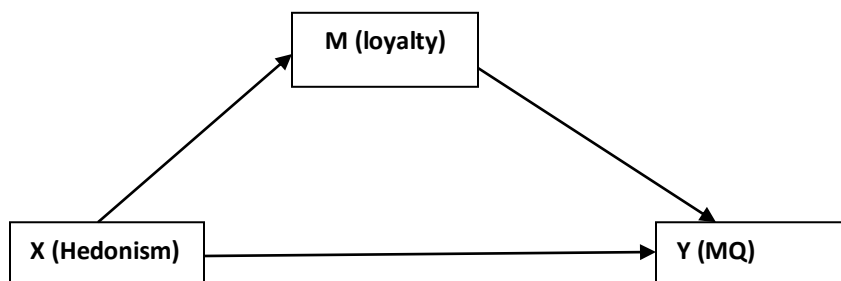
Correlations				
		Marital Quality recode_binomial	Degree of Hedonism	loyalty recode
Marital Quality recode_binomial	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.121*</b>	<b>.212**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.035</b>	<b>.000</b>
	N	303	303	303
Degree of Hedonism	Pearson Correlation	.121*	1	<b>.161**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.035		<b>.005</b>
	N	303	303	303
loyalty recode	Pearson Correlation	.212**	.161**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.005	
	N	303	303	303

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

It could be easily noticed that all three are significantly correlated to each other. Hence, we can proceed with mediation analysis with these variables. It is hypothesized at this point that the relationship between hedonism and marital quality discovered in this study is mediated by loyalty to marriage partner. The conceptual diagram of the relationship is as shown:

**Figure 5.5: Conceptual design with Hedonism as the independent variable (X), Marital Quality as the dependent variable (Y) and loyalty to one’s partner as the mediator variable (M)**



We first check for the linear regression model between X and Y which turns out to be a significant one as shown below:

**Table 5.20: Correlation between Marital Quality and degree of hedonism in the linear regression model**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.121 <sup>a</sup>	.015	.011	.487

a. Predictors: (Constant), Degree of Hedonism

Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.423	.090		15.828	.000
	Degree of Hedonism	.119	.056	.121	2.119	.035

a. Dependent Variable: Marital Quality recode\_binomial

Next we see if the linear regression model between X and M is significant. The result obtained is as follows:

**Table 5.21: Relationship between ‘Loyalty’ to spouse and ‘degree of hedonism’ in the linear regression model**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.161 <sup>a</sup>	.026	.023	.267

a. Predictors: (Constant), Degree of Hedonism

Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.

		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.788	.049		36.221	.000
	Degree of Hedonism	.087	.031	<b>.161</b>	2.837	<b>.005</b>

a. Dependent Variable: loyalty recode

The model turns out to be significant.

Finally, we run linear regression with both X and M as independent variables. This is what we find:

***Table 5.22: Marital Quality is significantly related to ‘loyalty’ while ‘degree of hedonism’ drops out of significance when the two are taken together***

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.230 <sup>a</sup>	.053	.047	.478

a. Predictors: (Constant), loyalty recode, Degree of Hedonism

Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.782	.204		3.828	.000
	Degree of Hedonism	.087	.056	.089	1.568	.118
	loyalty recode	.358	.103	.198	3.475	<b>.001</b>

a. Dependent Variable: Marital Quality recode\_binomial

It is clear that the significance that degree of hedonism earlier showed is lost in this model suggesting the fact that the association between hedonism and marital quality is not a direct one. Rather, loyalty to one’s marriage partner acts as a mediator in this case.

The analysis thus far has included variables that have been recoded to give them a dichotomous form. To confirm the truth of the above mediation analysis, we rely on a more sophisticated

technique making use of the original variables used in this study. We run mediation analysis using the PROCESS macro developed by Andrew F. Hayes. The conceptual framework for this analysis remains the same as the one illustrated in the diagram drawn above. This is what we find on running the analysis on PROCESS:

**Table 5.23: Output of mediation analysis from PROCESS macro where ‘X’ denotes Hedonism (V60), ‘Y’ denotes Marital Quality (V61) and ‘M’ denotes loyalty to partner (V54)**

```
*****
Model   : 4
  Y     : V61
  X     : V60
  M     : V54

Sample
Size:   303

*****
*****
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
  V61

Model Summary
      R      R-sq      MSE      F      p
    .2928    .0858   119.6084   14.0704   .0000

Model
      coeff      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
constant  59.6969   4.0359  14.7915  .0000   51.7546   67.6391
V60       2.0049   .9560   2.0972  .0368    .1236    3.8861
V54       3.8840   .9308   4.1726  .0000    2.0522    5.7158
```

It is clear that once again as in the case of linear regression model tested previously, V60, that is, *hedonism* tends to be non-significant in its relation to Index of Marital Quality (V61) when tested along with *loyalty*. On the other hand, *loyalty* to marriage partner seems to be significantly related to index of marital quality according to the output shown here. Thus, we need to look at the total, direct, and indirect effects to find out the role of mediation in this relationship:

```
***** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y *****
Total effect of X on Y
```

	Effect	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
	3.0269	.9489	3.1899	<b>.0016</b>	1.1596	4.8943
Direct effect of X on Y						
	Effect	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
	2.0049	.9560	2.0972	<b>.0368</b>	.1236	3.8861
Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:						
	Effect	BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI		
V54	1.0221	.4109	<b>.3856</b>	<b>1.9801</b>		

We notice here that while the total effect of X on Y is significant, the direct effect comes out to be non-significant. In contrast, the indirect effect, that is, the mediation effect of *loyalty* on the relationship seems significant as lower and upper control intervals do not contain zero. The standardized indirect effect is as follows:

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:				
	Effect	BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
V54	<b>.0611</b>	.0239	<b>.0233</b>	<b>.1157</b>

Thus, the coefficient of indirect effect in this case is 0.0611 which confirms that the effect of hedonism on marital quality is mediated through marital commitment measured by *loyalty* to one's marriage partner. It comes as a striking piece of research finding that marital commitment in the form of loyalty to one's partner implying *personal* commitment is the key variable that mediates the relationship between hedonism and marital quality more than any other variable.

Considering the effect of hedonism on a number of aspects determining marital quality in our society, it seems a prudent exercise to try and locate the ways in which hedonism seems to be related to socioeconomic variables considered in this analysis. Hence, a binary logistic regression was run with all eighteen variables input as independent variables. The model we obtained is described below:

*Table 5.24: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with ‘degree of hedonism’ as the dichotomous dependent variable*

**Block 1: Method = Enter**

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	83.285	19	0.000
	Block	83.285	19	0.000
	Model	83.285	19	<b>0.000</b>

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	304.453 <sup>a</sup>	0.256	0.342

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Step	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
1	23.598	8	<b>0.003</b>

The model does not seem to fit the data well. Nonetheless, it might be considered an adequate fit.

The classification table reveals the rest of the characteristics of the model:

*Table 5.25: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with degree of hedonism as the dichotomous dependent variable*

Classification Table <sup>a</sup>					
Observed			Predicted		
			Degree of Hedonism		Percentage Correct
			Low	High	
Step 1	Degree of Hedonism	Low	81	45	64.3



	High	33	123	<b>78.8</b>
	Overall Percentage			<b>72.3</b>

a. The cut value is .500

The model seems to be fairly accurate with a classification accuracy of 72.3 per cent. The manner in which the variables are related to hedonism in our society is shown in the following table:

**Table 5.26: Relationship between independent variables and ‘degree of hedonism’ as the dependent dichotomous variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	0.870	0.433	<b>0.045</b>	2.386
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.266	0.324	0.412	1.305
Spouse living away? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.853	0.544	0.117	0.426
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.856	0.389	<b>0.028</b>	0.425
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	1.218	0.414	<b>0.003</b>	3.379
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	1.650	0.520	<b>0.001</b>	5.209
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	-0.633	0.715	0.376	0.531
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	-0.147	0.360	0.682	0.863
Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	0.360	0.401	0.370	1.433
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	0.657	0.347	0.058	1.929
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	-1.903	0.479	<b>0.000</b>	0.149
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	0.227	0.341	0.504	1.255
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	-0.113	0.373	0.763	0.893
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	0.293	0.374	0.433	1.34
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	0.174	0.424	0.681	1.19
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	-0.635	0.339	0.061	0.53
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	-0.231	0.323	0.474	0.793
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	1.391	0.465	<b>0.003</b>	4.017
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	0.901	0.378	<b>0.017</b>	2.462
Constant		-3.224	1.857	0.083	0.04

We can clearly infer from the table that hedonism in our society is a function of gender differences with men tending to be 2.3 times more likely to be hedonistic than women, a finding that depicts a pattern quite the opposite of what we found with the World Values Survey data. Nonetheless, what seems to be of utmost importance is the fact that the gender effect comes into play in determining the degree of hedonism in India in both cases. Besides gender, economic factors such as employment (both own and spousal employment) and satisfaction with income seem to be significantly related to hedonism. It could be inferred that an employed person is 58 per cent less likely to be hedonistic than an unemployed person. On the other hand, one with an employed spouse seems to be 3.3 times more likely to be hedonistic than those with unemployed spouse. Those with high satisfaction with their income are 2.4 times more likely to be hedonistic than those with low satisfaction. As far as family dynamics is concerned, the presence of children tends to reduce the degree of hedonism. Those with children are 85 per cent less likely to be hedonistic. Moreover, those who think their health has been improving in the last one year tend to be 4 times more likely to be hedonistic than those who think otherwise. However, one's attention is drawn to a finding suggesting the fact that people with addictive habits such as smoking, drinking etc. are 5 times more likely to be hedonistic than teetotallers.

#### **5.10. Individualism and Marital Quality in India**

Having arrived at the discussion on the changing norms of family, one is drawn to another amazing fact that hedonism becomes a road to happiness in individualistic cultures (Joshani & Jarden, 2016). Thus, individualism has been shown to have a moderating effect on the relationship between hedonism and happiness. We have already seen in this chapter that individualism as an outcome of globalization does affect marital life in many ways. The questionnaire used for our study contains two questions from the Individualism and Collectivism

scale (Triandis & Gelfland, 1998). One of the questions measures Horizontal Individualism (HI) while the other measures Vertical Individualism (VI). The scoring scheme for the scale was modified from a 9-point Likert scale to 4-point Likert scale to achieve consistency with the rest of the questionnaire measuring marital quality. The scores of the two types of individualism were added to compute the final Index of Individualism recoded as Degree of Individualism to convert it into a binomial variable with two categories – low and high. However, the analysis here will consider the two questions both separately and in a combined form.

Before all else, it seems a better idea if one looks at the composition of the sample with regard to the personality trait called individualism. The frequency table shown here reveals that more than 70 percent of the respondents tend to report themselves as highly individualistic.

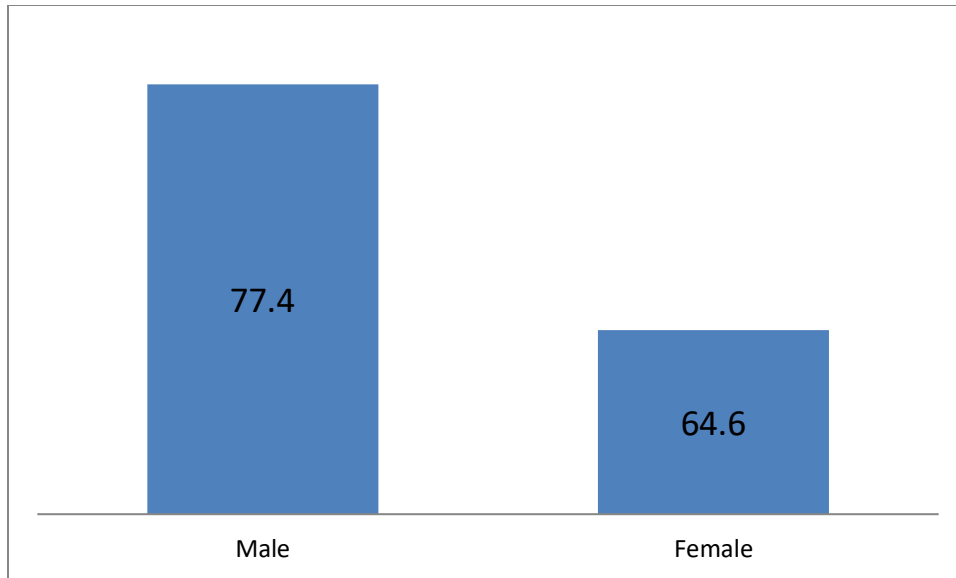
**Table 5.27: Frequency table showing the distribution of ‘individualism’ in the sample**

<b>Individualism recode_binomial</b>					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Low	87	28.7	28.7	28.7
	<b>High</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>71.3</b>	71.3	100.0
	Total	303	100.0	100.0	

That noted, it sounds rather prudent an idea to find out the probable relationship between individualism and some of the important demographic and socioeconomic variables included in this study. As a first it was discovered that individualism in our society does vary according to gender differences with men showing a greater tendency to be individualistic than women.<sup>20</sup> The difference is represented in the figure below:

**Figure 5.6: Frequency distribution of Individualism classified by ‘gender’**

<sup>20</sup> The relationship is significant at 99 per cent confidence level.



\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents with 'high' individualism in each gender category

Apart from gender, it occurs as a fact of greater importance that higher education is highly correlated with 'high' individualism. The relationship is summarized by means of the following table:<sup>21</sup>

**Table 5.28: Relationship between Individualism and level of Education**

Degree of Individualism	Education	
	Low	High
Low	** 48.6	18.2
High	51.4	81.8

\*\* refers to significance at 99% confidence level.

Another socioeconomic variable, that is, income also features as an aspect of modern life that bears a significant relation to individualism. This is how the association looks like:

**Table 5.29: Individualism in India according to income group**

Crosstab		
	Income groups	Total

<sup>21</sup> \*\* refers to significance at 99 per cent confidence level.

			Low	Middle	High	
Individualism recode_binomial	Low	Count	33	9	45	87
		% within Income groups	42.3%	11.5%	30.6%	28.7%
	High	Count	45	69	102	216
		% within Income groups	<b>57.7%</b>	<b>88.5%</b>	<b>69.4%</b>	71.3%
Total		Count	78	78	147	303
		% within Income groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

As a point of interpretation, it must be said here that those in the middle income group develop a higher tendency to become individualistic in life. It is important, however, to note that other than education and income, individualistic tendencies among married individuals also get affected by their employment status. Not contrary to expectation, those with employment are more likely to have a high degree of individualism as seen in the table below:

**Table 5.30: Relationship between Individualism and employment**

<b>Individualism recode_binomial * Are you currently employed? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Are you currently employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
Individualism recode_binomial	Low	Count	30	57	87
		% within Are you currently employed?	38.5%	25.3%	28.7%
	High	Count	48	168	216
		% within Are you currently employed?	<b>61.5%</b>	<b>74.7%</b>	71.3%
Total		Count	78	225	303
		% within Are you currently employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.027$  for Pearson chi-square test.

It must be added here that although individualism and employment are related for the sample, the relationship does not seem to vary differently according to gender.

Having noted how individualism is, perhaps, associated with some of these variables, let's try and find out how it plays out in the context of marital quality. As far as marital quality as a whole is concerned, there seems to be no significant relation with individualism for this sample. However, some significant relationship seems to emerge if it is checked against individual dimensions of marital quality. In that regard, it was found that among the five dimensions, the relationship assumes significance only in the case of marital disagreement as shown below:

**Table 5.31: Relationship between Individualism and Marital Disagreement**

<b>Marital Disagreement_binomial * Individualism recode_binomial Crosstabulation</b>					
			Individualism recode_binomial		Total
			Low	High	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	42	45	87
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	48.3%	20.8%	28.7%
	Better	Count	45	171	216
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	<b>51.7%</b>	<b>79.2%</b>	71.3%
Total		Count	87	216	303
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

The table here shows a considerable difference between persons having different degrees of individualism. While 79.2 percent of the respondents with high individualism tend to perform better in terms of marital disagreement, only 51.7 percent of those with low individualism exhibit a tendency to being better in respect of the negative dimension of marital quality called marital disagreement. Thus, one might infer that those with high individualism in our society tend to experience lower marital disagreement. In other words, *individualism as a personality trait is likely to better people's experience within married lives by reducing the probability of*

*disagreeing with their partners.* Therefore, one might argue that rising individualism in Indian society tends not to reduce marital quality. It, rather, acts as a factor with a positive influence on marital disagreement, one of the dimensions adding a negative component to marital quality.

As a supplement to the argument, it must be mentioned at this point that for this sample, marital violence holds a negative relation to individualism. None of the respondents with high individualism reported marital violence. In fact, all cases of marital violence in the sample seem to be associated with persons with low individualism. The finding is shown below:

**Table 5.32: Relationship between Individualism and ‘marital violence’**

<b>violence recode * Individualism recode_binomial Crosstabulation</b>					
		Individualism recode_binomial		Total	
		Low	High		
violence recode	Worse	Count	6	0	6
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	6.9%	0.0%	2.0%
	Better	Count	81	216	297
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	<b>93.1%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	98.0%
Total		Count	87	216	303
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

It may also be added here that there are two indicators of marital problems – jealousy between couples and criticizing one’s partner – that also seem to register some improvement with rise in individualistic tendency in our society. The tables below summarize the relationship:

**Table 5.33: Relationship between Individualism and ‘jealousy’ between partners**

<b>Crosstab</b>		
	Individualism recode_binomial	Total

			Low	High	
jealousy recode	High	Count	6	3	9
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	6.9%	1.4%	3.0%
	Low	Count	81	213	294
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	<b>93.1%</b>	<b>98.6%</b>	97.0%
Total		Count	87	216	303
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.011$  for Pearson chi-square test.

**Table 5.34: Relationship between Individualism and the tendency to criticize one's partner within marital relation**

Crosstab					
			Individualism recode_binomial		Total
			Low	High	
criticism recode	High	Count	18	24	42
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	20.7%	11.1%	13.9%
	Low	Count	69	192	261
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	<b>79.3%</b>	<b>88.9%</b>	86.1%
Total		Count	87	216	303
		% within Individualism recode_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.029$  for Pearson chi-square test.

That sums up the manner in which individualism as a personality trait in our society seems to be related to marital quality and its various constituting aspects. However, it seems worthwhile to find out the relationship it holds with the socioeconomic and demographic variables included in this study. Therefore, a binary logistic regression comes to our aid. The model thus obtained is described below:



*Table 5.35: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with Individualism as the dichotomous dependent variable*

**Block 1: Method = Enter**

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	95.340	19	0.000
	Block	95.340	19	0.000
	Model	95.340	19	<b>0.000</b>

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	242.867 <sup>a</sup>	0.287	0.411

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	15.354	8	<b>0.053</b>

The indices and p-values here suggest that the model fits the data quite well. Hence, we must take a look at the classification table:

*Table 5.36: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with Individualism as the dichotomous dependent variable*

Classification Table <sup>a</sup>					
Observed			Predicted		
			Individualism recode_binomial		Percentage Correct
Step 1	Individualism	Low	Low	High	
			<b>39</b>	42	48.1

	recode_binomial	High	27	174	86.6
	Overall Percentage				75.5

The sensitivity of the model is quite high pegged at 86.6 per cent. Now let us see how the variables are related to individualism. The table below shows the picture:

**Table 5.37: Relationship between independent variables and ‘Individualism’ as the dependent dichotomous variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	0.615	0.503	0.221	1.850
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.123	0.375	0.743	0.884
Spouse living away? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-1.216	0.602	<b>0.043</b>	0.296
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	1.012	0.469	<b>0.031</b>	2.752
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.126	0.529	0.812	0.882
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	1.050	0.602	0.081	2.858
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	-1.118	0.762	0.142	0.327
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	0.694	0.437	0.112	2.003
Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	1.504	0.550	<b>0.006</b>	4.498
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	2.429	0.450	<b>0.000</b>	11.348
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	-0.468	0.512	0.361	0.627
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	1.814	0.476	<b>0.000</b>	6.133
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	0.347	0.419	0.407	1.415
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	-1.384	0.470	<b>0.003</b>	0.251
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	0.455	0.476	0.339	1.576
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	0.511	0.414	0.216	1.668
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	-0.386	0.364	0.288	0.679
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	-1.757	0.624	<b>0.005</b>	0.173
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	0.453	0.434	0.296	1.573
Constant		-4.235	2.018	0.036	0.014

One of the most glaring observations here seems to be the relationship between education and individualism in our society. As the level of education goes up, individualism seems to rise

steeply. Those with ‘high’ level of education seems to be 11 times more likely to be individualistic than those with low level of education. Caste also seems to be related to individualism with those coming from ‘reserved’ categories tending to be 4.5 times more likely to have high degree of individualism compared to people from ‘unreserved’ category. Employment also emerges as a factor in this regard as the employed ones tend to be 2.75 times more likely to be high in terms of individualism than unemployed persons. As to family dynamics, one might argue that those living in a nuclear setting seem to be 75 per cent less likely to have high degree of individualism than those living in other family settings. That said, a peculiar relation seems to exist as those who reported improvement in health conditions over last one year tend to be 83 per cent less likely to have high degree of individualism than those who feel the opposite. It needs mentioned as well that those whose spouse lives away are 70 per cent less likely to be high in terms of individualism than those who live with their spouse.

We earlier saw that individualism as a personality trait has two components – horizontal and vertical. Thus, having gone through the above associations between individualism and certain indicator variables constituting marital quality, one needs to take a look at how the two components of individualism are correlated with these aspects of marital quality. Although the two components do not show any significant association with marital quality as a whole, it might emerge as a necessity that we take a look at how each of these vary with individual constituents of marital quality. Crosstabulation between the variables revealed that horizontal individualism is significantly correlated to marital disagreement. The association in statistical terms is as shown:

***Table 5.38: Relationship between Horizontal Individualism and Marital Disagreement***

Marital Disagreement_binomial * hor individualism Crosstabulation
---

			horizontal individualism		Total
			Low	High	
Marital Disagreement_binomial	Worse	Count	42	45	87
		% within hor individualism	42.4%	22.1%	28.7%
	Better	Count	57	159	216
		% within hor individualism	<b>57.6%</b>	<b>77.9%</b>	71.3%
Total		Count	99	204	303
		% within hor individualism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

Keeping in line with the previous finding where individualism as a whole was found to bear a positive impact on marital disagreement, horizontal individualism here seems to better one's marital experience by reducing marital disagreement. More specifically, horizontal individualism seems to reduce marital disagreement in three areas, i.e., disciplining the children, taking care of the elderly and physical violence between spouses. For all these aspects of marital quality, it was found that people tend to disagree less when it comes to taking care of the children<sup>22</sup> and the elderly<sup>23</sup> in the family as horizontal individualism grows. The tables below summarize the result:

***Table 5.39: Relationship between 'horizontal individualism' and marital disagreement arising from the issue of taking care of the children***

Crosstab					
			horizontal individualism		Total
			Low	High	
children recode	Worse	Count	42	54	96
		% within hor individualism	42.4%	26.5%	31.7%
	Better	Count	57	150	207
		% within hor individualism	<b>57.6%</b>	<b>73.5%</b>	68.3%
Total		Count	99	204	303
		% within hor individualism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

<sup>22</sup> The association is significant at 99 per cent confidence level.

<sup>23</sup> It is significantly associated at 95 per cent confidence level.

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.005$  for Pearson chi-square test.

**Table 5.40: Relationship between ‘horizontal individualism’ and marital disagreement arising from the issue of taking care of the ‘elderly’**

Crosstab					
			horizontal individualism		Total
			Low	High	
elderly recode	Worse	Count	30	36	66
		% within hor individualism	30.3%	17.6%	21.8%
	Better	Count	69	168	237
		% within hor individualism	<b>69.7%</b>	<b>82.4%</b>	78.2%
Total		Count	99	204	303
		% within hor individualism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.012$  for Pearson chi-square test.

The correlation was found to be on similar pattern for physical violence as all 6 respondents who reported to have faced marital violence also tended to be low in terms of horizontal individualism as shown here:

**Table 5.41: Relationship between ‘horizontal individualism’ and marital ‘violence’**

violence recode * hor individualism Crosstabulation					
			horizontal individualism		Total
			Low	High	
violence recode	Worse	Count	6	0	6
		% within hor individualism	6.1%	0.0%	2.0%
	Better	Count	93	204	297
		% within hor individualism	<b>93.9%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	98.0%
Total		Count	99	204	303
		% within hor individualism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.000$  for Pearson chi-square test.

Since the six respondents turn out to be women, going by the research literature on marital violence suggesting that women seem to be at the receiving end of marital violence most of the time, it might be said that women with low degree of horizontal individualism might be vulnerable to marital violence in Indian society. *Thus, a rise in horizontal individualism might improve the lot of women as far as falling victim to marital violence is concerned.*

Apart from marital disagreement, horizontal individualism was found to have no significant association with any other dimension of marital quality. That being the case, one is inclined to find out the ways in which horizontal individualism is associated to some of the demographic and socioeconomic variables included for analysis in this study. Hence, a binary logistic regression was run which gave the following result:

**Table 5.42: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with Horizontal Individualism as the dichotomous dependent variable**

**Block 1: Method = Enter**

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	92.416	18	0.000
	Block	92.416	18	0.000
	Model	92.416	18	<b>0.000</b>

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	260.775 <sup>a</sup>	0.279	0.391

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test
--------------------------

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	28.544	8	<b>0.000</b>

The Hosmer and Lemeshow test turns out to be significant implying a poor fit for the model. The classification table is shown below:

**Table 5.43: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with Horizontal Individualism as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Classification Table <sup>a</sup>					
Observed			Predicted		
			Horizontal individualism		Percentage Correct
Step 1	horizontal individualism		Low	High	
		Low	45	45	50.0
		High	15	177	92.2
	Overall Percentage				78.7

a. The cut value is .500

The model seems to have a high sensitivity and fairly high classification accuracy. This is how individual variables seem to be associated with horizontal individualism in our society:

**Table 5.44: Relationship between independent variables and 'horizontal individualism' as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	0.209	0.456	0.647	1.232
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.018	0.368	0.961	0.982
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.809	0.417	0.052	2.245
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.874	0.499	0.080	0.417
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	2.406	0.675	<b>0.000</b>	11.086
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	-0.761	0.882	0.388	0.467
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	1.340	0.441	<b>0.002</b>	3.820

Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	0.589	0.436	0.177	1.802
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	2.422	0.451	<b>0.000</b>	11.267
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	-1.017	0.525	0.053	0.362
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	0.702	0.390	0.072	2.018
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	-0.496	0.431	0.250	0.609
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	-0.621	0.438	0.156	0.537
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	0.808	0.474	0.088	2.243
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	-0.066	0.390	0.865	0.936
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	-0.414	0.372	0.265	0.661
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	-1.181	0.543	<b>0.030</b>	0.307
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	0.671	0.420	0.111	1.956
Constant		-3.001	1.872	0.109	0.050

Education seems to be of utmost importance in this regard with those having high level of education being 11 times more likely to have high degree of horizontal individualism compared to those with low level of education. Besides education, it was also found that persons with addictive habits are 11 times more likely to be high in terms of horizontal individualism than teetotalers in the sample. It must also be added that as a variable mother tongue also seems to be associated with the non-Hindi speakers tending to be 3.8 times more likely to be high in terms of horizontal individualism. Furthermore, those who feel that their health has improved in the year bygone are 70 per cent less likely to have high degree of horizontal individualism.

Coming to vertical individualism, it was found that the two negative dimensions of marital quality – *marital problems* and *marital instability* – were significantly correlated to it. In case of marital problems, the relationship was a negative one<sup>24</sup> as shown in the table below:

**Table 5.45: Relationship between Marital Problems and Vertical Individualism**

<b>Problems Index_binomial * ver individualism Crosstabulation</b>
--

<sup>24</sup> The relationship was found to be significant at 95 per cent confidence level.



			vertical individualism		Total
			Low	High	
Problems Index_binomial	Worse	Count	9	60	69
		% within ver individualism	<b>13.6%</b>	<b>25.3%</b>	22.8%
	Better	Count	57	177	234
		% within ver individualism	86.4%	74.7%	77.2%
Total		Count	66	237	303
		% within ver individualism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.045 for Pearson chi-square test.

It may be said here that if vertical individualism is high, marital problems tend to get multiplied for the respondents in the sample. Among those with high vertical individualism, 25.3 per cent tend to perform worse in terms of marital problems compared to 13.6 per cent of the respondents with low vertical individualism. Thus, one might argue that *a rise in vertical individualism tends to worsen one's marital experience, thereby casting a negative impact on marital quality, as far as marital problems are concerned.*

The story takes a rather similar turn for marital instability (divorce proneness) as well. Vertical individualism seems to be negatively associated as shown below:

**Table 5.46: Relationship between 'vertical individualism' and 'marital stability'**

Stability Index_binomial * ver individualism Crosstabulation					
			vertical individualism		Total
			Low	High	
Stability Index_binomial	Unstable	Count	3	36	39
		% within ver individualism	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>15.2%</b>	12.9%
	Stable	Count	63	201	264
		% within ver individualism	95.5%	84.8%	87.1%
Total		Count	66	237	303
		% within ver individualism	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.022 for Pearson chi-square test.

It is noteworthy that as high as 15.2 percent of the respondents, who reported instability in their marriage, tend to score high in terms of vertical individualism compared to just 4.5 percent having low vertical individualism. Therefore, it might be inferred from this evidence that *an increase in vertical individualism among people might lead to unstable marriages in society which, in turn, might be a factor causing an increase in the probability of divorce.*

As a confirmation the negative correlation between vertical individualism and the two dimensions analyzed here is presented in the following table:

**Table 5.47: Correlation between Vertical Individualism, Marital Problems, and Marital Stability**

Correlations				
		vertical individualism	Problems Index_binomial	Stability Index_binomial
vertical individualism	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>-.115*</b>	<b>-.131*</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.046	.022
	N	303	303	303

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Other than these negative correlations, it also came as a striking piece of observation that though vertical individualism does not show any significance insofar as its relation to marital interaction is concerned, yet five out of six indicator variables measuring marital interaction show significant association with vertical individualism. What's more, all of the associations were found to be negative. The correlations are as shown:

**Table 5.48: Relationship between Vertical Individualism and indicator variables measuring Marital Interaction**

Correlations
--------------

		vertical individualism	time spent recode	feelings A to B	feelings B to A	affection A to B	affection B to A
vertical individualism	Pearson Correlation	1	-.173**	-.133*	-.122*	-.142*	-.133*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.003	.021	.034	.013	.021
	N	303	303	303	303	303	303

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

! A = respondent; B = spouse.

The interpretation of this relationship assumes significance on account of the fact that it sheds light on a vital aspect of marital life in India wherein an increase in vertical individualism which is often manifested as a personality trait high in competitive spirit leads to a reduction in positive marital interaction on the above indicator items included in the questionnaire for this study. Respondents with high vertical individualism appear to be poor at communicating and at exchanging feelings and affection within marriage. It seems that there are couples where both husband and wife have a tendency to compete with each other which might be seen as a reason behind their spending less quality time with their partners. *Thus, in a way we find here that vertical individualism, that is, a spirit of competition seems to be detrimental to marital quality in India.*

Furthermore, it comes as an interesting piece of finding that the correlations studied above seem to be significant only in the case of women which is suggestive of the fact that the adverse impact that vertical individualism has on those variables measuring marital interaction seems to be influenced by gender. The correlations in the case of women are as shown:

***Table 5.49: The negative correlation between Vertical Individualism and indicator variables measuring Marital Interaction holds true only for women in the sample***

		vertical individualism	time spent recode	feelings A to B	feelings B to A	affection A to B	affection B to A
Vertical individualism	Pearson Correlation	1	-.334**	-.210*	-.356**	-.219**	-.311**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.011	.000	.008	.000
	N	144	144	144	144	144	144

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

! A = respondent; B = spouse.

*The corresponding values for men in the sample were found to be all insignificantly associated.*

Having noted that, it was once again thought essential to find out how vertical individualism is related to the demographic and socioeconomic variables in our society. To accomplish this goal, a binary logistic regression was run producing the following results:

**Table 5.50: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with Vertical Individualism as the dichotomous dependent variable**

**Block 1: Method = Enter**

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	100.582	18	0.000
	Block	100.582	18	0.000
	Model	100.582	18	<b>0.000</b>

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	199.006 <sup>a</sup>	0.300	0.458

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 6 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

<b>Hosmer and Lemeshow Test</b>			
Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	38.944	8	<b>0.000</b>

The model turned out to be a poor yet adequate fit. The classification table is shown below:

**Table 5.51: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with Horizontal Individualism as the dichotomous dependent variable**

<b>Classification Table<sup>a</sup></b>					
Observed			Predicted		
			vertical individualism		Percentage Correct
Step 1	vertical individualism		Low	High	
		Low	24	39	38.1
		High	15	204	93.2
	Overall Percentage				80.9

a. The cut value is .500

The model seems to depict a high sensitivity. The manner in which it is related to the variables included here is as shown below:

**Table 5.52: Relationship between independent variables and ‘vertical individualism’ as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	1.648	0.581	<b>0.005</b>	5.195
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.108	0.434	0.803	1.114
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.434	0.485	0.371	1.544
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.723	0.567	0.202	2.061
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	1.437	0.766	0.061	4.208
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	-1.787	0.992	0.072	0.167
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	1.303	0.506	<b>0.010</b>	3.680

Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	1.301	0.584	<b>0.026</b>	3.673
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	2.398	0.483	<b>0.000</b>	11.004
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	-0.779	0.600	0.194	0.459
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	1.040	0.447	<b>0.020</b>	2.830
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	-0.281	0.471	0.550	0.755
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	0.086	0.501	0.864	1.089
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	0.942	0.573	0.100	2.564
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	0.294	0.470	0.531	1.342
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	-1.536	0.445	<b>0.001</b>	0.215
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	-1.161	0.683	0.089	0.313
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	-0.493	0.494	0.318	0.611
Constant		-2.813	2.152	0.191	0.060

It is a finding worth highlighting that gender seems to be a factor affecting vertical individualism in our society. What's more, men seem to be 5 times more likely to have high degree of vertical individualism than women. Moving one, yet again we see that those with high level of education are 11 times more likely to have high vertical individualism than people with low level of education. When it comes to income, those with high income tend to be 79 per cent less likely to have high degree of vertical individualism than people with low income. Besides, it must also be added here that non-Hindi speakers are 3.6 times more likely to have high degree of individualism than Hindi-speakers. Moreover, persons from the 'reserved' categories seem to be 3.6 times more likely to have high vertical individualism than persons from 'unreserved' category.

*The foregoing discussion has presented quite an insightful picture as to how marital quality is related to human values, especially with regard to hedonism, the one human value dealt with in detail in this chapter. Besides, we also saw how individualism as a byproduct of globalization seems to bear an impact on various aspects of marital quality. Nonetheless, what seems to*

*emerge as a point of observation is the salience of loyalty to one's partner, a component of 'marital commitment', having a mediating effect on the relationship between hedonism and marital quality. Hence, the effect of marital commitment that determines the association between cultural values and marital quality can't be overlooked. Thus, it becomes imperative within the scope of this study to find out how marital commitment plays out vis-à-vis marital quality and its various determinants identified in this study.*

## Chapter Six

### Marital Commitment: The Balancing Factor

*We can now say that values such as individualism and hedonism affect marital quality in a multi-faceted fashion. Nonetheless, whether good or bad in terms of quality, every marriage has a psychological glue that despite the negative role played by some of the impacting factors, tends to keep a marriage intact. This gets reflected in the concept called 'marital commitment' which forms the mainstay of this chapter. The manner in which it is related to marital quality and its determinants shall be analyzed keeping in view the fact that when marital commitment is high the threshold of tolerance toward marital disagreements or problems tends to rise.*

---

**Marital Commitment** is defined as “the extent to which an actor has shifted from 1) interest in a relationship because of the goals it mediates to 2) maintenance of the relationship as the dominant goal” (Leik & Leik, 1972, p. 5). It is this element characterizing a relationship that undermines the significance of the metaphorical use of the market to explain the dynamics of the relationship. Commitment to a relationship reduces the effect of uncertainty in a relationship. Therefore, it is argued that “relationships in which individuals are strongly committed to each other, such as marriage, do not profit from (exchange)-oriented attitudes” (Murstein, Ceretto, & MacDonald, 1977, p. 544). In fact, exchange-orientation may be negatively related to marital satisfaction (McDonald, 1981). Therefore, it is argued that marital commitment serves as a stabilizing mechanism in asymmetrical relations (Cook & Emerson, 1978).

In this context, the study of marital commitment acquires a heightened relevance as to its impact on marital problems and marital dissolution. A satisfactory link between marital quality and marital commitment was found by Booth and Johnson (1988) in their study investigating the effects of premarital cohabitation (with husband/wife) on marital quality. They reported that the



cohabitation effect in itself was not a cause of lower marital quality which was quite common to married people who cohabited before marriage. However, an explanation to this observation touches upon the concept of marital commitment that has been demonstrated by research to reduce the effects of cohabitation on divorce over a 3-year period (Booth & Johnson, 1988; Thomson & Colella, 1992). Thomson and Colella (1992) found that premarital cohabiters reported low levels of both institutional commitment to marriage and marital quality. Therefore, the risk of subsequent divorce among these couples could be an outcome of low marital commitment and greater marital individualism (especially among wives who cohabit before marriage).

### **6.1. The relevance of studying Marital Commitment**

It could be said that the society in our time has experienced a social pressure of sorts that seemingly looks to challenge what are popularly called ‘family values’ and traditional norms of family. One prominent indicator of the change that this pressure has brought about globally is the rise in the cases of separation and divorce on a global scale. Not only United States that witnessed sky-high crude divorce rates by 1970s, but many Asian countries such as China, Japan, Singapore, and South Korea have all seen two to five-fold increase in divorce rates since 1970s which, of course, could be viewed as a side-effect of industrialization (Cheng, 2016).

Although wide dissimilarity does exist between the West and India so far as crude divorce rate is concerned, it can be barely denied that the rising tides of globalization and individualism in India have ignited a series of changes in terms of altering family values and norms concerning marital sanctity which is how the institution has been understood traditionally (Derne, 2008). To prove

the point, it has been discussed in the introductory chapter that in the last decade, major Indian cities have witnessed a phenomenal increase in the number of divorce cases filed.

That said, it must also be taken into consideration that the overall divorce rate in India is still remarkably low as compared to the corresponding figures from western societies. Hence, a question seems to occur at once: Could marital commitment be seen as playing a decisive role in determining the phenomenon? However, there is a recent spike in the number of cases in urban areas. If it's about marital commitment more than anything else, in what sense precisely does it determine the longevity of marriages in the Indian landscape?

Some hints as to the salience of marital commitment in Indian families could be discerned in the set of findings published by Singh and Khullar (1989) based on their research on Indian immigrants in America. The study assumes importance as it is a rare study that classifies marital commitment among Indians on the basis of "region" as it found that both men and women from the *south* of India show a high degree of marital commitment. Besides this, it has also been reported in a research study conducted on married nurses in the hospitals of Tehran that value system is one of the prime determinants of marital commitment (Sarebanha, Zahrakar, & Nazari, 2015). This study based in Iran concludes that the value system in a particular setting can raise marital commitment, at the same time reducing marital burnout, hence affecting the stability of marriage (Sarebanha, Zahrakar, & Nazari, 2015). These evidences reinforce our belief in marital commitment being a stabilizing agent for marriages across cultures. Interestingly, scrutinizing the concept further, when looked at from the perspective of the individual, marital commitment turns out to be a multi-dimensional concept composed of three dimensions – *personal*, *moral*, and *structural* (Johnson, 1991; Johnson, Caughlin, & Huston, 1999).

A discussion on *marital commitment* seems partial if it is taken forward independently of an analysis of another important variable called marital stability. The force behind this claim comes from the fact that marital commitment has been found to be a “mediating” factor contributing to marital stability (Levinger, 1974; Leik & Leik, 1977; Scanzoni, 1979). It is the binding concept of any marital relationship, a reason underlying longevity for several low-quality marriages.<sup>1</sup> More interesting, especially from the standpoint of our study, is the finding from a recent study conducted on 145 heterosexual married persons where it was discovered that marital commitment is related to marital stability through *marital quality* (Rahaju, Hartini, & Hendriani, 2019).

George Levinger’s (1976) perspective informed by Social Exchange Theory with its components of attraction, barriers and alternatives provides a paradigm for understanding marital stability. Nevertheless, one must mark its limitation as it is founded on an economic logic that may not reflect the sociological reality that underpins marital stability. Cook and Emerson (1978, p. 728) elucidated “commitment” as “a variable we believe to be central in distinguishing social from economic exchange theory”.

The problem with most marital research is its overreliance on social exchange theory that views the husband-wife relationship from the lens of a cost-benefit analysis. However, there is another side to a marital relationship which is both social and communal. And the introduction of communality to any human relation renders it rather difficult to explain it in terms of the traditional cost-benefit analysis. It is already clear by now that marital commitment does have a moral side to it which is responsible for increasing the degree of communality within the

---

<sup>1</sup> Low-quality marriages are the ones where at least one of the partners lives with a lot of discontent yet tries to keep the marital bond intact.

relationship. Consequently, instead of a utilitarian evaluation of the relationship, a couple might cooperate to pursue shared marital goals.

In fact, one of the chief components of marital commitment, in fact a corollary of the concept, could be husband and wife working in tandem towards attainment of shared marital goals. It acquires a greater importance in the context of this study as couples who have identifiable marital goals in common and are motivated to work together for their realization enjoy a higher marital quality (Brunstein, Dangelmayer, & Schulteheiss, 1996). There are other studies to support the argument suggesting that the presence of shared goals between spouses results in higher marital satisfaction (Kaplan & Maddux, 2002; Avivi, Laurenceau, & Carver, 2009).

## **6.2. Models of Marital Commitment: freedom and constraint**

In a pioneering effort directed at discovering the conceptual structure of marital commitment, Johnson (1991) found that marital commitment is a three-dimensional variable with *personal*, *moral*, and *structural* commitment being its three dimensions. Although differently worded, another study in this regard also found marital commitment to be constituted of three dimensions. Adams and Jones (1997) found that the variable is characterized by an attraction component, a moral component and a constraining component. They further argued that it was ‘moral’ commitment to marriage that mattered more when it came to continuing with the relationship. The three-dimensional construct called marital commitment was also explained as the interplay of cognitive, affective and conative components (Arriaga & Agnew, 2001). This study stressed the role of ‘cognitive’ aspect that among the three components of marital commitment, contributed the most to the persistence of marital relationships.

On a scale of voluntariness and obligation, the three forms of commitment could be shown to follow a pattern with a movement from structural to moral with a rise in the level of the voluntary nature of marital commitment. But moral commitment, in turn, consists of three components (Johnson, Laughlin, & Huston, 1999). The first component is based on the belief that marriage need not be annulled “until death do us part”. The second is more of a moral obligation which goes like this: “I Promised Paul I will stay with him the rest of my life, and I will” (Johnson, Laughlin, & Huston, 1999, p. 161). The third is related to one’s attempt at remaining consistent in terms of one’s thought and action over time. These facets of moral commitment very nearly take the form of sticking to a religious commandment, a deviation from which would seem improper to the individual actor. Things seem quite similar, rather more intense if we are to compare it with ethics of marriage from ancient India. The fact that marriage in Hindu tradition is more of a sacrament than a contract (as is the case in western societies) renders it hard to be annulled (Sarma, 1931). In fact, the idea of *dampati* explained in the *Atharvaveda* considers husband and wife as one, and therefore, committed to each other for life.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, moral commitment based on religiosity needs proper investigation in order for us to ascertain its role in determining marital quality. In this regard, it is found that not just religious affiliation, rather religious commitment turns out to be a strong determinant of marital quality among Quaker couples. Commitment to values fostering peace and seeking peaceable solution to all conflict in life among Quakers leads to reduced marital violence, thus raising the quality of marriage (Brutz & Allen, 1986). It must be mentioned, however, that marital commitment is to be differentiated from interpersonal commitment (which, no doubt, is a dimension of marital

---

<sup>2</sup> See *Atharvaveda*, 14.2.9.

commitment), as commitment to one's partner is different from one's commitment to the institution of marriage (McDonald, 1981, p. 835).

It is revealed that reliance on religious answers and the tendency to fall back on religious advice in important matters has registered a noticeable decline in recent times (Glenn, 1987). Thus, marriage is no longer as sacred as it used to be (Amato & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007). Consequently, the domain of moral commitment within marriage is not safely guarded. The statement below brings out the point in an emphatic fashion:

On the other hand, some spouses may fight infrequently, feel moderately happy (rather than unhappy) with their marriages, continue to engage in some positive interaction with their spouses, and perceive a few but not a large number of problems in their marriages. These spouses may seek a divorce, not because the quality of their marriages is at rock bottom but because they have low levels of commitment to marriage as a lifelong relationship, hold high expectations for marriage, perceive few barriers to leaving their relationships, and believe that viable alternatives to their current partners are available. In these cases, standard marital quality indicators will not be good predictors of subsequent marital dissolution (Amato & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007, p. 623).

Therefore, marital commitment, and not just marital quality, could sometimes be a better predictor of marital dissolution. There are a few studies to suggest that there are couples who divorce without a prior history of marital discord and unhappiness (Amato, Loomis, & Booth, 1995; Amato & Booth, 1997; Booth & Amato, 2001; Amato, 2002). It is probably the mediating role of marital commitment that assumes a heightened significance in such cases, thus downplaying the decisive influence of marital satisfaction alone on marital stability. In keeping

with this, scholars have expressed their views against the over-used, and seemingly unreliable, concept of 'marital satisfaction' in explaining marital stability (Sabatelli, 1984).

The foregoing discussion has seemingly presented the two-headed character of marital commitment – moral and instrumental. Viewed differently, it leads us to the Weberian classification of social action into *zweckrationalität* and *wertrationalität*. Thus, it seems pertinent to look at Weber's explanation of value-rational action. Weber expounds:

Examples of pure value-rational orientation would be the actions of persons who, regardless of possible cost to themselves, act to put into practice their convictions, of what seems to them to be required by duty, honor, the pursuit of beauty, a religious call, personal loyalty, or the importance of some "cause" no matter in what it consists. In our terminology, value-rational action always involves "commands" or "demands" which, in the actor's opinion, are binding on him. It is only in cases where human action is motivated by the fulfillment of such unconditional demands that it will be called value-rational (Weber, 1978, p. 25).

Franz Adler (1956) presented a typology of values with four types. He classified them as Type A, B, C, and D. Of the four, the last sentence in Weber's statement brings his idea of value-rational action close to Adler's Type A value (of course, in combination with types B and C). Adherence to this notion of value introduces a moral angle to marital commitment referred to as "value commitment" by Ritzer and Trice (1969). They define it "as a framework of mind that arises from the presence, in exceptional number, of subjectively defined rewards associated with a particular position or social identity in which the person finds himself or hopes to find himself" (Singh & Khullar, 1989, p. 39).

Marital commitment stands directly in the way of marital dissolution. Divorce seems to be based on a competitive dynamic between the “hard-line” view and the “hardship” view (Brake, 2011). Commitment to marriage even when one is compelled to endure hardship is a vital aspect of marital life that emanates from the notion that marriage is a bond based on indissoluble vows (Brake, 2011). A brilliant elucidation on the topic can be discerned in Marianne Weber’s views on marriage. While advocating for an end to the subordination of the wife to the husband, she, in a big way, differed from other feminist scholars in allowing for the autonomous and willing subordination of the wife to the will of the husband leading to a more fulfilling marriage. She wrote:

But does the ethical autonomy of the woman forbid any subordination of her will whatsoever to that of the husband? Very certainly not. *Voluntary* subordination, devotion, which is offered as a free gift of love, is something different than compelled subordination. The personality that is responsible for its own actions does not then end up in a contradiction with itself if it bends before another personality's higher insight, more mature judgment, and greater completeness due to its own inner convictions, if it sacrifices for the higher aspirations of a greater person. On the basis of such convictions, the autonomous woman can of course also make her husband’s will her own, and place *her* wishes and interests behind *his* (Weber & Bermingham, 2003, p. 93).<sup>3</sup>

The interplay of compulsion and voluntariness is nicely summed up by Marianne Weber which, in a sense, points to the aspect of marital commitment imparting stability to marriage, especially when seen from the perspective of the wife.

---

<sup>3</sup> It is a translation of Marianne Weber’s article in German entitled, *Autoritat und Autonomie in der Ehe* (Authority and Autonomy in Marriage) originally published in 1912.



### **6.3. Marital Commitment: The Psychological aspect**

Couple identity is an important facet of personal commitment, one of the three dimensions of marital commitment as suggested by Johnson, Caughlin, & Huston (1999, p. 161). In fact, the notion of one's "self" often gets subsumed within the identity one earns as a result of being a part of a marital relationship (Aron, Aron, & Smollen, 1992). Without shifting the context, Self Verification Theory (Swann, 1990) is another perspective that needs to be introduced in order to make a fuller sense of the concept of marital commitment. One study found that self-concepts determine the strength of marital commitment irrespective of gender. Those with a negative self-view display more commitment towards partners who derogate them (Swann Jr., Hixon, & De La Rond, 1992). Hence, the issue of marital commitment seems to be more complex than it has hitherto been presumed.

A factor influencing marital commitment is a personality variable called "locus of control" (Rotter, 1966). Locus of control is the extent to which a person considers his life's success, rewards, achievements, etc. to be a consequence of his actions and not something that is determined by luck, providence, destiny, etc. It has been found that husbands and wives with a lower locus of control are weakly committed to their marriages and, as a result, adopt negative tactics for the resolution of marital conflict (Scanzoni & Arnett, 1987). An important finding in this regard is the dependence of marital commitment on primary social relationships such as family life cycle. It has been found that the number of children and the stage of one's family life strongly determine marital commitment (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002). Kapinus and Johnson (2002) found that marital commitment also varies according to gender.

Nonetheless, the concept of “later selves” expounded by Derek Parfit (1973) seems quite germane to the present discussion.<sup>4</sup> Parfit (1973) reflects on the changing nature of personal identity and the related problems that emerge from it. The problems, in Parfit’s scheme of explanation, acquire a rather philosophical tinge. He elucidates the concept of commitment (which he deems interchangeable with promise-keeping) with the help of the example of a nineteenth-century Russian socialist in the following manner:

Let us take a nineteenth-century Russian who, in several years, should inherit vast estates. Because he has socialist ideals, he intends, now, to give the land to the peasants. But he knows that in time his ideals may fade. To guard against this possibility, he does two things. He first signs a legal document, which will automatically give away the land, and which can only be revoked with his wife’s consent. He then says to his wife, ‘If I ever change my mind, and ask you to revoke the document, promise me that you will not consent’. He might add, ‘I regard my ideals essential to me. If I lose these ideals, I want you to think that *I* cease to exist. I want you to regard your husband, then, not as me, the man who asks you for this promise, but only as his later self. Promise me that you would not do what he asks.’ (Parfit, 1973, p. 145).

The wife, having promised as requested by her husband, is faced with a moral dilemma at a future date when the husband actually asks her to revoke the document. The dilemma is thus explained:

“It might seem to her as if she has obligations to two different people. She might think that to do what her husband now asks would be to betray the young man whom she loved and

---

<sup>4</sup> A conceptual similarity can be located between Parfit’s (1973) explanation of commitment involving the concept of “later selves” and the dimensions of moral commitment posited by Johnson, Laughlin, & Huston (1999).

married. And she might regard what her husband now says as unable to acquit her of disloyalty to this young man – of disloyalty to her husband’s earlier self” (Parfit, 1973, p. 145).

The life course perspective argues that the growth curve of marital quality over the entire period of marriage is far from tracing a smooth trajectory. There are studies that argue in favour of marital satisfaction following a U-shaped curve over the lifespan of married couples (Burr, 1970; Rhyne, 1981; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Rollins & Feldman, 1970). In other words, marital satisfaction does seem to fluctuate over lifespan. However, there are studies that counter the proposition that marital satisfaction follows a U-shaped curve over time (Valliant & Valliant, 1993; Umberson et al., 2005). Thus, while the problem of later selves in relation to marital commitment can’t be brushed aside, psychological impact is not the single most important determinant when it comes to studying marital commitment. Here we are reminded of a poetic verse from John Donne who claims: “No man is an island, all by itself”. Therefore, the issue of marital commitment must also be viewed from a much wider perspective encompassing the myriad influences that affect our behaviours and dispositions over the course of life. Looking at the sociological impact on marital commitment presents itself as a necessity in this regard.

#### **6.4. Marital Commitment: The Sociological aspect**

The question of commitment in marriage can’t be probed satisfactorily without taking into account the concomitant normative changes in society. It has been reported in most research conducted over past few decades that marital dynamics have undergone huge changes, mostly attributable to two big revolutions of our time – *gender revolution* and *family revolution* (Wilcox & Nock, 2007). In the light of this observation, it must be borne in mind that gender is not a

distinguishable factor of marital commitment, succinctly stated in the following statement: “There probably are differences in the way that men and women experience marital commitment (Kapinus & Johnson, 1996), but our study did not find marked differences between husbands and wives” (Johnson, Caughlin, & Huston, 1999, p. 174). It was suggested that whatever differences could be located between the scores of husbands and wives did not emanate from the fundamental difference in their perception of the meaning of marital commitment. Rather, it mostly is a difference of magnitude with the sign of correlation being the same for both husbands and wives (Johnson, Caughlin, & Huston, 1999). To impart their claim more sustainability as an argument, they explained: explained:

“For example, although the negative correlations between structural commitment and stability of living arrangements were significant only for husbands, all the correlations between wives' stability of living arrangements and aspects of structural commitment were negative as well” (Johnson, Caughlin, & Huston, 1999, pp. 173-74).

However, the opinion in this regard seems divided as it has also been argued that men and women experience different kinds of marital commitment (Kapinus & Johnson, 1996, 2002). Thus, the aspect of gender in relation to marital commitment needs to be investigated more and from a variety of angles based on empirical data for one to reach a satisfactory conclusion.

Moreover, while gender revolution is more often discussed and is at the forefront of the feminist discourse, it is the family revolution that seems to explain the changing norms regarding marital commitment better. A general observation in this regard came from Murstein (1974) who expressed his concern over weakening of the family as a human group because of the rise in mass culture, high rate of mobility, and a high rate of individualism among people. More than

three decades later Wilcox and Nock (2007) expressed a somewhat similar concern in the following words:

The family revolution – marked by the rise of expressive individualism and a concomitant decline in the scope and normative power of the institution of marriage – has resulted in marriages that, on the one hand, focus more and more on the emotional dimensions of married life and, on the other hand, do not enjoy the stability and normative commitment to lifelong marriage that earlier marriages did (Bumpass, 1990; Cherlin, 2004).

The rise of expressive individualism could be seen as an outgrowth of the over-arching process that enables it, i.e., globalization. We have already seen how globalization and individualism, aided by the values of hedonism and achievement-orientation affect marital quality in the last chapter. Thus, at this point, it might be a good idea to find out the manner in and extent to which individualism affects marital commitment. But before that a glimpse of how things have unfolded in the Indian context could be had from an analysis of the relevant census data.

### **6.5. Divorce proneness in India: An analysis of Census 2011**

The ratio of the number of divorced women to the total number of females in each state/UT was calculated for 2011 census. The value was multiplied by 1000 to arrive at the final value of what is termed ‘divorce proneness’ for the purpose of this analysis. A cursory look at the data revealed that most states from the North-East were high in terms of divorce proneness. The result of one-way ANOVA confirmed it:

***Table 6.1: Result of one-way ANOVA with ‘region’ as the factor variable***

<b>ANOVA</b>
Divorce proneness

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	75.717	1	75.717	7.145	<b>.012</b>
Within Groups	339.122	32	10.598		
Total	414.839	33			

The result turned out to be significant at 95 per cent confidence level. The divorce proneness in eight north-eastern states seems to be considerably different from the rest of India which raises a few questions as to the cultural difference, social history, ethnicity, political history, and geographical proximity of the region vis-à-vis rest of India. Deriving from it, we moved ahead to find out if regional variation as a whole pops up as a factor in determining divorce proneness in India. The states and UTs were classified based on the system of classification proposed in the States Reorganisation Act, 1956 and administered by the Ministry of Home Affairs. India, in this sense, is grouped under five zones – northern, southern, eastern, western, and central. Apart from these, the states from the north-east are clubbed together as the statutory body called North Eastern Council. Contrary to the results obtained above where north-east of India was compared with the rest of India we found that divorce proneness has no significant association with regional variation when tested with the zones mentioned above. We also made a comparison to test the north-south divide in this regard and once again found no significant association which is at odds with the findings published by Singh and Khullar (1989) suggesting that people from India's south had higher marital commitment.

That observed, it must be said that although divorce proneness shows no significant difference as regards north-south divide, a north-south gradient does exist in the country based on many a vital economic and demographic variables (Paul & Sridhar, 2015). Therefore, some of these variables might be picked up for analysis that aims at studying every possible aspect affecting marital commitment in the Indian context. Some of the prominent points of divergence between India's

north and south germane to this discussion are per capita state GDP and female literacy rate. Thus, the variable called divorce proneness may also be analyzed keeping in view the cumulative impact of these variables. A preliminary picture of the impact is gauged by calculating the Pearson correlation between divorce proneness and female literacy. The coefficient of correlation is as shown:

**Table 6.2: Correlation between ‘divorce proneness’ and female literacy rate in India**

		Divorce proneness	Female Literacy Rate
Divorce proneness	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.481**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.004</b>
	N	34	34

\*\*The relationship is significant at 99% confidence level.

A moderate value of 0.481 at  $p = 0.004$  ( $< 0.01$ ) implies a highly significant positive correlation between female literacy rate and *divorce proneness* in India. In other words, as the literacy rate of women rises, the number of divorced women in proportion to the total population of women also increases. The contrast could be discerned from the simple fact that the ranking of states/UTs according to female literacy rate starts with Kerala and ends with Bihar. Moreover, if the list is divided into two halves, no major state from the north occupies a spot in the top half sufficient to prove the fact that as far as female literacy rate is concerned, a substantial divide does exist between India’s north and south.

To analyze the case further, adjustments were made to come up with a new scheme of classification taking into account the effects of female literacy rate. The national mean of female literacy rate was calculated to be 71.47 per cent with a standard deviation of 10.49. Hence, four levels of literacy rates could be identified. The lower limit within one standard deviation from

the mean was 60.98 and the upper limit was 81.96. Thus, to simplify the analysis, female literacy rate less than 60 per cent was called “very low”, 60 per cent to 70 per cent “low”, 70 per cent to 80 per cent “High”, and any value greater than 80 per cent was termed “very high”. Similarly, divorce proneness was also classified into these four categories. One-way ANOVA with divorce proneness and the level of female literacy rate did *not* turn out to be significant.

To test it further, a new scheme of classification was devised in order to come up with a new variable that classifies the data into very low, low, normal, high, and very high categories as far as divorce proneness based on a simultaneous reading of the corresponding female literacy level for each unit (state/UT). For example, for a high female literacy rate, high divorce proneness was considered normal. The categories so obtained are significantly different from one another as is evident from the following result obtained by running one-way ANOVA:

***Table 6.3: Result of one-way ANOVA for ‘divorce proneness’ with degree of female literacy rate as the factor variable***

ANOVA					
Divorce proneness					
	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	200.221	4	50.055	6.764	<b>.001</b>
Within Groups	214.619	29	7.401		
Total	414.839	33			

The result seems significant implying the fact that female literacy rate is a factor affecting divorce proneness in India. There are two striking observations one must not miss at this point. The state of Karnataka (whose female literacy rate at 68.13 per cent is not among the lowest in India) seems to have rather low divorce proneness. Moreover, the northern states of Delhi, Punjab, and Himachal Pradesh can be grouped together with southern states/UTs of Tamil Nadu,



Puducherry, and Andaman & Nicobar Islands due to their low divorce proneness. Thus, the north-south dichotomy seems to be losing ground based on the analysis as far as divorce proneness indicating marital stability and, in turn, marital commitment is concerned.

Taking a look at the data, it may be argued that though the north-south divide does not bear much significance in this regard, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu still show a tendency toward lower proneness to divorce (when adjusted for female literacy rate). Therefore, it may still be an indication of high marital commitment in the population of these states which is somewhat similar to the conclusion drawn by Singh and Khullar (1989). Nonetheless, a strict regional pattern in this regard does not seem to emerge on the basis of the above analysis. Thus, marital stability augmented by marital commitment could be dependent on factors not explained by regional difference alone in Indian society.

Interestingly enough, on a simple and cursory observation of the data, one might guess that regional disparity, in a sense, might be playing a role in determining marital stability and commitment in India as three of all four BIMARU<sup>5</sup> states fall in the bracket of low divorce proneness. The pattern seems to be in agreement with the prediction made by William J. Goode (1993) who pointed out a positive relationship between economic development and divorce proneness. Nonetheless, Goode (1993) also drew our attention to societies in East Asia, South-east Asia, and the Arab world where divorce rates declined between 1950 and 1990, mainly because of *industrialization*. Hence, a clear verdict on the issue can't be expected should one choose to base one's analysis on growth in GDP and economic development alone. The data from 2011 census used in this analysis does seem to confirm Goode's analysis. NSDP data for

---

<sup>5</sup> The term was coined in 1980s as an acronym to include four underdeveloped Indian states, namely, Bihar, UP, MP, and Rajasthan by the famous Indian demographer, Ashish Bose in a paper presented to the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

the year 2006-07 was used to find out if there's any relation it might bear to divorce proneness. No significant correlation was found between divorce proneness and per capita state GDP. However, a positive correlation of +0.541 ( $p < 0.01$ ) was found to exist between NSDP and female literacy rate. Therefore, NSDP might be seen as exerting an indirect influence on divorce proneness in India.

Although factors such as greater labour participation by women, rise in women's educational level, and changing norms regarding divorce increasing permissiveness toward divorce in society do contribute to a rise in divorce rates, a straightforward relationship with economic growth can't be established. That noted, one may be motivated to argue that marital stability measured by the variable known as divorce proneness is only loosely dependent on variables measuring economic development; rather, it is a function of more emotive and immanent concerns of people, marital commitment being a strong criterion that goes into deciding the pattern of marital stability and dissolution.

#### **6.6. Enduring hardship: The case of permissiveness towards wife-beating**

An important aspect of marital commitment is to endure hardship without abandoning the marital bond often expressed in the phrase, "for richer or for poorer, in sickness and in health" (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002, p. 190). These words form a part of the standard marriage vow forming an inalienable part of all Christian marriages. Likewise, as far as Indian ethics are concerned, *Atrî Smritî* advocates a strict 'no' to marital dissolution on flimsy grounds such as feelings of mistrust and maladjustment. Once tied to the marital bond, the couple ought to continue to live as husband and wife come what may because in the opinion of Atrî, "divorce is a remedy which is worse than the disease it is intended to remove" (Sarma, 1931, p. 332). Marital commitment may

also lead to greater conformity to social norms of relationship among people who prepare themselves to bear any adversity with patience (Cohen, 1978). But Kapinus and Johnson (2002) also point to the fact that being voluntarily committed to a relationship is different from being constrained or compelled to maintain a relationship. Thus, a study of marital commitment should include both these aspects. Keeping this perspective in mind, it seems important to find out the degree of permissiveness that exists in societies around the world toward marital violence, more popularly known as *wife-beating*.

A history of wife-beating has not been assigned the comprehensive treatment it deserves at the hands of the scholars studying history of marriage. Nonetheless, it is still fairly documented to reveal that wife-beating has, perhaps, been a cross-cultural phenomenon throughout history. In the Indian context, it has been recognized as a feature of the marital lives of people. Therefore, one is not surprised to note that National Family Health Survey (NFHS) conducted by official agencies in India does spend a considerable portion of its effort in collecting and documenting data related to attitudes towards wife-beating in Indian society. However, it can't be denied that wife-beating has been a feature of the American marriage for centuries. Scholars opine that wife-beating in America "is not, in the strictest sense of the words, a 'deviant,' or 'aberrant,' or 'pathological' act. Rather, it is a form of behavior which has existed for centuries as an acceptable, indeed, a desirable part of a patriarchal family" (Dobash & Dobash, 1978, p. 427).

For European communities, the problem is even deeper when seen from an historical lens. Wife-beating, with the protection of the state and state-like institutions, has been a prerogative of the husband for centuries in Europe (Dobash & Dobash, 1981). The problem existed even in Late Antiquity when "Greek authors continued to consider it shameful for a husband to beat his wife, while Latin authors portrayed it as good family discipline" (Dossey, 2008, p. 4). Interestingly

enough, there were legal limits set by the state to wife-beating in nineteenth-century America (Peterson, 1992, p. 99; Ryan, 2015, p. 589). It was also accepted in milder forms in Victorian-era Scotland (Hughes, 2010). That is not to say that the right of the husband was absolute. There was strong community pressure with magistrates ordering “misrule” on many occasions just to shame the wife-beaters publicly (Davis 1971; Dobash & Dobash, 1981). Natalie Zemon Davis (1971, p. 45) cites an example of a *charivari*<sup>6</sup> from 1583 against a man in France who beat his wife up in the month of May (special month for women according to European customs) to argue that wife-beating was very much an offence of a serious nature in medieval France.

So much for the historical footprints of wife-beating that renders it rather a universal phenomenon. What seems more worthwhile from the standpoint of this study is its relationship to marital commitment. It is worth noting that a direct relationship exists between the level of commitment to marriage and the degree of abuse that wife is compelled to bear with (Adams & Hickson, 1993). In the study based on coloured people of South Africa, it was found that abused wives show lower marital commitment compared to non-abused wives even though the two groups of wives report an overall low level of marital satisfaction (Adams & Hickson, 1993, p. 132). It implies the independent nature of wife-beating as a determinant of marital commitment. The same study also reported that wife-beating is not a good predictor of marital dissolution as the abused wives showed a high level of endurance on this head which the researchers attribute to minimal availability of alternatives to marriage (Adams & Hickson, 1993). However, it may be argued that apart from non-availability of alternatives to marriage, the high endurance to abusive marriages without looking to dissolve it could well be an indication of marital

---

<sup>6</sup> *Charivari* was a folk custom in medieval Europe, a kind of community-sanctioned punishment for the wrongdoers who were paraded amid a procession of noisy music created by a crowd that followed the procession often mocking and abusing the victim. Most victims of *charivari* were offenders who had committed crimes violating family norms, wife-beating being one of the crimes. The custom was banned by the Catholic Church in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as it was seen as an extra-judicial practice encroaching upon the rights of the judiciary managed by the church.

commitment. Thus, one might be motivated to look at the notions surrounding wife-beating in India as captured by NFHS.

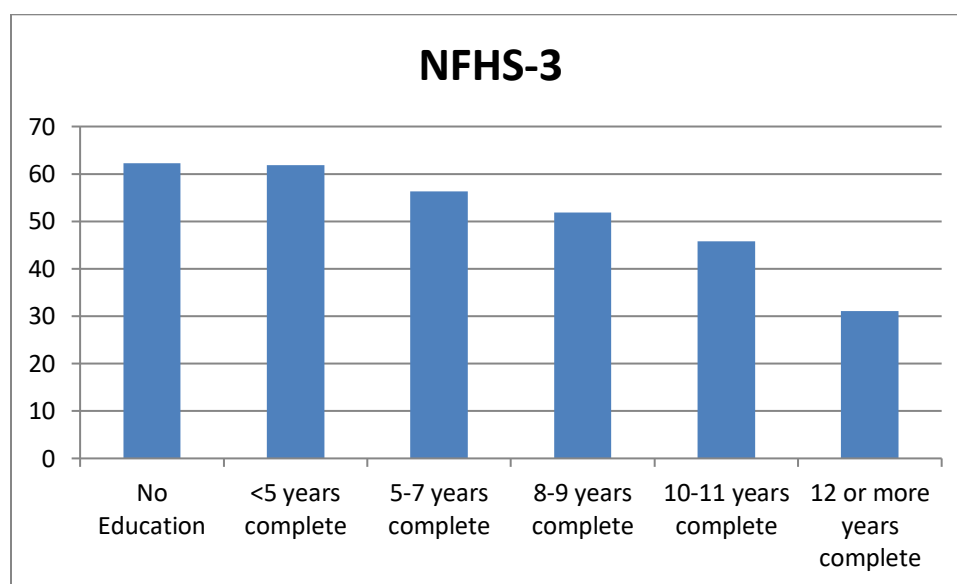
### **6.7. Marital Violence and Marital Commitment: An analysis of NFHS data**

An analysis of Indian society with the help of data available might provide new insights into understanding the phenomenon of wife-beating. Not very different is the Indian scenario when compared with American society in this regard. Much like America, wife-beating shows a strong traditional hold on the attitudes of both men and women in India. What's more, NFHS-3 found that women are more likely to justify wife-beating. Responding to the questionnaire used in NFHS-3, 54 per cent women in comparison to 51 per cent men agreed with at least one of the seven reasons considered justified for a husband to beat up his wife.

It is also important to note that in agreement with the opinions of Leela Dube (1997) and Sudhir Kakar (1989) about the Indian family, in-laws turn out to be an important reason for wife-beating. The commitment of the Indian wife toward her conjugal family is evident from the results obtained by NFHS-3 as 41 per cent women (the highest for all seven questions) agree that a husband is not at fault for beating his wife "if she shows disrespect for her in-laws". It can also not evade one's attention that sexual satisfaction in the Indian marriage is the least important in this context. The lowest, i.e., just 14 per cent of the women respondents in the third round of National Family Health Survey thought it to be justified for the wife to receive a thrashing from her husband "if she refuses to have sex with him". Although it seems surprising but it emerged as a fact that even among women with more than 12 years of formal education, 31.1 per cent thought wife-beating was justified in 2005-06. However, the trend is in line with the commonly held expectation showing a gradual decline in the percentage of women agreeing with wife-

beating as one moves from the least educated to the most educated. The figure below shows the trend:

**Figure 6.1: Percentage (%) of women who agree with at least one specified reason cited to justify wife-beating by husband classified by the level of education in terms of the number of years of education**

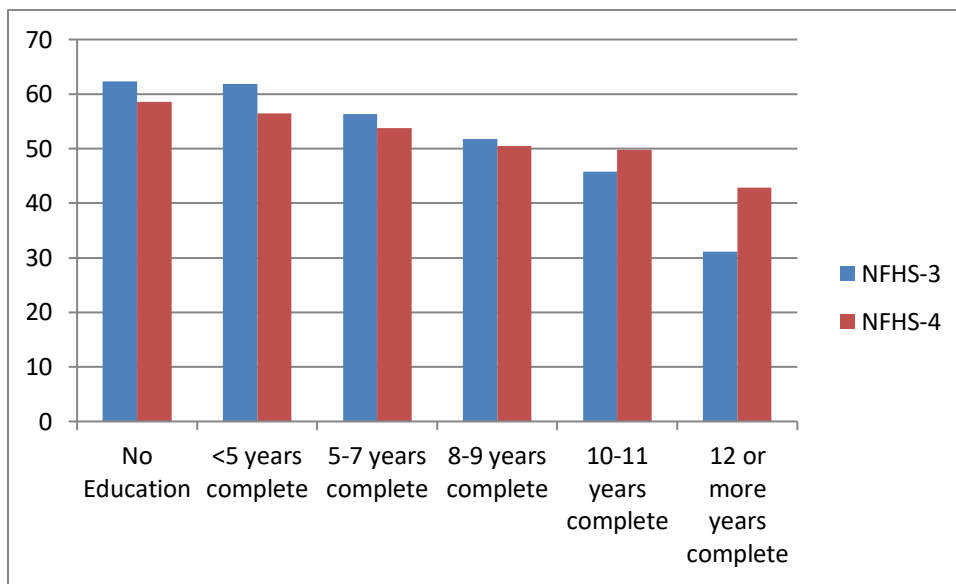


*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote percentage of women respondents in each slab of educational level*

How things changed in the next ten years could be gauged by taking a look at the corresponding data related to wife-beating collected during the fourth round of NFHS in 2015-16. What seems important is the fall in the proportion of men who attest wife-beating as a normal feature of family life. From 51 per cent in NFHS-3 it dropped to 42 per cent in NFHS-4. On the other hand, the change was not large the case of women. Between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4, it decreased from 54 per cent to 52 per cent. Thus, if an easy-going attitude towards wife-beating is taken as an indicator of traditionalism and marital commitment, men in India seem to have discarded the notion more than the women did, an observation that fits well with the finding that, on the whole,

Indian wives seem to be more committed to marriage than Indian husbands (Singh & Khullar, 1989, p. 45). But more conspicuous is the change that could be discerned in the variation in attitude regarding wife-beating with the level of women’s education. The figure below shows the trend:

**Figure 6.2: Comparison between women’s attitude to wife-beating based on NFHS-3 and NFHS-4**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote percentage of women respondents in each slab of educational level*

Contrary to the expectation, there has been a rise in the percentage of educated women between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4 (in the last two categories representing women with more than 10 years of education) who think wife-beating to be a justifiable act on the part of the husband. Can we explain this trend? Does rise in education lead to higher marital commitment, thereby lowering marital disruption? Though silent on the correlation between commitment and level of education of women, a useful insight comes from a study which suggests that women’s institutional commitment to marriage and their contentment with traditional division of housework serves as a

catalyzing agent enhancing their marital quality (Wilcox & Nock, 2006). As far as American society is concerned, a direct relationship has been discovered between women's level of education and marital disruption (Udry, 1966; Houseknecht & Spanier, 1980). Undoubtedly, high rate of marital disruption is a sure sign of a decrease in the level of marital commitment.

But the trends have since reversed and the negative correlation between women's education and divorce rates is a topic that has kept many a researcher interested in recent times (Härkönen & Dronkers, 2006; Martin, 2006; Park, Raymo, & Creighton 2009; Amato, 2010; Cherlin, 2010; Kalmijn, 2013; Raymo, Fukuda, & Iwasawa, 2013; Matysiak, Styrac, & Vignoli, 2014). In fact, Martin (2006) provides an insightful statistic revealing that in the United States, a comparison of women married during 1975-1979 with those married during 1990-1994 shows a 10 per cent drop in divorce rates for women with a 4-year college degree and an 8 per cent rise in the divorce rate for women without a high school degree. Closer home, in Asia, Taiwan underwent a similar transformation when the educational differential in respect of increasing the risk of divorce took a U-turn from positive to negative signifying that higher the education lower are the chances of divorce (Cheng, 2016). Following the Taiwanese pattern, both Japan and Korea show a negative education-divorce association in recent decades (Park & Raymo, 2013; Raymo, Fukuda, & Iwasawa, 2013).

Furthermore, research also suggests that marriages of educated women can be characterized by "higher marital commitment" (Bortien & Härkönen, 2018, p. 1261). Park and Raymo (2013), based on their research in Korea, also suggest that commitment to marriage contributes to an increasing negative relationship between education and divorce. Thus, it generates a lot of curiosity to find out how these things play out in the Indian context. Is there an interconnection



between women’s education and divorce rates implying salience of marital commitment as a factor contributing to marital stability in India?

Getting on with the quest to finding an answer to the question, data from Census, 2011 was accessed to compare how educational level of women affects the stability of marriage (which may also be taken as a correlate of marital commitment). The number of divorced women in each state/UT was compared with the number of currently married women classified by level of education. Six levels of education – “illiterate”, “literate but below primary”, “primary but below middle”, “middle but below matric or secondary”, “matric or secondary but below graduate”, “Graduate and above” were identified in the 2011 Census. Pearson coefficient was calculated for the number of divorced women and the number of married women in each of these educational brackets. But before that, correlation was calculated to find out the variation in the number of divorced women with the number of currently married illiterate and literate women.<sup>7</sup>

As expected, divorce rates were found to increase with a jump in literacy as shown below:

**Table 6.4: Correlation between the probability of divorce among women and the number of literate women in India**

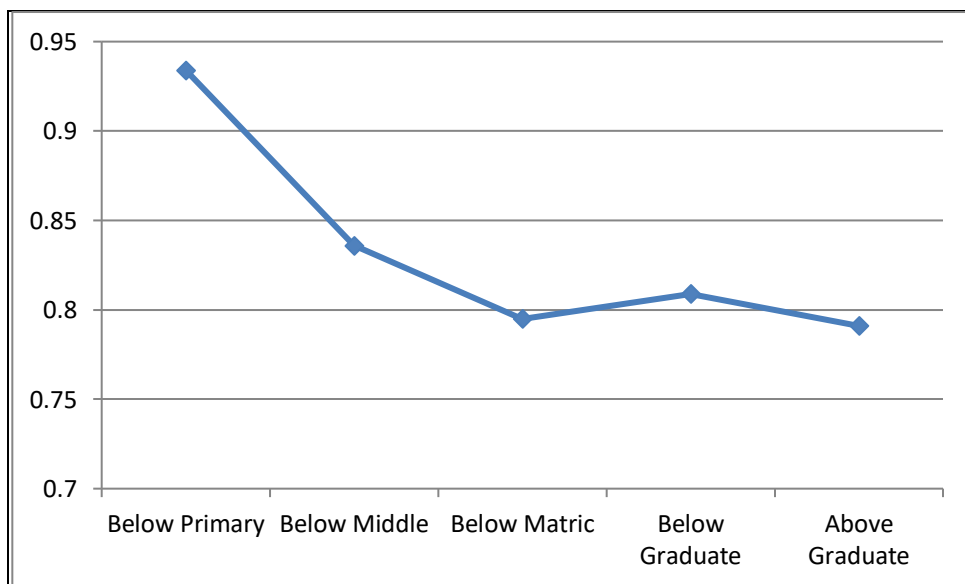
		Number of divorced women	Illiterate women	Literate women
Number of divorced women	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.503**</b>	<b>.870**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.002</b>	<b>.000</b>
	N	35	35	35

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

<sup>7</sup> The correlation calculated here related to aggregate figure for the number of divorced women and the number of literate and illiterate women in each state/UT. It does not represent individual cases.

A high correlation of +0.87 clearly indicates that with the rise in the number of literate married women, the number of divorced women across states/UTs of India also increases. Nonetheless, what captures our interest more at this point is the pattern of variation in the number of divorced women based on various educational levels of women. The correlations in this respect were calculated for the aforementioned educational categories of women. The correlations were found to be highly significant at 99 per cent confidence level for all categories. The comparative difference across categories is presented by means of the curve shown below:

**Figure 6.3: Among literate women, chances of divorce decreases as level of education increases**



\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote the values of Pearson correlation coefficient

It is visibly clear that correlations for less educated groups are higher which suggests that as the level of education among women increases, the probability of divorce drops. Greater stability of marriage with a rise in the level of education for women in India is in consonance with the global trend in this regard. As noted earlier, it might well be an outcome of higher marital commitment among women which is found to be closely associated with rise in the level of education as it has

been established by some research that educated women who marry have higher marital commitment (Bernardi & Martinez-Pastor, 2011).

That noted, it needs to be further researched before a conclusion is drawn with some confidence. At this point, one must pay attention to the fact that a positive relationship has been found to exist between ‘locus of control’ and academic achievement (Rotter, 1966). Besides, we have already seen that locus of control contributes toward a rise in the level of marital commitment. Hence, it does not seem surprising at all if higher educational attainment among women also leads to greater commitment and more stable marriages in India.

But this is just one inference drawn on the basis of state-wise distribution of number of divorced women and educational levels of women. In contrast to the above finding based on an analysis of the census 2011 data, it was found that though marital commitment is not directly related to level of education, marital stability is verily a function of educational level. What’s more, the relationship seems to be a negative one as shown:

**Table 6.5: Correlation between ‘level of education’ and Marital Stability**

		Stability Index_binomial	Education
Stability Index_binomial	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>-.156**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.007</b>
	N	303	303

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

It suggests that with a rise in the level of education, marital stability tends to decrease in our society. However, that’s not the most important observation to make in this context. Rather, what seems to capture our attention more than anything else is the fact that the relationship turns

significant only in the case of women. *For men, marital stability does not depend on level of education.* The correlations for both men and women are as shown:

**Table 4.6: Association between Marital stability and level of education for women in the sample**

		Stability Index_binomial	Education
Stability Index_binomial	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>-.230**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.005</b>
	N <sup>8</sup>	144	<b>144</b>

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 4.7: Association between Marital stability and level of education for men in the sample**

		Stability Index_binomial	Education
Stability Index_binomial	Pearson Correlation	1	-.102
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.199 <sup>9</sup>
	N	159	159

Thus, we can now argue with some confidence that *as the educational level of women in India increases, the chances of divorce also seem to increase.* This observation seems to echo a previous claim about American society (Udry, 1966; Houseknecht & Spanier, 1980). However, we have just seen that since then the relationship has assumed a reverse trend in American society which is not the case with Indian society. It might then be attributed to a cultural lag of sorts that places India at a point in history where American society might have been in the 1970s.

<sup>8</sup> Note the sample size for women (N = 144).

<sup>9</sup> In the case of men, the relationship is insignificant. Note the sample size for men (N = 159).

It would be interesting to see how this trend changes in the future. Although we have found this relation with regard to marital stability, marital commitment for this sample does not seem to vary with educational level.

It must also be mentioned that a clear opinion in this regard can't be formed as according to some, marital violence seems to be a mediator between education-divorce association according to which, educated women look to get rid of marriages characterized by marital violence (Kraeger et al., 2013). In contrast, women, in some cases, do show a tendency to endure marital violence without contemplating divorce (Adams & Hickson, 1993). Thus, it is difficult to clearly identify the factor that plays the dominant role in determining the conditions of divorce. Both “marital attraction” (which has a positive effect on marital commitment) and “barriers to divorce” seem to be behind cases of divorce (Bortien & Härkönen, 2018).

One of the most easily recognized barriers to divorce is economic independence of women which, for a long time, was considered a direct determinant of divorce (Laner, 1978; Becker, 1981; Bumpass, 1990; Clarke-Stewart & Brentano, 2006). But some recent studies seem to have found evidence to the contrary (DeMaris, 2000; Sayer & Bianchi, 2000; White & Rogers, 2000; Sen, 2002). Thus, one might argue that the economic independence of women by itself is not a cause of divorce. Rather, “marital satisfaction and *commitment* were better predictors of marital dissolution than measures of economic independence” (Clarke-Stewart & Brentano, 2006, p. 33).<sup>10</sup>

Proceeding on this line of analysis and working with the sample collected for this study it was found that although there was no direct and significant relation between marital stability and

---

<sup>10</sup> Italics not in original.

women’s employment, the relative gradient between husband and wife as to control over economic resources does seem to come into play in an indirect manner. In the case of women, marital stability was found to vary significantly with the employment status of their husbands.

The correlation is as shown:

**Table 4.8: Positive correlation between marital stability and spousal employment**

		Stability Index_binomial	Is the spouse employed?
Stability Index_binomial	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.192*</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.022</b>
	N	144	<b>141</b>

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

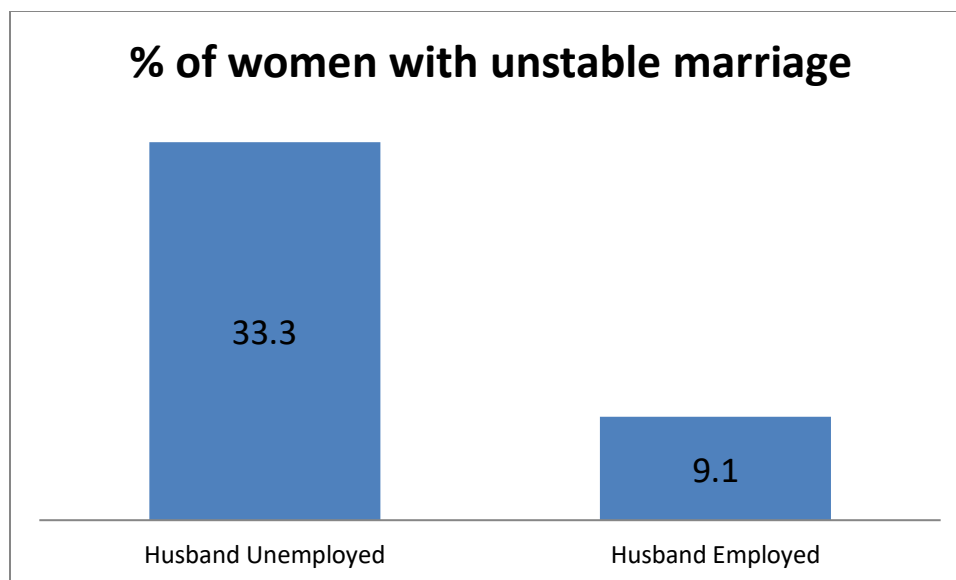
The positive correlation suggests that marital stability for women increases if their husbands are employed. Put differently, it indicates a decline in marital stability of women if the husband is unemployed, that is, the wife has a relative sense of economic independence in this condition.

The differential that exists is better illustrated with the help of the following bar chart:<sup>11</sup>

**Figure 6.4: Percentage (%) of women with unstable marriages if the husband is unemployed**

---

<sup>11</sup> The sample has only 9 such cases.



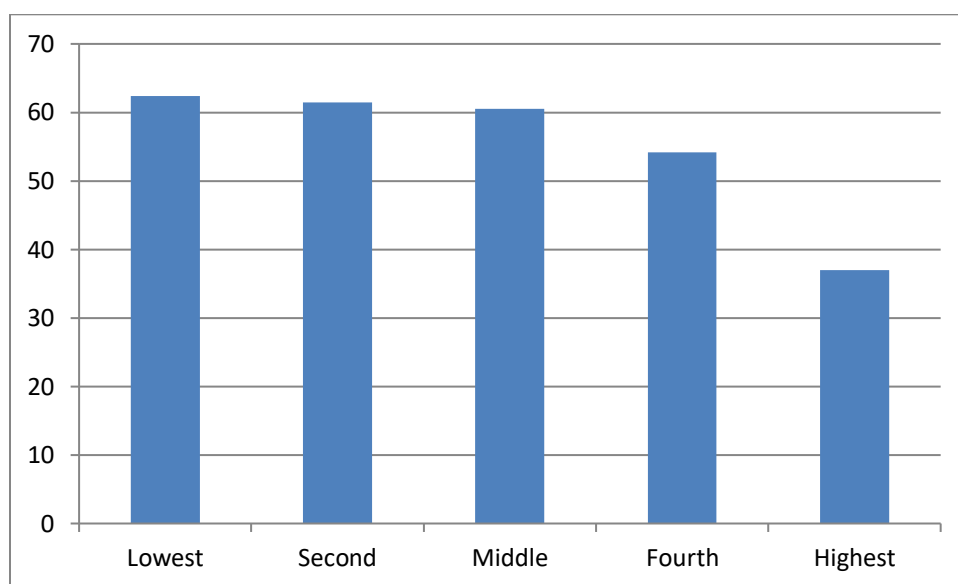
*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote percentage of women respondents in each category*

Employment of the spouse tends to increase marital stability which is also reflected in the above correlation. *However, when taken separately, the relationship between marital stability and employment of the spouse is found to be significant only for women and not for men.*

Coming back to the issue of permissiveness to wife-beating among women, the data for NFHS-3 showed that employed women showed lower resistance to wife-beating than the unemployed ones. In other words, employed women in India were more permissive to wife-beating which may be considered a sign of their high marital commitment and low acceptance for divorce. NFHS-3 found that 59.5 per cent of the employed women agreed to at least one of the reasons justifying wife-beating compared to 50.6 per cent unemployed women. But as far as NFHS-3 is concerned, ambiguity loomed over the problem as it was found that in contrast to the attitude of employed women to wife-beating, if the variable considered was simply the possession of 'wealth', the wealthier women did show a steeper decline in the propensity to agree with at least one reason that justified wife-beating. That introduces a degree of ambivalence in the context of this finding. Educational level might be the variable to be investigated at this point. There might

be a possibility where women that are employed tend to be low in terms of education. Hence, they seem more permissive toward wife-beating. But it may only be concluded based on further research. The figure below illustrates the point:<sup>12</sup>

**Figure 6.5: Percentage (%) of women who agree with at least one specified reason cited to justify wife-beating by husband classified by the amount of wealth they possess**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote the percentage of women within each wealth quintile*

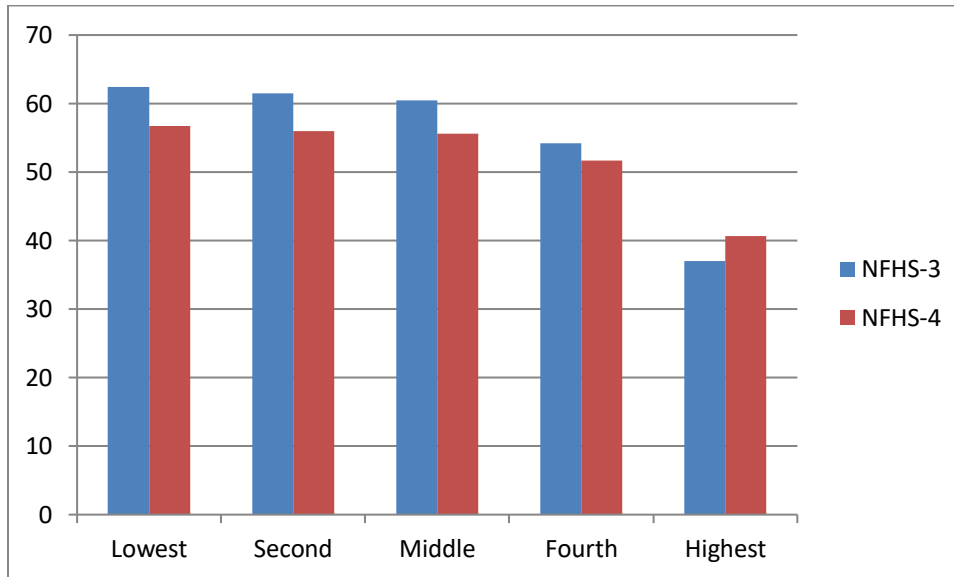
Thus, possession of wealth is surely a factor affecting permissiveness to wife-beating among Indian women. The trend seems more striking due to the fact that the drop in the probability to agreeing with wife-beating turns out to be steeper for women who belong to wealth quintiles above the middle quintile which is to say *wealthier the women get, less accommodating they tend to be when it comes to justifying wife-beating*. To find out the decadal variation in the trend in this regard, a comparison between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4 data was made. The following bar chart shows the comparison:

---

<sup>12</sup> Each bar represents the percentage of women falling in a quintile of 'wealth possession' in a series of gradation starting from lowest to highest.



**Figure 6.6: Comparison of the percentage of women who agree with at least one specified reason cited to justify wife-beating by husband classified by the amount of wealth they possess between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4**



*\*Numbers on the Y-axis denote the percentage of women within each wealth quintile*

While the comparative pattern seems to corroborate the expectation based on the rise in indices of women empowerment over the decade under consideration, the comparison with regard to last quintile of wealth index does depict an anomalous condition that would need some explaining. The decade saw a rapid economic growth without corresponding growth in education which might be an explanation to this observation. A final word may only be said based on further research.

In fact, the whole argument we saw in regard to education might seem to be a better explanation for the response given by employed women. No doubt, women that are employed are also the more educated ones, and hence, more committed to their marriage. In sum, economic independence of women, if any, exerts only a minor influence on the dynamics of marital life,

especially with regard to variables such as marital commitment and tolerance to marital violence. A plausible explanation may be the minor role played by structural factors such as economic independence of wives in determining marital commitment when the levels of other two dimensions of commitment – personal and moral – are high (Johnson, Caughlin, & Huston, 1999). It is also reported that the components of marital commitment differ for husbands and wives with husbands scoring high on personal and moral commitment and wives on structural commitment (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002, p. 201). Thus, can we say on the basis of the above discussion that in contrast to these findings, employed women in India seem to be more personally and morally committed to marriage?

In this regard, it would seem worthwhile to find out how things play out in Indian society based on an analysis of the sample collected for this study. As far as structural commitment is concerned, we find that a gender differential does exist in this sample for the question that looks to ask whether divorce is an option to end a marriage. While the correlation between this question and employment among men displays no significance, for women in the sample, the correlation is significant and, that too, a negative correlation whose value is as follows:

**Table 6.9: Relationship between employment among women and structural commitment to marriage**

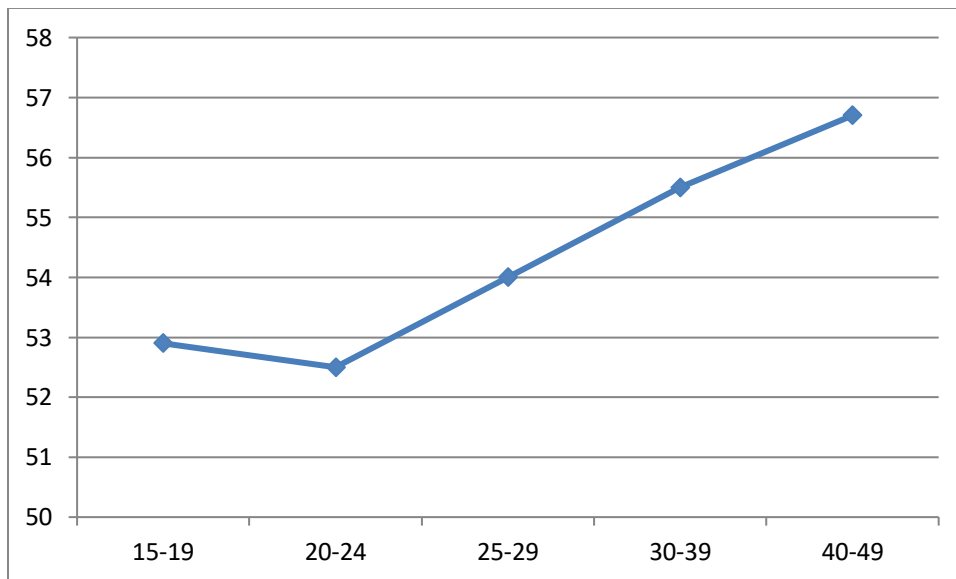
		divorce no option	Are you currently employed?
divorce no option	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>-.185*</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.026</b>
	N	144	<b>144</b>

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Keeping the observation that talks about a gender difference in terms of the type of marital commitment alluded to above in view (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002), it might be said that a straightforward gender difference does not exist on the basis of gender but when coupled with employment, structural commitment in the case of women seemingly takes a dip.

Life-cycle stage and the presence as well as the number of children do play a vital part in determining the level of commitment that people exhibit towards marriage. Talking about life-cycle stages, it could be said that the attitude of the older lot of women in India towards wife-beating seems more favourable as far as data from NFHS-3 is concerned. The graph below shows the pattern in NFHS-3:

**Figure 6.7: Percentage (%) of women justifying wife-beating classified by age group**



\*X-axis = age-group; Y-axis = per cent of women in each age-group

According to NFHS-3 data, the median age of women at first birth was 19.8 (age 25-49) and 20 (age 20-49) in 2005-06.<sup>13</sup> Child birth is often seen as a barrier to divorce which in this case

<sup>13</sup> See Table 4.9 of the NFHS-3 report, p. 91.

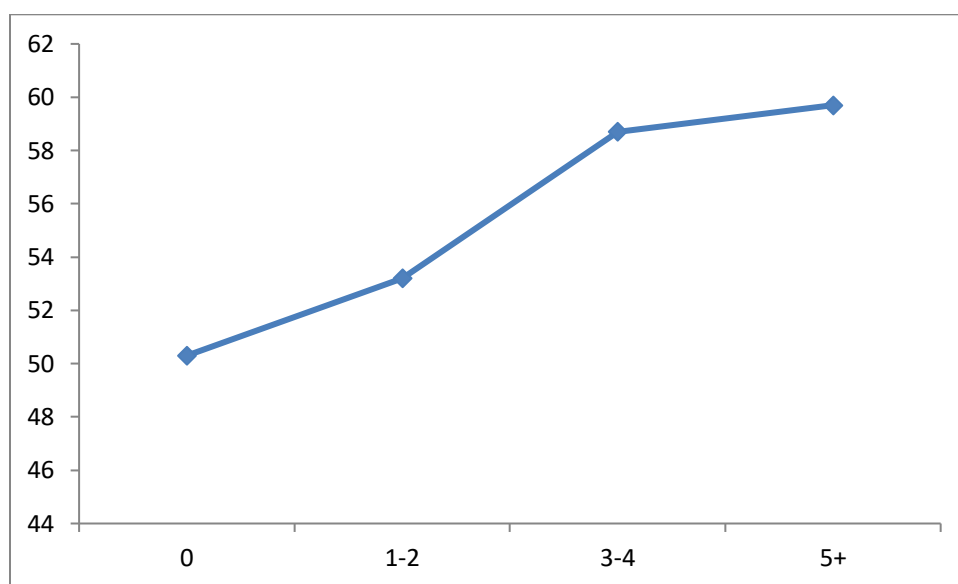
seems more likely for women in 20-24 age-band than women in 15-19. Nonetheless, controlling for education, one might be better equipped to explain the observed pattern. Till they are past the age of 19, most women lack the proper educational empowerment to start thinking about alternatives to a dissatisfying marriage. Moreover, high fertility rates in 2005-06 would have been a factor as well for stretching the threshold of divorce beyond the birth of a single child. It is also established that simply child birth does not act as a barrier to divorce in India. Rather, it depends on the sex of the child. It has been reported that parents of at least one male child have a lower probability of divorce (Bose & South, 2003).

As far as structural commitment (may also be seen as a proxy for barriers to divorce) is concerned, both men and women tend to follow an inverted U-shaped relationship over changing stages of the family life-cycle (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002). It is reported that childless women are relatively less structurally committed than women with children (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002, p. 201). That leads us to the old debate as to the effect of child-rearing on the chances of divorce (Heaton, 1990). Nock's (1979, p. 16) observation in this regard was one of the earliest that pointed out the significance of family life-cycle in casting a telling effect on the dynamics of marital life. Since then, a bunch of studies have confirmed that a couple characterized by childlessness is more likely to divorce than couples with children (Becker, Landes, & Michael, 1977; Morgan & Rindfuss, 1985; Waite, Haggstrom, & Kanouse, 1985; Kapinus & Johnson, 2002).

In this context, it comes as an insightful observation that for women the number of children bears a U-shaped relationship with the chances of marital dissolution (Thornton, 1977). While it may seem to be in line with the slight downswing observed in the above analysis dealing with age-groups for NFHS-3, the overall trend with respect to the number of children in rendering wife-

beating more acceptable to women seems to follow a gradual pattern of increasing permissiveness towards wife-beating with rise in the number of children. The trend reported in NFHS-3 (2005-06) is shown in the graph below:<sup>14</sup>

**Figure 6.8: Percentage of women showing 'permissiveness' to wife-beating (plotted on Y-axis) classified by the number of children they have (plotted on X-axis)**



There is a clear indication that as the number of children goes up, the permissiveness to wife-beating among Indian women increases. It might be a reflection of structural commitment that keeps them from contemplating divorce. However, looking at the process of demographic transition unfold in this country, it might be due to the intergenerational difference where women with more number of children happen to belong to an older generation. A greater clarity on the issue can only be had on the basis of further research.

---

<sup>14</sup> The corresponding data for the effect of the number of children on women's attitude towards wife beating was excluded from the report of NFHS-4.

And it does not remain merely a conjecture of sorts. An analysis of the data collected for this study has a vital fact to reveal in this regard. Among the four indicators of marital commitment used in the questionnaire, the last question (V57) looks to measure one’s attitude to divorce. The statement used reads: “To me, divorce is never an option”. A score of 4 on this variable that corresponds to the categorical value “always” signifies a low degree of acceptance to divorce. To simplify things, the variable was recoded to hold just two values signifying institutional/structural commitment to marriage – low and high. For the sample we studied, this attitude to divorce bears a significant relationship to whether the couple has children or not. The crosstabulation of the variables<sup>15</sup> is as follows:

**Table 6.10: Relationship between presence of children and whether one considers divorce as an option**

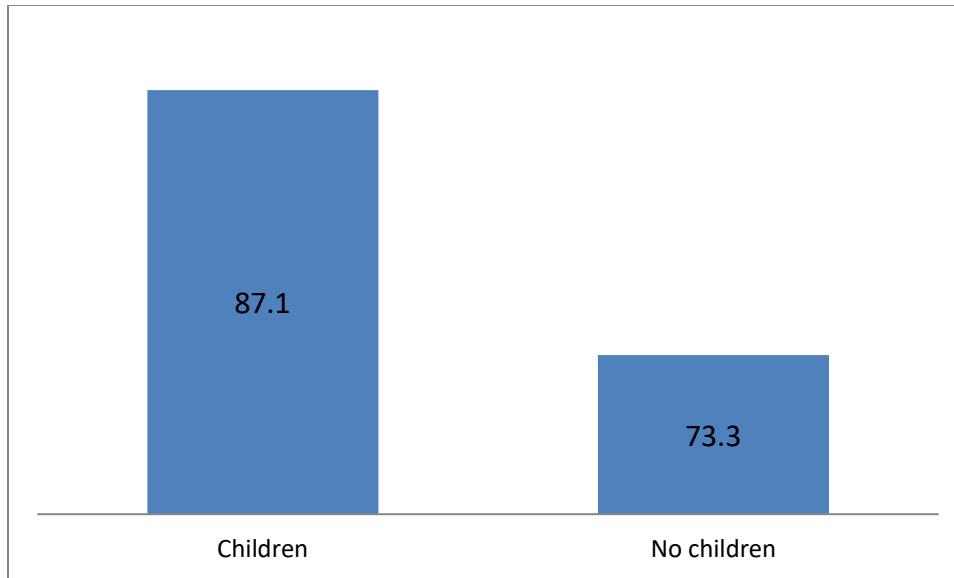
<b>divorce no option * Children or not? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Children or not?		Total
			No children	Children	
divorce no option	Low	Count	24	27	51
		% within Children or not?	26.7%	12.9%	17.0%
	High	Count	66	183	249
		% within Children or not?	<b>73.3%</b>	<b>87.1%</b>	83.0%
Total		Count	90	210	300
		% within Children or not?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.004$  for Pearson chi-square test.

The relationship seems to be better illustrated by means of the following bar graph:

**Figure 6.9: Percentage of respondents having children who say divorce is not an option to them at all**

<sup>15</sup> Numbers in the figure indicate percentage of respondents within each category and the relationship is significant at 99% confidence level.



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents*

Having got that insight it seems a fructuous exercise to analyze the correlations between the marital commitment as a whole and the number of children (both sons and daughters). The Pearson coefficients are as shown:

***Table 6.11: Marital Commitment shows a positive correlation with number of sons and a negative correlation with number of daughters***

	Index of Marital Commitment	Total number of Children	Number of Sons	Number of Daughters
Index of Marital Commitment	Pearson Correlation	1	-.042	.116*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.470	.045
	N	303	300	300
				-.183**
				.001

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).  
 \*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

It is clear that the Index of Marital Commitment which is the sum total of the scores of all four indicator variables does not correlate significantly with the total number of children. However, confirming the above finding where commitment level exhibits a significant relationship with the

presence of children between couples, it could be viewed here that both number of sons and number of daughters do bear a significant correlation to the index of marital commitment. However, it must be added here that the observation might also be the result of some chance factor. Hence, a proper take on it is only possible if the topic is investigated further based on empirical research.

But it adds a point worth mentioning here that the two coefficients bear opposite signs which shows that *marital commitment for our sample coming from an upper middle class background of Delhi – NCR increases with the number of sons in the family. On the other hand, a rise in the number of daughters probably results in a reduction in marital commitment.* Although it seems to fall in line with a previous research finding according to which presence of at least one male child in the family reduces the chances of divorce (Bose & South, 2003), further research is needed to arrive at a proper conclusion. That said, it becomes imperative to investigate the relationship between index of marital stability measured as one of the dimensions of marital quality in this study and the number of children. The correlations are as shown:

**Table 6.12: Correlation between Marital Stability, Number of sons, Number of daughters, and total number of children**

		Index of Marital Stability	Number of Sons	Number of Daughters	Total number of Children
Index of Marital Stability	Pearson Correlation	1	.120*	-.031	.058
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.038	.590	.318
	N	303	300	300	300

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).



In consonance with the previous observation, marital instability, that is, chances of divorce for the sample does vary significantly with the number of sons, though it bears a significant correlation neither to the number of daughters nor to the total number of children.

Drawing upon these and interpreting the two findings together, it may be assuredly argued that the sample being analyzed as part of this study representing a particular set of cultural values, which in turn depends on a number of socioeconomic factors, seemingly *has a high preference for sons rather than daughters*. Although gender seems not to be playing a considerable hand in determining marital quality confirming the gender similarities hypothesis (Hyde, 2005), ideologies of gender seem to be upheld in the form of sex preference in the context of having children expressed by married couples in our society. It establishes without doubt that there lies a deep connection between marital commitment and demographic as well as a horde of other socioeconomic variables in our society which we shall see in what follows.

### 6.8. Marital Commitment and its various associations

In the course of analysis based on the sample population selected for this study, we came across a fact worth highlighting in this context. It was discovered that in our society, marital commitment seems to be a function of religious affiliation. For the sample we studied, there exists a significant relationship between religion and marital commitment. The sample was divided into two groups, Hindus and non-Hindus for whom we obtained the following result:

**Table 6.13: Relationship between religious affiliation and Marital Commitment**

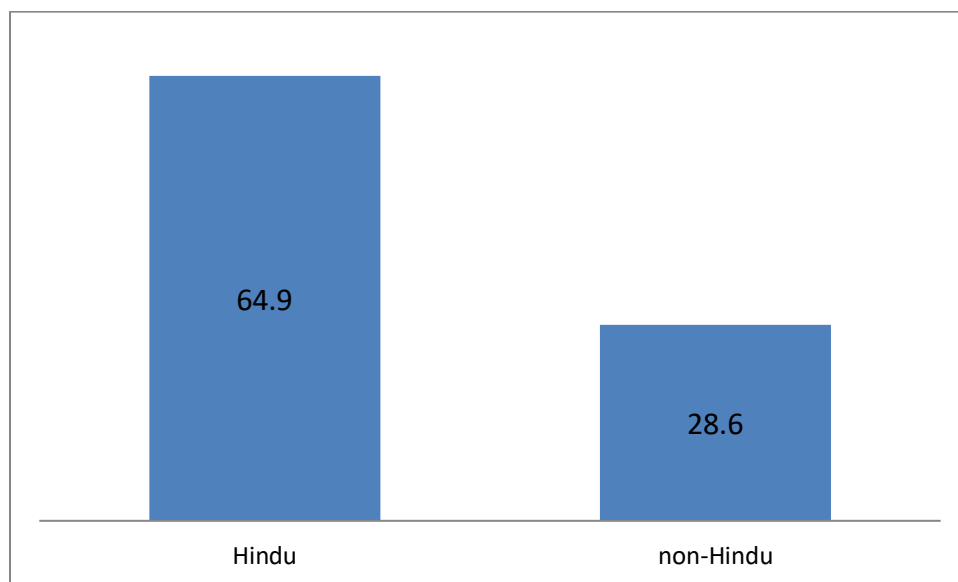
commitment recode * Religion Type Crosstabulation					
			Religion Type		Total
			Hindu	non-Hindu	
commitment recode	Low	Count	99	15	114

		% within Religion Type	35.1%	71.4%	37.6%
	High	Count	183	6	189
		% within Religion Type	<b>64.9%</b>	<b>28.6%</b>	62.4%
Total		Count	282	21	303
		% within Religion Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.001$  for Pearson chi-square test.

It appears to be a fact worthy of our drawing our attention that it is the Hindu population that is more committed to marriage. The difference is well illustrated by means of the following bar graph:

**Figure 6.10: Percentage (%) of respondents with high 'marital commitment' classified by religious affiliation**



\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each religious category.

A substantial differential seems to exist with 64.9 per cent of the Hindu population being highly committed to their marriage as compared to just 28.6 per cent of the non-Hindus. It must be recounted at this point that a similar differential seems to exist with respect to marital stability for this sample which goes well with this finding. Even in the case of marital stability, the Hindus tend to fare better than others. That gives us some ground for anticipating a high

correlation between marital commitment and marital stability as we shall see later. For the moment, it won't be a bad idea to look at how religion affects specific aspects of marital commitment. It was found that for two questions measuring personal commitment to one's partner, the Hindus fare better than the non-Hindus. Simply put, one might say that Hindus seem to be more loyal to their marriage partner as compared to the non-Hindus in this sample. Coupled with this, the Hindus also seem to stick to their current partner come what may more than the non-Hindus. In contrast, when it comes to institutional commitment to marriage which is gauged through one's take on whether divorce seems to be an option to get rid of marital bond, the non-Hindus tend to be ahead of the Hindus. *In sum, one might argue that for the sample, the Hindus are more committed at the personal level to their marriage partner while the non-Hindus are more committed to the institution of marriage.* The relationship is summarized in the following table:

**Table 6.14: Relationship between indicator variables measuring Marital Commitment and religion of the respondents**

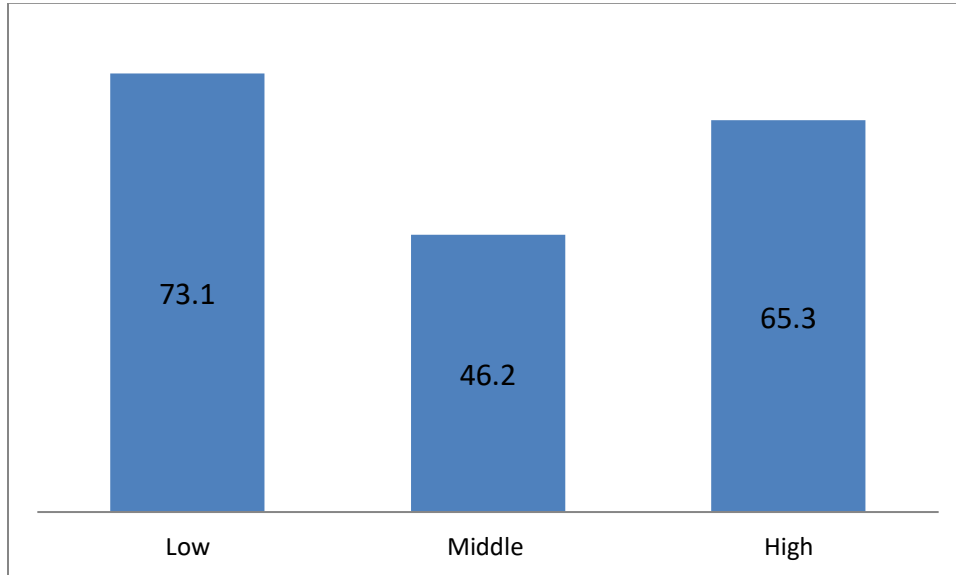
		Religion		
			Hindu	non-Hindu
Marital Commitment	Loyalty	Low	** 6.4	28.6
		High	93.6	71.4
	marry someone else	Low	** 14.9	42.9
		High	85.1	57.1
	divorce no option	Low	* 19.1	0
		High	80.9	100

\* refers to significance at 95% confidence level.

\*\* refers to significance at 99% confidence level.

Furthermore, analysis shows that apart from religion, socioeconomic variables such as income and employment seem to affect marital commitment as well. The variation of marital commitment with income is shown below:

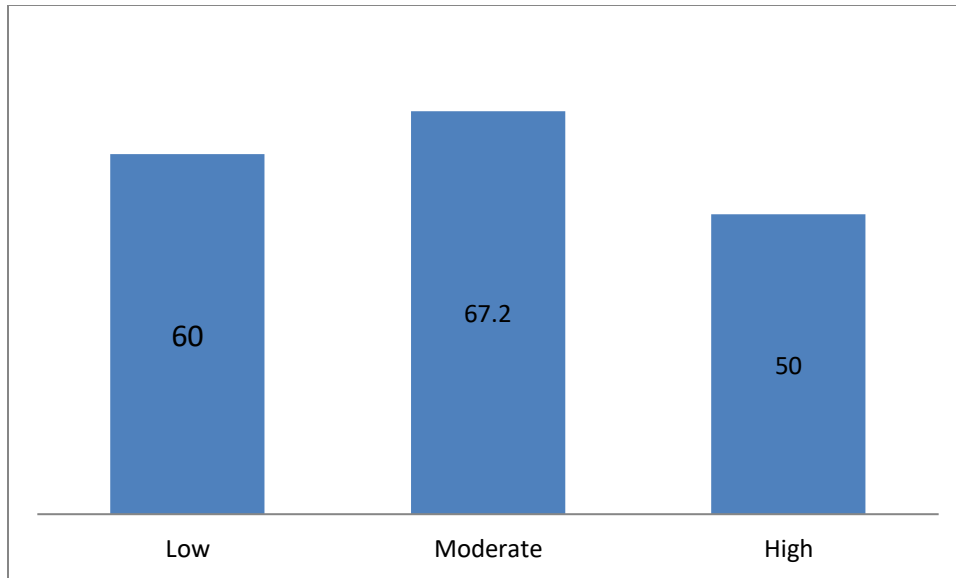
**Figure 6.11: Percentage (%) of respondents reporting high marital commitment classified by income group**



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each income group*

We witness a U-shaped curve in this regard which is suggestive of the fact that the middle income group are seemingly less committed to marriage compared to low and high income groups. But the pattern seems to undergo a change when not real income but satisfaction with income is considered as factor. The variation with marital commitment is shown below:

**Figure 6.12: Percentage (%) of respondents reporting 'high' marital commitment classified by level of satisfaction with income**

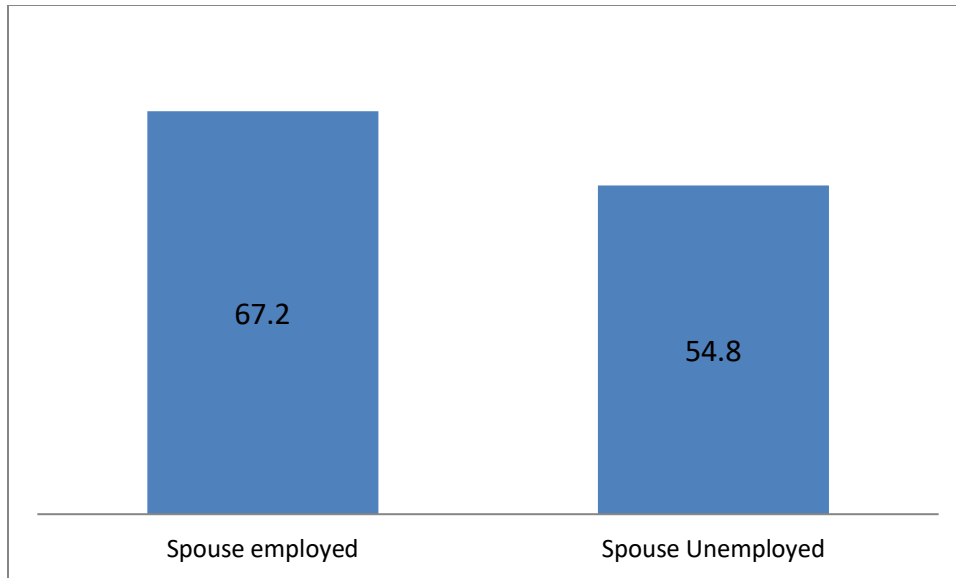


*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each income group*

Now then, what we see here is rather an inversion of the above pattern, that is, we get an inverted U-shaped curve with those with moderate satisfaction with their income tending to have relatively high marital commitment. However, what's more important is the fact that only half of all the respondents who report high income satisfaction tend to be lowly committed to marriage. Thus, it might be inferred that in comparison to low and moderate satisfaction with income, *high satisfaction leads to low marital commitment.*

Closely linked to income is the factor of employment in our society. Hence, it might be conjectured to be a factor affecting marital commitment as well. On further analysis, it was found that one's own employment seems to be rather unimportant when it comes to casting an influence on marital commitment. However, the employment of the spouse seems to exhibit a significant association with marital commitment. The bar graph below illustrates the relationship:

***Figure 6.13: Percentage (%) of respondents reporting high marital commitment classified according to whether or not their spouse is employed***



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each category*

Although the difference is not large, it nonetheless, exists to suggest that those with an unemployed spouse tend to go low on marital commitment. That said, it would rather be interesting to find out whether an employed spouse seems to matter more in this context determining marital commitment for husbands or wives. On a close scrutiny, it was found that it appears to have a greater impact on men than women. While the relationship does not show any significance with respect to wives the sample, the husbands don not seem to go untouched. Precisely speaking, it was discovered that those husbands whose wives have an employment tend to be more committed than those whose wives do not work outside the home. The relationship for all the husbands of the sample in this regard is shown below:

**Table 6.15: Relationship between Marital Commitment among women and employment status of husband**

commitment recode * Is the spouse employed? Crosstabulation					
			Is the spouse employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
commitment recode	Low	Count	39	18	57

		% within Is the spouse employed?	46.4%	30.0%	39.6%
	High	Count	45	42	87
		% within Is the spouse employed?	<b>53.6%</b>	<b>70.0%</b>	60.4%
Total		Count	84	60	144
		% within Is the spouse employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level;  $p = 0.047$  for Pearson chi-square test.

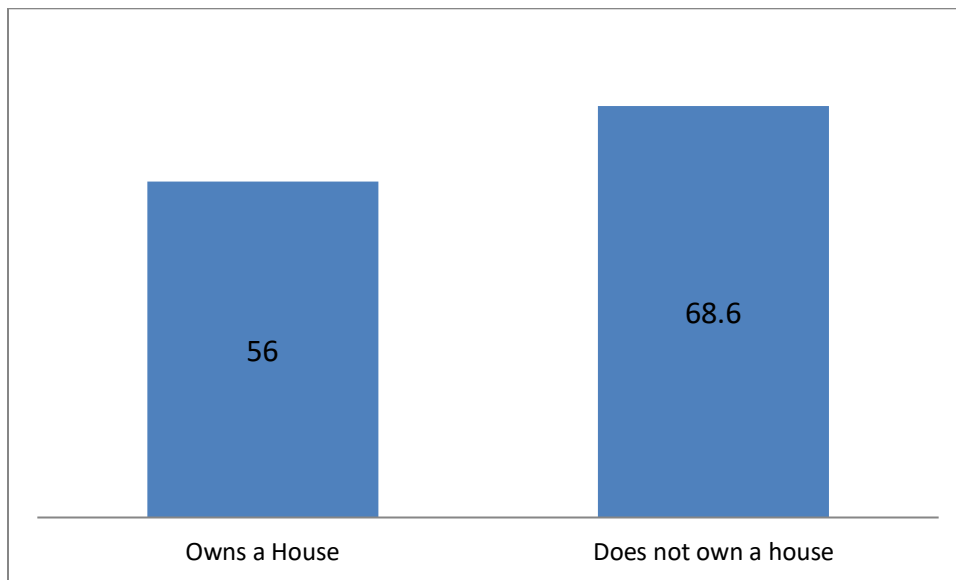
It is clearly observable that a high proportion of those with an unemployed wife seem to report low marital commitment. The finding seems to assume importance from the viewpoint of the debate on the employment of the wife and marital quality. Based on this analysis, it could be said that *the employment of the wife tends to increase marital commitment of the husband*. If greater marital commitment could be taken as a correlate of better marital quality and more stable marriage, the finding looks to rewrite some of the previous findings in this regard. There are studies that found ‘employment of the wife’ to be a source of marital discord (Hood, 1983; Thompson & Walker, 1989) which stems from the relative decline in the husband’s control over economic resources and the resulting income advantage of the wife (Conger et al., 1990; Voydanoff, 1990; Hernandez, 1993; Winslow, 2011).

From a cultural perspective, an increase in marital commitment with wives’ employment also hints at a shift in societal norms in this regard. The earlier discomfort expressed within the realm of family norms at the employment of the wife seems to have vanished in a large sense with the consequence that women taking up employment outside the home seems to be more accepted in our society now than ever before.

Besides these ways in which socioeconomic variables such as income and employment seem to affect marital commitment, we come across another interesting factor that appears to be

significant in this regard. Marital commitment seems to be significantly related to the fact whether one owns a house or not.<sup>16</sup> The difference in marital commitment brought about by ownership of house is illustrated below:

**Figure 6.14: Percentage (%) of respondents reporting high marital commitment classified by whether or not they own a house**



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each category*

One might argue on this basis that *those who own a house tend to be low on marital commitment.*

A linear regression model for the relationship makes things clearer. The result is as shown:

**Table 6.16: Correlation between Ownership of House and Marital Commitment in Linear regression model**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.336 <sup>a</sup>	.113	.107	.467

<sup>16</sup> The relationship is significant at 95% confidence level.



a. Predictors: (Constant), Ownership of House

Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.760	.054		32.633	.000
	Ownership of House	-.331	.074	-.336	-4.467	<b>.000</b>

a. Dependent Variable: commitment recode

We must pay attention to the negative value of the beta coefficient which signifies that the relationship is a negative one. As ownership of house goes up, marital commitment goes down. Now, that leaves us with a fact that needs further investigation. Looking for the underlying causes of this observation might provide us with newer insights into the dynamic of marital quality in Indian society.

We checked for the gender perspective and found that though ownership of house and marital commitment do not show a significant association for women, these are significantly related as far as the men in the sample are concerned. The crosstabulation below confirms the assertion:

**Table 6.17: Relationship between Marital Commitment for men and Ownership of House**

commitment recode * Ownership of House Crosstabulation					
			Ownership of House		Total
			No	Yes	
commitment recode	Low	Count	18	48	66
		% within Ownership of House	<b>24.0%</b>	<b>57.1%</b>	41.5%
	High	Count	57	36	93
		% within Ownership of House	76.0%	42.9%	58.5%
Total		Count	75	84	159

	% within Ownership of House	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
--	-----------------------------	--------	--------	--------

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level; p = 0.000 for Pearson chi-square test.

Having gone through the various ways in which marital commitment seems to be impacted by socioeconomic variables included in this analysis based on a bivariate analysis, we must perform a binary logistic regression analysis in order for us to develop a more solid understanding as to the relationship between the variables and marital commitment in our society. The model we obtained is as follows:

*Table 6.18: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with Marital Commitment as the dichotomous dependent variable*

**Block 1: Method = Enter**

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	45.262	18	0.000
	Block	45.262	18	0.000
	Model	45.262	18	<b>0.000</b>

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	323.815 <sup>a</sup>	0.148	0.203

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Step	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
1	14.601	8	<b>0.067</b>

The model seems to be a good fit as it is significant in the Omnibus test and non-significant in Hosmer and Lemeshow test. The classification accuracy and sensitivity of the model are shown below:

**Table 6.19: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with Marital Commitment as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Classification Table <sup>a</sup>					
Observed			Predicted		
			commitment recode		Percentage Correct
Step 1	commitment recode		Low	High	
		Low	42	60	41.2
		High	30	150	<b>83.3</b>
	Overall Percentage				<b>68.1</b>

At 68.1 per cent the classification accuracy does not seem to be high although sensitivity of the model at 83.3 per cent seems to be in higher range. Thus, let us now find out which of these variables seems to affect marital commitment when all of them are taken together. The table below sums up the relationships:

**Table 6.20: Relationship between independent variables and marital commitment as the dependent dichotomous variable**

Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sex (1 = Female; 2 = Male)	1 = Female	0.208	0.392	0.596	1.231
Ownership of House (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.765	0.324	<b>0.018</b>	0.465
Are you currently employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.645	0.373	0.084	0.525
Is the spouse employed? (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	0.659	0.386	0.087	1.933
addictive habits (0 = No; 1 = Yes)	0 = No	-0.136	0.482	0.778	0.873
Religion Type (1 = Hindu; 2 = non-Hindu)	1 = Hindu	-1.079	0.705	0.126	0.340
Mother Tongue (1 = Hindi; 2 = non-Hindi)	1 = Hindi	-0.227	0.341	0.505	0.797

Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	-0.104	0.372	0.780	0.902
Education (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	-0.583	0.339	0.086	0.558
Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	-0.113	0.455	0.804	0.893
most caring recode (1 = spouse; 2 = others)	1 = spouse	-0.395	0.322	0.220	0.674
Living with? (1 = With children; 2 = with other family members)	1 = with children	0.399	0.378	0.291	1.491
Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	0.130	0.350	0.711	1.138
duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	0.161	0.419	0.701	1.175
Age_binomial (1 = Younger; 2 = Older)	1 = Younger	-0.001	0.342	0.999	0.999
Income binomial (1 = Below 10L; 2 = Above 10L)	1 = Below 10L	0.998	0.323	<b>0.002</b>	2.712
change in health_binomial (1 = Worse; 2 = Better)	1 = Worse	0.879	0.375	<b>0.019</b>	2.408
Income satisfaction_binomial (1 = Low; 2 = High)	1 = Low	-1.066	0.361	<b>0.003</b>	0.344
Constant		1.353	1.608	0.400	3.867

From the table one might infer that marital commitment in India is largely an *economic* issue for we can clearly see that only four variables tend to bear a significant relation to marital commitment, three of which stem from economic concerns. Both aggregate income and satisfaction with income tend to affect marital commitment though in opposite ways. Persons with high income are 2.7 times more likely to have high marital commitment than persons with low income. In contrast, those with high level of satisfaction with income are 65 per cent less likely to have high marital commitment than persons with low satisfaction with income, agreeing with the corresponding result obtained from bivariate analysis. Most importantly, marital commitment is also related to whether or not one owns a house. Those who own a house are 53.5 per cent less likely to have high marital commitment, a finding that is quite in agreement with the corresponding inference drawn from bivariate analysis. Lastly, it must also be mentioned that those who report their health as having gotten better over the past year tend to be 2.4 times more likely to have high marital commitment than those who feel to the contrary.

Thus far we have looked at various ways in which marital commitment is related to some other socioeconomic variables in our society. But we know that marital commitment is itself a composite variable made up of a number of other variables that measure some of its aspects. Hence, we now turn our attention to the manner in which the individual variables composing marital commitment behave vis-à-vis some socioeconomic variables included for analysis in this study. Proceeding with this as the goal, we discover something rather interesting from the perspective of this study. We have so far not come across any correlation between social category, i.e, caste or education with marital commitment. But in shaping the response to the question asking whether one would ever marry someone else if given a chance other than one's current spouse, we found that caste and educational level for our sample seem to emerge as vital factors. It is noteworthy that of all four variables measuring marital commitment, this is the only variable that bears a significant relation to the level of education of the respondents. The correlation is as shown:

***Table 6.21: Correlation between Level of education and respondents' likelihood to 'marry someone else' if they were to do it all over again***

		marry someone else	Education
marry someone else	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>-.161**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.005</b>
	N	303	303

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Our attention is drawn toward the negative sign prefixed to the correlation coefficient. It goes to imply that as the level of education in society rises, there emerges a probability that personal commitment to one's marriage partner might fall.

Apart from education, caste expressed through social category also shows a significant association with this dimension of marital commitment. This is how it plays out:

**Table 6.22: Relationship between ‘caste’ (social category) and one’s probability to ‘marry someone else’ if they were to do it all over again**

<b>marry somone else * Category label Crosstabulation</b>					
			Category label		Total
			General	Others	
marry someone else (marital commitment level)	Low	Count	48	3	51
		% within Category label	20.3%	4.5%	16.8%
	High	Count	189	63	252
		% within Category label	<b>79.7%</b>	<b>95.5%</b>	83.2%
Total		Count	237	66	303
		% within Category label	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.005$  for Pearson chi-square test.

It must be emphasized at this point that with regard to this aspect of marital commitment, those reporting themselves as belonging to the General category seem to be lowly committed compared to respondents representing other caste groups. In contrast, when it comes to institutional commitment to marriage, the attitudes of the groups seem to get reversed. In response to the question whether divorce is an option to annul one’s current marriage, we found the following distribution of responses based on social category:<sup>17</sup>

**Table 6.23: Relationship between ‘caste’ (social category) and people’s consideration of divorce as an option**

<b>divorce no option * Category label Crosstabulation</b>			
		Category label	Total

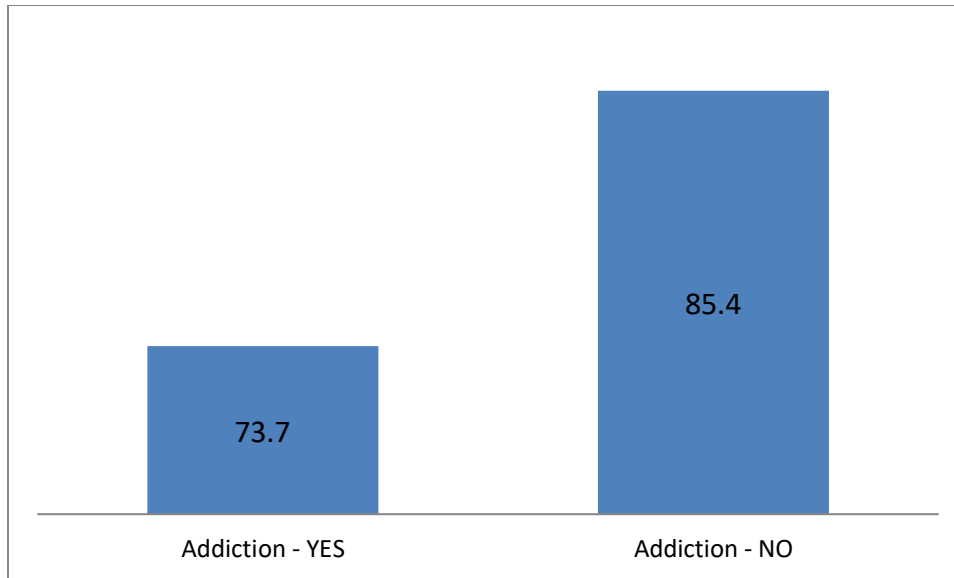
<sup>17</sup> The relationship is significant at 95% confidence level.

			General	Others	
divorce no option (marital commitment level)	Low	Count	36	18	54
		% within Category label	15.2%	27.3%	17.8%
	High	Count	201	48	249
		% within Category label	<b>84.8%</b>	<b>72.7%</b>	82.2%
Total		Count	237	66	303
		% within Category label	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

It is clear that the group of ‘General’ respondents seem to be more committed to the institution of marriage as compared to the group representing other categories. Summing up the inferences drawn from the two findings here, one might say that the *people from the General category seem to be more committed to marriage from an institutional standpoint while those coming from other social categories representing the OBCs, SCs and STs tend to be more committed to their spouse at the personal level.*

Moving on, we come across an amazing fact as we find that addictive habits seem to be associated with one’s inclination to marry someone else other than the current spouse. The difference is clearly shown with the help of the bar graph:

***Figure 6.15: Percentage (%) of the respondents with addictive habits who say they would like to marry someone else if they were to do it all over again***



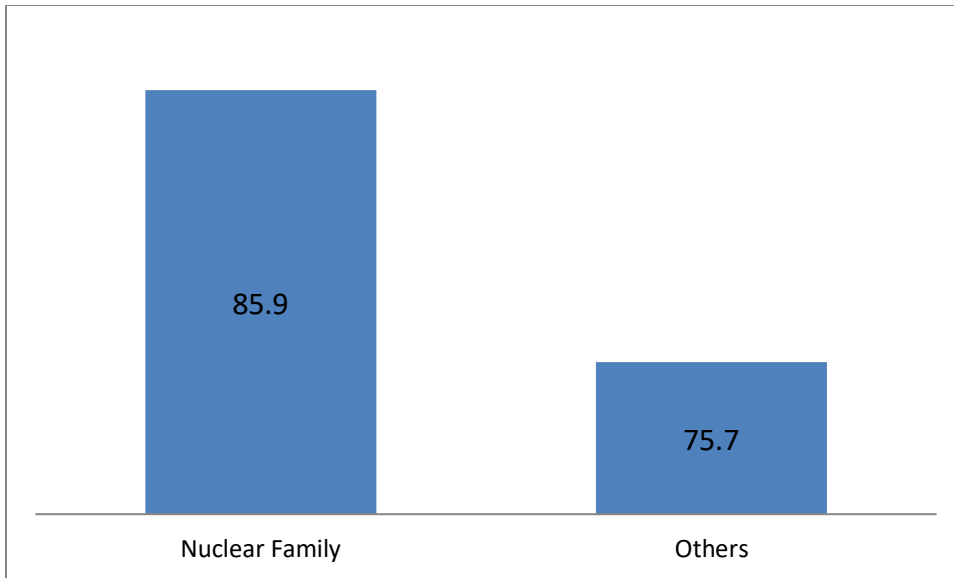
*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each category*

There's a clear indication that those who have addictive habits such as drinking, smoking, etc. tend to report low marital commitment.

Other than this aspect of marital commitment, we also come across various degrees of association between variables such as family type, presence of children, age, etc. on the dimension of institutional commitment to marriage. When asked whether or not divorce seems to them as an option, the respondents tend to display a differential with respect to the type of family setting in which they live. The relationship is summed up in the bar graph:

***Figure 6.16: Percentage (%) of the respondents for whom divorce is not an option classified by 'family type'***

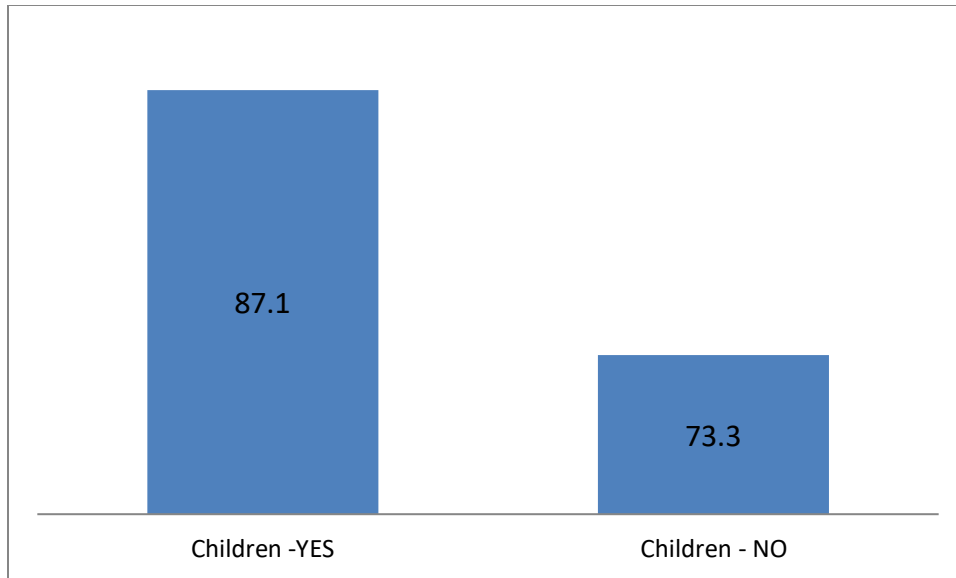




*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each category*

Nuclear family seems to form a better setting as far as institutional commitment to marriage is concerned. Similarly, the presence of children within the family seems to be an impediment in the way one's seeking a divorce. Thus, those who say divorce is not an option appear to bear a correlation to whether they have children or not. Shown below is the relationship:

***Figure 6.17: Percentage (%) of respondents who said divorce is not an option for them classified by whether or not they have children***



*\*Numbers embedded in each bar represent percentage of respondents in each category*

With the presence of children, we notice here that the institutional or structural commitment to marriage seems to go up.

An important demographic variable in this regard seems to be Duration of marriage. The whole sample was divided into ‘newlywed’ (married 0-5 years) and ‘older couples’ (married more than 5 years). A significant association seems to be detected between these variables. The result is as shown:

***Table 6.24: Relationship between duration of marriage and whether people consider divorce as an option***

<b>divorce no option * duration_binomial Crosstabulation</b>					
			duration_binomial		Total
			Newlywed	Older couples	
divorce no option	Low	Count	36	18	54
		% within duration_binomial	25.0%	11.3%	17.8%
	High	Count	108	141	249
		% within duration_binomial	<b>75.0%</b>	<b>88.7%</b>	82.2%
Total		Count	144	159	303

	% within duration_binomial	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
--	----------------------------	--------	--------	--------

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 99% confidence level;  $p = 0.002$  for Pearson chi-square test.

As a piece of observation, one might say that the older couples, that is, those married for more than five years seem to have a greater commitment to the institution of marriage where divorce to them seems to be no option at all. It must be added here that this association with duration of marriage seems to vanish in the case of one's biological age alone. Therefore, an intergenerational change in the attitude to marriage does not seem to exist for people based on their age. It is rather a function of the number of married years that they have lived with the older ones winning against their younger counterparts as far as this facet of marital commitment is concerned.

At this point, it seems a better idea to probe the relationship with 'divorce no option' as the dependent variable and the four factors seemingly correlated on the basis of bivariate analysis as independent variables taken all at once. The result of the binary logistic regression is as follows:

**Table 6.25: Output of the binary logistic regression from SPSS with 'divorce no option' as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	17.702	4	.001
	Block	17.702	4	.001
	Model	17.702	4	.001

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	255.830 <sup>a</sup>	.057	.096

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	8.211	5	.145

The model fits the data well. The classification accuracy of the model is shown below:

**Table 6.26: Classification table for the binary logistic regression model with ‘divorce no option’ as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Classification Table <sup>a</sup>					
Observed			Predicted		
			divorce no option		Percentage Correct
Step 1	divorce no option	Low	High	Low	
		Low	0	51	0.0
		High	0	249	100.0
	Overall Percentage				83.0

a. The cut value is .500

With a value of 100 per cent the model seems to display a high sensitivity. Yet it remains to be seen how individual variables affect people’s commitment to marriage in whether they consider divorce an option at all. The table below shows the relationship:

**Table 4.27: Relationship between independent variables and ‘divorce no option’ as the dichotomous dependent variable**

Step 1 <sup>a</sup>	Independent Variable	Reference Category	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
	Children or not? (0 = No children; 1 = Children)	1 = No children	0.662	0.416	0.112	1.939
	Family Type (1 = Nuclear; 2 = Other)	1 = Nuclear	-0.721	0.328	<b>0.028</b>	0.486
	duration_binomial (1 = Newlywed; 2 = Older couples)	1 = Newlywed	0.451	0.420	0.283	1.570
	Category label [Caste] (1 = General; 2 = Others)	1 = General	-0.607	0.346	0.079	0.545
	Constant		2.292	0.849	0.007	9.896

We find here that only ‘family type’ seems to have some impact on the dependent variable. A negative sign in the first column implies that those living in a nuclear family are 52 per cent less likely to consider divorce as an option than persons living in other family settings. Thus, one might argue that living in a nuclear family increases structural commitment to marriage by inducing a sort of dislike for divorce to be considered as an option.

We earlier saw how wives’ employment is associated with a rise in marital commitment among husbands. This relationship could also be investigated for one’s own employment status. It was found that one of the four variables included in this study in order to measure marital commitment varies significantly with the employment status of the respondent. Marital commitment measured in terms of one’s chances of making sacrifices for the sake of the marriage partner exhibits a significant association as shown below:

**Table 6.28: Relationship between employment and one’s tendency to make sacrifices for one’s spouse**

<b>sacrifice recode * Are you currently employed? Crosstabulation</b>					
			Are you currently employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
sacrifice recode (marital commitment level)	Low	Count	21	33	54
		% within Are you currently employed?	26.9%	14.7%	17.8%
	High	Count	57	192	249
		% within Are you currently employed?	<b>73.1%</b>	<b>85.3%</b>	82.2%
Total		Count	78	225	303
		% within Are you currently employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*The relationship was found to be significant at 95% confidence level; p = 0.015 for Pearson chi-square test.

From the above result, it might be argued that the intensity of one’s commitment to one’s marriage partner goes up if one has employment. But we are already acquainted with the fact that in our society employment seems to be significantly related to gender. Thus, one must probe the angle of gender for this relationship between employment and tendency to sacrifice. For the sample, it was found that if the wife is employed, she has a greater chance of making sacrifices for her husband. In other words, marital commitment of the wives in regard to this aspect of commitment seems to go up if they have an employment.<sup>18</sup> The correlation has a positive sign as shown below:

**Table 6.29: Relationship between Employment and one’s likelihood to make sacrifice for one’s spouse with respect to women**

		sacrifice recode	Are you currently employed?
sacrifice recode	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.344**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.000</b>
	N	144	144

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In contrast, employment for the husbands tends to post a reduction in their inclination to makes sacrifices for their wife.<sup>19</sup> A negative correlation was found to exist:

**Table 6.30: Relationship between Employment and one’s likelihood to make sacrifice for one’s spouse with respect to men**

<sup>18</sup> The association was found to be significant at 99% confidence level.

<sup>19</sup> The relationship is significant only at 95% confidence level.

		sacrifice recode	Are you currently employed?
sacrifice recode	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>-.178*</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.025</b>
	N	159	159

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

It was also found that all 24 husbands who reported as being ‘unemployed’ scored high when it came to making sacrifice for their wives<sup>20</sup> as shown below:

**Table 6.31: Unemployed husbands have a high tendency to make sacrifice for their wives**

sacrifice recode * Are you currently employed? Crosstabulation					
			Are you currently employed?		Total
			No	Yes	
sacrifice recode (marital commitment level)	Low	Count	0	24	24
		% within Are you currently employed?	0.0%	17.8%	15.1%
	High	Count	<b>24</b>	111	135
		% within Are you currently employed?	<b>100.0%</b>	82.2%	84.9%
Total		Count	24	135	159
		% within Are you currently employed?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Thus, unemployment among men tends to increase their marital commitment as far as the dimension of making sacrifice is concerned.

Nonetheless, what strikes us here is the fact that employed women tend to be more inclined to making sacrifices for their husband which could be a function of the rise in individualism due to the confidence instilled in them due to employment. Therefore, it seems a better idea to analyze in what ways individualism is related to marital commitment.

<sup>20</sup> The relationship is significant only at 95% confidence level.

## 6.9. Individualism and Marital Commitment

All said and done, we get a clear indication that societal norms and values seem to be constantly at work when it comes to determining people's attitude to marriage which in the long run becomes a key factor in deciding people's commitment to marriage. With this in view, we must recall that in a previous section of this chapter, we had pointed out that the impact of individualism on marital commitment needs to be analyzed in order for us to gauge the significance of the change in cultural values in this regard. Moreover, in the last chapter, we saw how the effect of hedonism on marital quality seems to be mediated by an aspect of marital commitment having to do with loyalty to one's marriage partner. Thus, looking at the relationship between individualism and marital commitment seems to be an exercise worth undertaking at this point.

Right at the outset of this analysis, it must be highlighted that marital commitment as a construct does not bear a significant relation to individualism for the sample included in this study. However, correlations for individual indicator variables constituting marital commitment were checked against individualism. Below is what we found:

**Table 6.32: Relationship between Individualism and the tendency to make sacrifice for one's spouse**

		Individualism recode_binomial	loyalty recode	marry someone else	sacrifice recode	divorce no option
Individualism recode_binomial	Pearson Correlation	1	.057	.065	<b>.162**</b>	-.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.323	.256	<b>.005</b>	.867
	N	303	303	303	303	303

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).



There is a positive and significant association between individualism and one's tendency to sacrifice for one's marriage partner. In the previous section, we found that there is a gender differential that exists as to this tendency to makes sacrifices for one's partner which might be attributed to individualism. Hence, it becomes necessary for us to probe the relationship keeping gender at the centre. Quite surprisingly, it was found that the tendency to go for an act of sacrifice for one's marriage partner is associated with individualism in the case of men and not in the case of women. The correlations are as shown:

**Table 6.33: Correlation between Individualism among men and the probability of making sacrifice for their spouse**

<b>Correlations<sup>21</sup></b>			
		Individualism recode_binomial	sacrifice recode
Individualism recode_binomial	Pearson Correlation	1	.276**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.000</b>
	N	<b>159</b>	159

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 6.34: Correlation between Individualism among women and the probability of making sacrifice for their spouse**

<b>Correlations<sup>22</sup></b>			
		Individualism recode_binomial	sacrifice recode
Individualism recode_binomial	Pearson Correlation	1	.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.558</b>
	N	<b>144</b>	144

<sup>21</sup> Table shows correlation for men in the sample. Note the sample size, N=159 which is the number of male respondents in the sample.

<sup>22</sup> Table shows the correlation for women in the sample. Please note the sample size of N=144 which is the number of female respondents in the sample.

*Therefore, as individualism in society increases, husbands tend to exhibit a greater probability to make sacrifices for wives rather than the other way round.*

But we have already seen that individualism is composed of two components, i.e., horizontal and vertical. Hence, it becomes necessary to find out how each is associated with these variables measuring marital commitment. In this regard it was discovered that horizontal individualism is not associated significantly with any of the four variables listed above. However, vertical individualism shows a positive and significant correlation with one's tendency to sacrifice for one's marriage partner. The correlations are shown below:

***Table 6.35: Horizontal Individualism is not related significantly to any of the indicator variables measuring marital commitment in this study***

		rely on myself	loyalty to partner	would marry someone else	sacrifice for spouse	divorce not an option at all
rely on myself (horizontal individualism)	Pearson Correlation	1	.044	.040	.036	.048
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.441	.492	.535	.402
	N	303	303	303	303	303

***Table 6.36: Vertical Individualism is significantly correlated with the tendency to make sacrifice for one's partner***

		do better than others	loyalty to partner	would marry someone else	sacrifice for spouse	divorce not an option at all
do better than others (vertical individualism)	Pearson Correlation	1	-.044	.077	<b>.157**</b>	-.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.443	.181	<b>.006</b>	.392

	N	303	303	303	303	303
--	---	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Therefore, one might say that a *rise in vertical individualism in society seems to impact marital commitment in a positive way as far as one's willingness to sacrifice for one's marriage partner is concerned. At the same time, horizontal individualism seems to have no impact in this regard.*

Having seen the relationship between individualism and marital commitment, let us now turn our attention to the more important and highly relevant topic of the relation between marital commitment and marital quality.

### 6.10. Marital Commitment as a predictor of Marital Quality

A general comment on the nature of the relationship can be made on the basis of the following regression model:

**Table 6.37: Correlation between Marital Commitment and Marital Quality in India in a linear regression model**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.556 <sup>a</sup>	<b>.310</b>	.307	9.893

a. Predictors: (Constant), Index of Marital Commitment

Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	51.342	3.458		14.846	.000
	Index of Marital Commitment	3.010	.259	<b>.556</b>	11.620	<b>.000</b>

a. Dependent Variable: Index of Marital Quality

Note the value of R-squared in the model summary above. It suggests that almost 31% of the variance in the value of marital quality can be explained by the variation in the value of marital commitment which is in agreement with prior research where it is claimed that “Commitment to the spouse was the strongest and most consistent predictor of marital quality” (Clements & Swensen, 2000, p. 110).<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it was considered prudent to probe the relation between marital commitment and individual dimensions of marital quality. The correlations are as shown:

**Table 6.38: Correlation between Marital Commitment and the dimensions of Marital Quality**

		Index of Marital Commitment	Index of Marital Happiness	Index of Marital Interaction	Index of Marital Disagreement	Index of Marital Problems	Index of Marital Instability
Index of Marital Commitment	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.427**</b>	<b>.548**</b>	-.060	<b>.346**</b>	<b>.487**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.000</b>	<b>.000</b>	.299	<b>.000</b>	<b>.000</b>
	N	303	303	303	303	303	303

It is clear that marital commitment is significantly correlated with all five dimensions of marital quality except marital disagreement.

In a previous section of this chapter, we came across the fact that marital commitment is related to marital stability through *marital quality* (Rahaju, Hartini, & Hendriani, 2019). Hence, the relationship was investigated for the sample selected for this study. A mediation analysis was run with a view to finding out the mediation effect caused by marital quality between marital commitment and marital stability. It was detected that marital commitment is significantly related to marital quality. Therefore, a linear regression model with marital commitment as the

<sup>23</sup> The claim stands true for elderly couples aged more than fifty years.

independent and marital stability as the dependent variable was constructed. The result is shown below:

**Table 6.39: Relationship between Marital Commitment and Marital Stability based on linear regression model**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.487 <sup>a</sup>	<b>.238</b>	.235	2.966

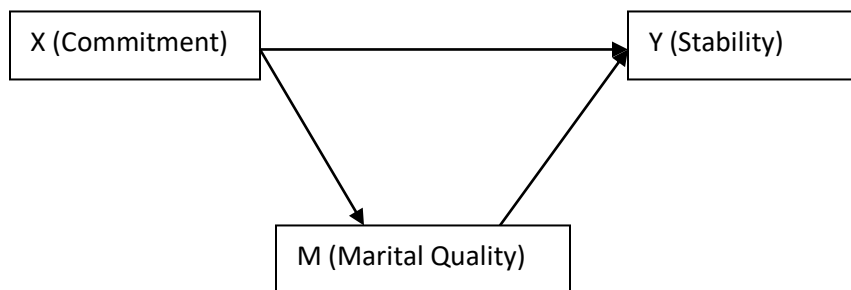
a. Predictors: (Constant), Index of Marital Commitment

Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	8.473	1.037		8.172	.000
	Index of Marital Commitment	.752	.078	<b>.487</b>	9.683	<b>.000</b>

a. Dependent Variable: Index of Marital Instability

Thus, we proceed with the mediation analysis for the following conceptual model:

**Figure 6.18: Mediation analysis with Marital Commitment (V67) as the independent variable (X), Marital Stability (V66) as the dependent variable (Y) and Marital Quality (V61) as the mediator**



A linear regression model for this model gave the following results:

**Table 6.40: Marital Quality is significantly correlated with Marital Stability while Marital Commitment drops out of significance when added to the regression model**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.807 <sup>a</sup>	.651	.648	2.011

a. Predictors: (Constant), Index of Marital Quality, Index of Marital Commitment

Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-2.859	.925		-3.090	.002
	Index of Marital Commitment	.088	.063	.057	1.383	.168
	Index of Marital Quality	.221	.012	.774	18.838	<b>.000</b>

a. Dependent Variable: Index of Marital Stability

It is noteworthy that marital commitment loses out on the significance it earlier displayed. Only marital quality seems highly significant in this model which is suggestive of the fact that marital quality bears a mediation effect on the relationship between marital commitment and marital stability for the sample being studied. With this as a lead, we extend the analysis with PROCESS macro.

```
*****
Model   : 4
Y       : V66
X       : V67
M       : V61

Sample
Size:   303

*****
```

The total, direct and indirect effects are as shown:

```

***** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y *****
Total effect of X on Y
  Effect      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
    .7521     .0777    9.6827   .0000    .5992     .9049

Direct effect of X on Y
  Effect      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
    .0840     .0620    1.3540   .1768   -.0381     .2060

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
  Effect      BootSE    BootLLCI    BootULCI
V61      .6681     .0885     .4876     .8383

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
  Effect      BootSE    BootLLCI    BootULCI
V61      .4329     .0418     .3457     .5108

```

It can be clearly identified that the direct effect of X (marital commitment, V67) on Y (marital stability, V66) is statistically *insignificant* whereas the total effect mediated via indirect effect through M (marital quality, V61) is significant at 99% confidence level. The values of CI (highlighted in bold) contains no zero which indicates that the indirect effect is significant in this model. Therefore, similar to an earlier research by Rahaju, Hartini, and Hendriani (2019), *even for our sample, the relationship between marital stability and marital commitment seems to be mediated through marital quality.*

When checked for mediation it was also found that both marital happiness and marital problems are related to marital commitment through marital quality. The results of the mediation analyses are presented below:

**Table 6.41: Output of mediation analysis from PROCESS macro where ‘X’ denotes Marital Commitment (V67), ‘Y’ denotes Marital Happiness (V62) and ‘M’ denotes Marital Quality (V61)**

```

*****
Model   : 4
      Y   : V62
      X   : V67
      M   : V61

Sample
Size:   303

*****
***** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y *****

Total effect of X on Y
      Effect      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
      .7033      .0859      8.1917      .0000      .5344      .8723

Direct effect of X on Y
      Effect      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
      -.0049      .0720      -.0678      .9460      -.1465      .1367

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
      Effect      BootSE      BootLLCI      BootULCI
V61      .7082      .0874      .5367      .8779

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
      Effect      BootSE      BootLLCI      BootULCI
V61      .4299      .0479      .3331      .5224

```

**Table 6.42: Output of mediation analysis from PROCESS macro where ‘X’ denotes Marital Commitment (V67), ‘Y’ denotes Marital Happiness (V65) and ‘M’ denotes Marital Quality (V61)**

```

*****
Model   : 4
      Y   : V65
      X   : V67
      M   : V61

Sample
Size:   303

*****
***** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y *****

Total effect of X on Y
      Effect      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
      .3848      .0602      6.3906      .0000      .2663      .5033

Direct effect of X on Y
      Effect      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
      .0092      .0608      .1516      .8796      -.1105      .1289

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:

```



	Effect	BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
V61	.3756	.0691	.2451	.5117

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:

	Effect	BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
V61	.3374	.0504	<b>.2355</b>	<b>.4333</b>

In both cases the direct effect of X (marital commitment) on Y (marital happiness and marital problems) tends to be non-significant whereas the indirect effect of the mediator M (marital quality) seems to be significant proving that there is some mediation taking place. What is the practical significance of these results? In light of the fact that two out of five dimensions, one representing the positive aspect of marital quality (marital happiness) and the other representing its negative aspect (marital problems) show association with marital commitment through marital quality, it can be argued that *marital commitment seems to be strengthened or weakened depending on the marital quality of a relationship. Thus, those enjoying higher marital quality tend to be more committed to their marriage.*

Thus far we have seen how marital commitment is related to marital quality and its dimensions. One thing that stands out in all of that is that marital commitment shows no significant relation to marital disagreement. However, there are aspects of marital disagreement that seem to be significantly correlated to marital commitment. The following table shows the correlations:

***Table 6.43: Correlation between Marital Commitment, serious quarrels and physical violence between spouses***

Correlations				
		Index of Marital Commitment	serious quarrels in last 2 months	physical violence
Index of Marital Commitment	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.344**</b>	<b>.180**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>.000</b>	<b>.002</b>
	N	303	303	303

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

A positive correlation indicates that higher marital commitment might lead to lower incidents of quarrelling and violence between spouses. Put differently, those who face frequent quarrelling or marital violence tend to report lower marital commitment, a finding that confirms a previous research based in Africa (Adams & Hickson, 1993). It has already been pointed out that physical violence within marriage has a gendered nature as far as this sample is concerned. All 6 who admitted to being subjected to physical violence turned out to be women. Therefore, it seems quite obvious that these women would tend to report low commitment to their marriage, a conjecture confirmed by the following result:<sup>24</sup>

**Table 6.44: Relationship between marital violence and Marital Commitment**

commitment recode * violence recode Crosstabulation					
			violence recode		Total
			Worse	Better	
commitment recode	Low	Count	<b>6</b>	42	48
		% within violence recode	<b>100.0%</b>	30.4%	33.3%
	High	Count	<b>0</b>	96	96
		% within violence recode	<b>0.0%</b>	69.6%	66.7%
Total		Count	6	138	144
		% within violence recode	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

That noted, it was considered necessary to find out how these two variables – quarrelling and physical violence – taken together behave with marital commitment. A linear regression model

<sup>24</sup> The crosstabulation here was performed only for women in the sample. Note the sample size of N=144 which is the number of females in the sample. It is not a matter of surprise that the relationship is significant at 99% confidence level.

with marital commitment as the dependent variable with the other being the predictors gives the following result:

**Table 6.45: Marital Commitment is significantly related to ‘serious quarrels’ while ‘physical violence’ seems to be non-significantly related**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.355 <sup>a</sup>	<b>.126</b>	.120	2.061

a. Predictors: (Constant), physical violence, serious quarrels in last 2 months

ANOVA <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	184.064	2	92.032	<b>21.666</b>	<b>.000<sup>b</sup></b>
	Residual	1274.352	300	4.248		
	Total	1458.416	302			

a. Dependent Variable: Index of Marital Commitment

b. Predictors: (Constant), physical violence, serious quarrels in last 2 months

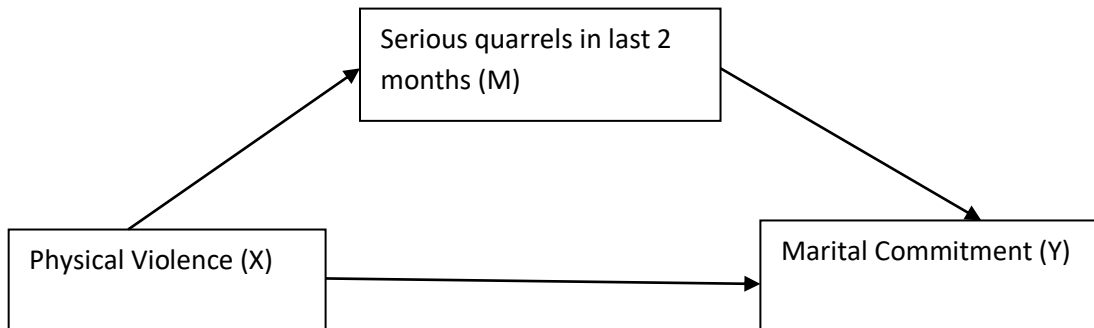
Coefficients <sup>a</sup>						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	8.099	1.109		7.301	.000
	serious quarrels in last 2 months	.976	.172	.319	5.680	<b>.000</b>
	physical violence	.478	.290	.092	1.647	.101

a. Dependent Variable: Index of Marital Commitment

We notice here that physical violence tends to be non-significant for the overall linear regression model while serious quarrels in the last 2 months shows a significant relation. Hence, it becomes

imperative for us to check for any mediation effect in this relationship. The figure below shows the conceptual model of the mediation effect:

**Figure 6.19: Mediation analysis with physical violence (V43) as the independent variable (X), Marital Commitment (V67) as the dependent variable (Y), and serious quarrels in last two months (V42) as the mediator**



Results of the mediation analysis are as follows:

**Table 6.46: Output of mediation analysis from PROCESS macro where ‘X’ denotes physical violence (V43) Marital Commitment, ‘Y’ denotes Marital Commitment (V67), and ‘M’ denotes serious quarrels in last two months (V42)**

```

*****
Model   : 4
  Y     : V67
  X     : V43
  M     : V42

Sample
Size:  303

*****
***** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y *****

Total effect of X on Y
  Effect      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
    .9296     .2935    3.1667  .0017   .3519     1.5073

Direct effect of X on Y
  Effect      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI

```

.4785      .2905      1.6473      **.1005**      -.0931      1.0501

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:

	Effect	BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
V42	.4511	.1133	.2470	.6945

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:

	Effect	BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
V42	.0871	.0230	<b>.0455</b>	<b>.1365</b>

It could be interpreted at this point that the relationship between marital violence and marital commitment is mediated through serious quarrels between the couple as marital violence seems to have no significant direct effect on marital commitment. Thus, what emerges as the most vital point of concern as far as marital commitment is concerned is the frequency and intensity of serious quarrels between married couples in Indian society.

Having noted the overall relationship, it seems prudent to find out which aspect of marital commitment plays a key role in reducing the chances of serious quarrels between couples. The correlations are shown below:

**Table 6.47: Correlation between ‘serious quarrels in last two months’ and indicator variables measuring Marital Commitment**

		serious quarrels in last 2 months	loyalty to partner	would marry someone else	sacrifice for spouse	divorce not an option at all
serious quarrels in last 2 months	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.175**</b>	<b>.308**</b>	0.094	<b>.291**</b>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>0.002</b>	<b>0.000</b>	0.101	<b>0.000</b>
	N	303	303	303	303	303

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The relationship tends to be significant with all except the aspect of making sacrifices for one’s marriage partner. One interpretation of the result could be that both personal and institutional

commitments to marriage tend to reduce the likelihood of serious quarrels likely to erupt within marriage. Similarly, correlations for physical violence were calculated as shown below:

**Table 6.48: Correlation between ‘physical violence’ and indicator variables measuring Marital Commitment**

		physical violence	loyalty to partner	would marry someone else	sacrifice for spouse	divorce not an option at all
physical violence	Pearson Correlation	1	<b>.120*</b>	<b>.251**</b>	0.054	0.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<b>0.037</b>	<b>0.000</b>	0.353	0.468
	N	303	303	303	303	303

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

It is clearly identifiable that the correlation is significant for the first two variables measuring personal commitment within the boundaries of the marital bond. It seems worth emphasizing at this point that marital violence does not depend on institutional commitment to marriage. It is the personal and moral sides of marital commitment that tend to reduce the probability of physical violence in marriage.

*In conclusion, one might argue that marital commitment is a predictor of marital quality, and in a sense, seems to determine it. It is that aspect of marital relation that serves to cement the marital bond strongly. In the process, it seems to act as a balancing factor for discontents within marriage.*

## Conclusion

So far we have seen that although marriage in India seems to be a family affair with the joint family model still casting a considerable influence on marital quality, at its base every marriage is largely a dyadic affair nicely summed up in the following description:

Each partner's definitions of reality must be continually correlated with the definitions of the other. The other is present in nearly all horizons of everyday conduct...In each partner's psychological economy of significant others, the marriage partner becomes the other par excellence, the nearest and most decisive coinhabitant of the world. Indeed all other significant relationships have to be almost automatically re-perceived and regrouped in accordance with this drastic shift (Berger & Kellner, 1970, p. 58).

With this as the background understanding, let us take a look at some of the prominent findings of the study.

### Summary of Key Findings

On a broad level, the model of marital quality in this study does not seem to differ widely from other models constructed elsewhere, especially the ones we reviewed in Chapter one from countries such as USA and China. However, it is also true that the expected five-dimensional model does not fit the data for this study excellently. It might be because of the restricted sample size and the characteristics of the sample that represents an upper middle class, well-educated Hindu section of society. Therefore, the best model fit obtained for the data reveals that *marital quality is a two-dimensional construct with marital happiness and marital stability featuring as its two dimensions*. It signifies that one's state of deriving happiness from marriage and being free from any threat of divorce seem enough to determine marital quality for the sample. Other

issues such as marital disagreement and other forms of conflict seem to affect marital quality only obliquely.

So much for the model of marital quality, nonetheless, marital quality itself seems to be affected by other demographic and socioeconomic variables. One of the most important variables found to be highly correlated is spousal employment, especially wives' employment. Prior research came up with mixed findings in this regard with some suggesting that wives' employment affects marital quality negatively (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003; Becker et al., 1977, 1981; Cherlin, 1992; Vannoy & Cubbins, 2001) while there are others to suggest otherwise (Miller & Kannae, 1999; Cooke & Gash, 2010; Lavner & Clark). Our analysis goes to show that *wives' employment has a positive effect on marital quality*. Besides, both caste and religion tend to be correlated with marital quality. It was found that Hindus seem to enjoy *higher* marital quality than non-Hindus while people from SC, ST and OBC categories seem to be *better off* than others as far as marital quality is concerned. Furthermore, in contrast to the study on Ghanaian society (Miller & Kannae, 1999), educational level in our study does seem to affect marital quality. In fact, it was found that *higher the level of education lower is the marital quality*. Another important finding in this regard is the role of family type. The analysis revealed that *joint family is positively correlated with marital quality*. Related to the dynamic of family life, it was also found that *marital quality seems to get bettered if one's spouse is the most caring member within family*. Last but not the least marital quality seemed to be affected by the economic dimension as well. We found that the level of satisfaction with one's income is significantly correlated with marital quality with *'high' income satisfaction tending to enhance marital quality*.

A glaring point of difference in this regard was the irrelevance of gender in shaping overall marital quality for the sample. However, one of the two dimensions forming the best model fit of



marital quality, i.e., marital happiness, seems to be affected by gender difference. Even in this, what seems worth highlighting is the fact that *more women than men seem to be 'happy' with their marriage* which can be contrasted with what Jessie Bernard (1972) suggested based on her research published in 1972. It was also found with regard to marital interaction that when it comes to showing affection to partners, men show a greater tendency to do so as compared to women. On the other hand, when it comes to sharing their feelings with their partners, again it's the men who are more inclined at doing so.

As far as the human value of *hedonism* is concerned, one might say that a lot of demographic and socioeconomic factors go into determining it. Based on our analysis, it can be said that men tend to be more hedonistic than women while employed persons show lower hedonism than unemployed persons. People with an employed spouse are more likely to be hedonistic than those with an unemployed spouse. People with children show a lower tendency towards hedonism while those with high satisfaction with income tend to have high degree of hedonism. Besides these, it was also found that people with addictive habits have a greater probability of being hedonistic than those without such habits. As to its relevance to this study, as found in western countries (Lalonde et al., 2004), hedonism was found to be associated with marital quality. In this study, *hedonism showed a positive association with marital quality*. At the same time, it seems to be *negatively* associated with marital happiness. Moreover, it was also discovered that hedonism is related to marital quality through another variable measuring the degree of *loyalty* to one's spouse.

Apart from hedonism, the other cultural value considered in this study is *Individualism*. Regarding its influence on marital quality and its dimensions, *individualism tends to reduce marital disagreement*. To be specific, individualism seems to have a mitigating effect on marital

violence in India. Besides, it also tends to lower the probability of jealousy between partners and the tendency to criticize each other. With regard to the characteristics of individualism, it was found that men in India have a greater tendency to be individualistic than women. Employed persons tend to be more individualistic than unemployed ones. As far as income is concerned, those in the middle range tend to be highly individualistic. Furthermore, it occurs as a striking fact that high level of education leads to high individualism. The factor of caste also assumes significance in this regard with people from the SC, ST, and OBC categories exhibiting a higher tendency to be individualistic in India. As regards the effect of family type, it was found that nuclear family model tends to reduce individualistic tendency among people.

That said, this study considers individualism as a compound variable with two components – *horizontal* and *vertical*. Interestingly, it was found that the two components affect marital quality quite differently. While it was found that horizontal individualism tends to reduce marital disagreement, thus enhancing marital quality, vertical individualism seems to have a negative impact on marital quality by aggravating marital problems and reducing marital stability which is a finding similar to conclusions drawn by previous research (Nicole & Wagner, 2016; Khalili, 2018; Cirhinlioglu, Tepe, Ozdikmenli-Demir, & Cirhinlioglu, 2019). Vertical individualism was also found to have a negative impact on marital interaction thereby causing an unfavourable effect on marital quality. Regarding the significance of these findings, it might be said that those with a sense of confidence in their own abilities but without a sense of competition with their spouse tend to enjoy a better marital quality. In contrast, competition between spouses (represented by vertical individualism) seems to affect marital quality adversely. It needs to be highlighted here that vertical individualism in India varies significantly by gender with men being five times more likely to have high vertical individualism, that is, men seem to have a

greater sense of competition than women as far as this study is concerned. Thus, it points to an interesting dimension of research in this direction that might look to investigate the real actor between husband and wife responsible for poor marital quality attributed to the impact of vertical individualism.

Furthermore, it also came out that individualism as a whole, rather, vertical individualism to be precise, seems to be closely related to another variable called marital commitment which is a close correlate of marital quality in India. It was found that among the men in the sample, the tendency to make sacrifice for their wives (a measure of marital commitment) tends to increase with increasing individualism. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight here that *marital commitment is positively correlated with marital stability*. In fact, similar to the findings of a previous study (Rahaju, Hartini, & Hendriani, 2019), we found that *the relationship between marital stability and marital commitment seems to be mediated through marital quality*. It was also noticed that marital commitment is significantly correlated with all five dimensions of marital quality except marital disagreement. As to the characteristics of marital commitment itself, we found that it is significantly correlated with the economic dimension. *High income leads to greater marital commitment while 'high' satisfaction with income is negatively associated with marital commitment*. Besides, *one is likely to be less committed if one owns a house*. Lastly, it was also found that those who feel better about their health conditions are more committed than those who feel otherwise.

### **Limitations of the study**

The sample analyzed in this study represents the educated, upper middle class population of Delhi-NCR. Thus, it remains to be discovered how variables such as caste, class, level of

education etc. influence marital quality in India if we were to include people from across strata in our sample. Religion is another variable that has not found a place in this analysis commensurate with the kind of variation it can display in Indian society. The sample is to a large extent composed of India's Hindu population. Therefore, it may seem interesting and important to find out how marital quality in India varies across religious groups of India. Most of these limitations crept in because the entire study was conducted during the lockdown period imposed on account of covid-19 pandemic starting March, 2020. As discussed earlier in the section on methodology in the introductory chapter, the earlier plan of carrying out random sampling had to be abandoned. It had to be replaced by *snowball* sampling method. In sum, it might be said that the study, despite being marred by unavoidable adversity, was successful in providing us some useful insights regarding *marital quality* in India. Thus, it might serve as a pilot study for future research.

## Bibliography

- Achour, M., Nor, M., Zulkifli, M. Y., & Yusoff, M. (2015). Work-family demands and subjective well-being among female academicians: The role of Muslim religiosity. *Review of Religious Research, 57*(3), 419-433.
- Acitelli, L. K., Kenny, D. A., & Weiner, D. (2001). The importance of similarity and understanding of partner's marital ideals to relationship satisfaction. *Personal Relationships, 8*(2), 167-185.
- Adams, I., & Hickson, J. (1993). Wife-beating among coloureds in South Africa and its impact on the marital relationship. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family, 23*(2), 117-137.
- Adams, J. M., & Jones, W. H. (1997). The conceptualization of marital commitment: An integrative analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72*(5), 1177-1196.
- Addo, F. R., & Sassler, S. (2010). Financial arrangements and relationship quality in low-income couples. *Family Relations, 59*(4), 408-423.
- Adler, F. (1956). The value concept in sociology. *American Journal of Sociology, 62*(3), 272-279.
- Ali, K. (2006). *Sexual ethics and Islam*. Oneworld Publications.
- Allendorf, K. (2012). Marital quality from a rural Indian context in comparative perspective. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 43*(4), 527-544.
- Allendorf, K., & Ghimire, D. J. (2013). Determinants of marital quality in an arranged marriage society. *Social Science Research, 42*(1), 59-70.
- Amato, P. R. (1988). Parental divorce and attitudes toward marriage and family life. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 50*(2), 453-461.
- Amato, P. R. (1996). Explaining the intergenerational transmission of divorce. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 58*(3), 628-640.
- Amato, P. R. (2002). Good enough marriages: Parental discord, divorce, and children's well-being. *Virginia Journal of Social Policy & the Law, 9*, 71-94.
- Amato, P. R. (2004). Tension between institutional and individual views of marriage. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 66*(4), 959-965.
- Amato, P. R. (2009). Institutional, companionate, and individualistic marriage: A social

- psychological perspective on marital change. In E. H. Peters & C. K. Dush (Eds.), *Marriage and family: Perspectives and complexities* (pp. 75-90). Columbia University Press.
- Amato, P. R., Loomis, L. S., & Booth, A. (1995). Parental divorce, marital conflict, and offspring well-being in early adulthood. *Social Forces*, 73(3), 895-915.
- Amato, P. R., & Booth, A. (1995). Changes in gender role attitudes and perceived marital quality. *American Sociological Review*, 60(1), 58-66.
- Amato, P. R., & Booth, A. (1997). *A generation at risk: Growing up in an era of family upheaval*. Harvard University Press.
- Amato, P. R., & Rogers, S. J. (1997). A longitudinal study of marital problems and subsequent divorce. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 59(3), 612-624.
- Amato, P. R., Johnson, D. R., Booth, A., & Rogers, S. J. (2003). Continuity and change in marital quality between 1980 and 2000. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(1), 1-22.
- Amato, P. R., & Hohmann-Marriott, B. (2007). A comparison of high- and low-distress marriages that end in divorce. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 69(3), 621-638.
- Amato, P. R. (2010). Research on divorce: Continuing trends and new developments. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 650-666.
- Anderson, C., Keltner, D., & John, O. P. (2003). Emotional convergence between people over time. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(5), 1054-1068.
- Arendt, H. (1973). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harcourt Brace & Company.
- Arriaga, X. B., & Agnew, C. R. (2001). Being committed: Affective, cognitive, and conative components of relationship commitment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(9), 1190-1203.
- Aytaç, I. A., & Rankin, B. H. (2009). Economic crisis and marital problems in Turkey: Testing the family stress model. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(3), 756-767.
- Averill, J. R. (1980). A constructivist view of emotion. In R. Plutchik & H. Kellerman (Eds.), *Emotion: Theory, research and experience* (Vol. 1, pp. 305-339). Academic Press.
- Avivi, Y. E., Laurenceau, J-P., Carver, C. S. (2009). Linking relationship quality to perceived mutuality of relationship goals and perceived goal progress. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 28(2), 137-164.
- Bahr, H. M., & Bahr, K. S. (2001). Families and self-sacrifice: Alternative models and meanings for family theory. *Social Forces*, 79(4), 1231-1258.

- Banerji, M., Martin, S. P., & Desai, S. (2013, September 10-12). *Are the young and the educated more likely to have "Love" than arranged marriage? A study of autonomy in partner choice in India* [Conference presentation]. IUSSP seminar on changing transitions to marriage: Gender implications for the next generation, New Delhi, India.
- Bentham, J. (1789). *An introduction to the principles of morals and legislation*. T. Payne and Son.
- Bernecker, K., & Becker, D. (2020). Beyond self-control: Mechanisms of hedonic goal pursuit and its relevance for well-being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 47(4), 627-642.
- Barton, A. W., Futris, T. G., & Nielsen, R. B. (2014). With a little help from our friends: Couple social integration in marriage. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 28(6), 986-991.
- Baruch, G. K., & Barnett, R. C. (1987). Role quality and psychological well-being. In F. J. Crosby (Ed.), *Spouse, parent, worker: On gender and multiple roles* (pp. 63-73). Yale University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Polity Press.
- Baydar, N., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1991). Effects of maternal employment and child-care arrangements in infancy on preschoolers' cognitive and behavioral outcomes: Evidence from the Children of the National Longitudinal Study of Youth. *Developmental Psychology*, 27(6), 932-945.
- Beard, M. (2017). *Women and power: A manifesto*. Profile Books.
- Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization: Institutionalized individualism and its social and political Consequences*. Sage Publications.
- Beck, U., Giddens, A., & Lash, S. (1994). *Reflexive Modernization*. Stanford University Press.
- Becker, G. S. (1981). *A treatise on the family*. Harvard University Press.
- Becker, G. S., Landes, E. M., & Michael, R. T. (1977). An economic analysis of marital instability. *Journal of Political Economy*, 85(6), 1141-1187.
- Bennett, L. (1983). *Dangerous wives and sacred sisters: Social and symbolic roles of women in Nepal*. Columbia University Press.
- Bentler, P. M., & Newcomb, M. D. (1978). Longitudinal study of marital success and failure. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 46(5), 1053-1070.
- Berger, P. L. (2014). *The many altars of modernity*. De Gruyter.

- Berger, P. L., & Kellner, H. (1964). Marriage and the construction of reality: An exercise in the microsociology of knowledge. *Diogenes*, 12(46), 1-24.
- Berger, P. L., & Kellner, H. (1970). Marriage and the construction of reality: An exercise in the microsociology of knowledge. In H. P. Dreitzel (Ed.), *Recent Sociology No. 2* (pp. 50-71). New York: Macmillan Co.
- Berger, P. L., & Kellner, H. (1993). Marriage and the construction of reality. In B. Byers (Ed.), *Readings in social psychology: Perspective and method* (pp. 220-229). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berman, E., Sacks, S., & Lief, H. (1975). The two-professional marriage: A new conflict syndrome. *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy*, 1(3), 242-253.
- Bernard, J. (1972). *The Future of Marriage*. Bantam Books.
- Bernardi, F., & Martínez-Pastor, J. (2011). Female education and marital dissolution: Is it a selection effect? *European Sociological Review*, 27(6), 693-707.
- Birditt, K. S., Polenick, C. A., & Antonucci, T. C. (2019). Drinking together: Implications of drinking partners for negative marital quality. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, 80(2), 167-176.
- Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Blau, F., & Grossberg, A. (1990). *Maternal labor supply and children's cognitive Development* (Working Paper 3536). National Bureau of Economic Research. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w3536>
- Blauner, R. (1964). *Alienation and Freedom*. University of Chicago Press.
- Blumstein, P., & Schwartz, P. (1983). *American couples: Money, work, sex*. William Morrow.
- Bodenmann, G. (2000). Stress und Coping bei Paaren [Stress and coping in couples]. Hogrefe.
- Bodenmann, G., Ledermann, T., & Bradbury, T. (2007). Stress, sex, and satisfaction in marriage. *Personal Relationships*, 14(4), 551-569.
- Boehnke, K. (2001). Parent-offspring value transmission in a societal context. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(2), 241-255.
- Bollen, K. A. (1989). *Structural equations with latent variables*. Wiley.



- Booth, A., & Amato, P. R. (2001). Parental predivorce relations and offspring postdivorce well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63(1), 197-212.
- Booth, A., & Dabbs, J. M. (1993). Testosterone and men's marriages. *Social Forces*, 72(2), 463-477.
- Booth, A., Granger, D. A., Mazur, A., & Kivlighan, K. T. (2006). Testosterone and social behavior. *Social Forces*, 85(1), 167-191.
- Booth, A., & Johnson, D. R. (1988). Premarital cohabitation and marital success. *Journal of Family Issues*, 9(2), 255-272.
- Booth, A., Johnson, D. R., & Granger, D. A. (2005). Testosterone, marital quality, and role overload. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(2), 483-498.
- Booth, A., Johnson, D., White, L. K., & Edwards, J. H. (1984). Women, outside employment and marital instability. *American Journal of Sociology*, 90(3), 567-583.
- Bortien, D., & Härkönen, J. (2018). Why does women's education stabilize marriages? The role of marital attraction and barriers to divorce. *Demographic Research*, 38, 1241-1276.
- Bose, S., & South, S. J. (2003). Sex composition of children and marital disruption in India. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(4), 996-1006.
- Bouchard, G., Lussier, Y., & Sabourin, S. (1999). Personality and marital adjustment: Utility of the five-factor model of personality. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 61(3), 651-660.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and Loss*. Basic Books.
- Bowman, J. L., & Dollahite, D. C. (2013). "Why Would Such a Person Dream About Heaven?" Family, Faith, and Happiness in Arranged Marriages in India. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 44(2), 207-225.
- Bradbury, T. N., Fincham, F. D., & Beach, S. R. H. (2000). Research on the nature and determinants of marital satisfaction: A decade in review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), 964-980.
- Brake, E. (2011). Is divorce promise-breaking? *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 14(1), 23-39.
- Broman, C. L. (2005). Marital quality in Black and White marriages. *Journal of Family Issues*, 26(4), 431-441.
- Brown, P., & Tannock, S. (2009). Education, meritocracy and the global war for talent. *Journal of Education Policy*, 24(4), 377-392.

- Brunstein, J. C., Dangelmayer, G., & Schulteheiss, O. C. (1996). Personal goals and social support in close relationships: Effects on relationship mood and marital satisfaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(5), 1006-1019.
- Brutz, J. L., & Allen, C. M. (1986). Religious commitment, peace activism, and marital violence in Quaker families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 48*(3), 491-502.
- Bumpass, L. L. (1990). What's happening to the family? Interactions between demographic and institutional change. *Demography, 27*, 483-498.
- Bumpass, L. L., & Sweet, J. A. (1972). Differentials in marital instability: 1970. *American Sociological Review, 37*(6), 754-766.
- Bumpass, L. L., Martin, T. C., & Sweet, J. A. (1991). The impact of family background and early marital factors on marital disruption. *Journal of Family Issues, 12*(1), 22-42.
- Burgess, E. W., & Cottrell, L. S. (1939). *Predicting success or failure in marriage*. Prentice-Hall.
- Burgess, E. W., Locke, H. J., & Thomes, M. M. (1963). *The family: From institution to companionship*. American Book.
- Buric, O., & Zecevic, A. (1967). Family authority, marital satisfaction, and the social network in Yugoslavia. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 29* (2), 325-336.
- Burleson, B. R., & Denton, W. H. (1992). A new look at similarity and attraction in marriage: Similarities in social-cognitive and communication skills as predictors of attraction and satisfaction. *Communication Monographs, 59*, 268-287.
- Burr, W. R. (1970). Satisfaction with various aspects of marriage over the life cycle: A random middle class sample. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 32*(1), 29-37.
- Buss, D. M. (2003). *The evolution of desire: Strategies of human mating*. Basic Books.
- Buunk, B. (1984). Jealousy as related to attributions for the partner's behavior. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 47*(1), 107-112.
- Buunk, A. P., Park, J. H., & Duncan, L. A. (2010) Cultural variation in parental influence on mate choice. *Cross-Cultural Research, 44*(1), 23-40.
- Cai, D. A., & Fink, E. L. (2002). Conflict style differences between individualists and collectivists. *Communication Monographs, 69*, 67-87.
- Canel, A. N. (2013). The development of the Marital Satisfaction Scale (MSS). *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice, 13*(1), 97-117.

- Cao, H., Zhou, N., Fang, X., & Fine, M. (2017). Marital well-being and depression in Chinese marriage: Going beyond satisfaction and ruling out critical confounders. *Journal of Family Psychology, 31*(6), 775-784.
- Carrère, S., Buehlman, K. T., Gottman, J. M., Coan, J. A., & Ruckstuhl, A. (2000). Predicting marital stability and divorce in newlywed couples. *Journal of Family Psychology, 14*(1), 42-58.
- Casale, S., & Banchi, V. (2020). Narcissism and problematic social media use: A systematic literature review. *Addictive Behavior Reports, 11*, 1-10.
- Chakravarti, U. (1993). Conceptualising Brahmanical patriarchy in early India: Gender, caste, class and state. *Economic and Political Weekly, 28*(14), 579-585.
- Chan, T. W., & Halpin, B. (2003). Union dissolution in the United Kingdom. *International Journal of Sociology, 32*(4), 76-93.
- Chandrasekhar, C. P., & Ghosh, J. (2017, February 27). Women and marital breakdown in India. *Business Line*. <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/opinion/columns/c-p-chandrasekhar/women-and-marital-breakdown-in-india/article9562333.ece>
- Chandrasekhar S. (Ed.). (1967). *Asia's population problems*. Allied Publishers.
- Chapais, B. (2008). *Primeval kinship: How pair-bonding gave birth to human society*. Harvard University Press.
- Cheng, Y. A. (2016). More education, fewer divorces? Shifting education differentials of divorce in Taiwan from 1975 to 2010. *Demographic Research, 34*(1), 927-942.
- Cherlin, A. J. (2004). The deinstitutionalization of American marriage. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 66*(4), 848-861.
- Cherlin, A. J. (2010). Demographic trends in the United States: A review of research in the 2000s. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*(3), 403-419.
- Choi, H., & Marks, N. F. (2013). Marital quality, socioeconomic status, and physical health. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 75*(4), 903-919.
- Christensen, A., & Heavey, C. L. (1990). Gender and social structure in demand/withdraw pattern of marital conflict. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(1), 73-81.
- Christensen, A., & Shenk, J. L. (1991). Communication, conflict, and psychological distance in nondistressed clinic and divorcing couples. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 59*(3), 458-463.
- Christiano, K. (2000). Religion and the family in modern American culture. In S. K.

- Houseknecht & J. G. Pankhurst (Eds.), *Family, religion, and social change in diverse societies* (pp. 43-78). Oxford University Press.
- Cicero, D. C., Kerns, J. G., & McCarthy, D. M. (2010). The aberrant salience inventory: A new measure of psychosis proneness. *Psychological Assessment*, 22(3), 688-701.
- Cirhinlioglu, F. G., Tepe, Y. K., Özdikmenli-Demir, G., & Cirhinlioglu, Z. (2019). Marital quality, individualism/collectivism and divorce attitude in Turkey. *International Journal of Innovative Science and Research Technology*, 4(3), 559-566.
- Clarke-Stewart, A., & Brentano, C. (2006). *Divorce: Causes and consequences*. Yale University Press.
- Clements, R., & Swensen, C. H. (2000). Commitment to one's spouse as a predictor of marital quality among older couples. *Current Psychology*, 19, 110-119.
- Cohen, P. S. (1978). *Modern Social Theory*. Basic Books.
- Connides, I. A. (2001). *Family ties and aging*. Sage.
- Cook, K. S., & Emerson, R. M. (1978). Power, equity and commitment in exchange networks. *American Sociological Review*, 43(5), 721-739.
- Cook, W. L., & Kenny, D. A. (2005). The Actor-Partner Interdependence Model: A model of bidirectional effects in developmental studies. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 29(2), 101-109.
- Coontz, S. (2005). *Marriage, a history: How love conquered marriage*. Penguin Books.
- Corsini, R. J. (1956). Multiple predictors of marital happiness. *Marriage and Family Living*, 18(3), 240-242.
- Cromwell, R. E., Olson, D. H., & Fournier, D. G. (1976). Tools and techniques for diagnosis and evaluation in marital and family therapy. *Family Process*, 15(1), 1-49.
- D'Elia, A. F. (2002). Marriage, sexual pleasure, and learned brides in the wedding orations of fifteenth-century Italy. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55(2), 379-433.
- Das, V. (1975). Marriage among the Hindus. In D. Jain (Ed.), *Indian women* (pp. 69-86). Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- Das Gupta, M. (1999). Lifeboat versus corporate ethic: social and demographic implications of stem and joint families. *Social Science & Medicine*, 49(2), 173-184.
- Davis, N. Z. (1971). The reasons of misrule: Youth groups and charivaris in sixteenth-century France. *Past & Present*, 50, 41-75.

- DeMaris, A. (2000). Till discord do us part: The role of physical and verbal conflict in union disruption. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(3), 683-692.
- Derne, S. (1995). *Culture in action: Family life, emotion, and male dominance in Banaras, India*. State University of New York Press.
- Derne, S. (2008). *Globalization on the Ground*. SAGE.
- Desai, S., & Banerji, M. (2008). Negotiated identities: Male migration and left-behind wives in India. *Journal of Population Research (Canberra, A.C.T.)*, 25(3), 337-355.
- Dew, J. (2008). Debt change and marital satisfaction change in recently married couples. *Family Relations*, 57(1), 60-71.
- Dickson, F. C. (1995). The best is yet to be: Research on long-lasting marriages. In J. T. Wood & S. Duck (Eds.), *Under-studied relationships: Off the beaten track*. Sage.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R.A., Larsen, R.J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 71-75.
- Dillon, L. M., & Beechler, M. P. (2010). Marital satisfaction and the impact of children in collectivist cultures: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Evolutionary Psychology*, 8(1), 7-22.
- Dixon, R. B. (1978). *Rural women at work: Strategies for development in South Asia*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (1978). Wives: The appropriate victims of marital violence. *Victimology*, 2(3-4), 426-442.
- Dobash, R. P., & Dobash, R. E. (1981). Community response to violence against wives: Charivari, abstract justice and patriarchy. *Social Problems*, 28(5), 563-581.
- Doherty, W. J., Kouneski, E. F., & Erickson, M. F. (1998). Responsible fathering: An overview and conceptual framework. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 60(2), 277-292.
- Dollar, D., & Kraay, A. (2004). Trade, growth, and poverty. *The Economic Journal*, 114 (February), F22-F49.
- Dommaraju, P. (2016). Divorce and separation in India. *Population and Development Review*, 42 (2), 195-223.
- Dossey, L. (2008). Wife beating and manliness in Late Antiquity. *Past & Present*, 199, 3-40.
- Douglass, IV, F. M., & Douglass, R. (1995). The Marital Problems Questionnaire (MPQ): A Short Screening Material for Marital Therapy. *Family Relations*, 44(3), 238-244.

- Dreher, A. (2006). Does globalization affect growth? Evidence from a new index of globalization. *Applied Economics*, 38(10), 1091-1110.
- Dube, L. (1997). *Women and kinship: Perspectives on gender in South and South-East Asia*. United Nations University Press.
- Dummett, M. (2011, January 1). Not so happily ever after as Indian divorce rate doubles. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12094360>
- Dunbar, R. (1996). *Grooming, gossip and the evolution of language*. Faber and Faber Limited.
- Durkheim, E. (1959). *Socialism and Saint-Simon*. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Dutt, A. (2015, January 5). How and why number of young Indian couples getting divorced has risen sharply. *Hindustan Times*. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/sex-and-relationships/how-and-why-number-of-young-indian-couples-getting-divorced-has-risen-sharply/story-mEuaEoviW40d6sILZbGu6J.html>
- Economics Research Unit – Statistics. (2017). *Telecom Statistics: India – 2017*. Ministry of Communications. <https://dot.gov.in/sites/default/files/Telecom%20Statistics%20India-2017.pdf>
- Edmunds, V. H. (1967). Marital conventionalization: Definition and measurement. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 29 (4), 681-688.
- Elphinstone, M. (1843). *The History of India*. John Murray.
- Fakher, K. N. (2018). Cultural values and marital satisfaction: Do collectivism and gender role orientation affect marital satisfaction among Palestinian couples? *The International Journal of Indian Psychology*, 6(2), 74-97.
- Farel, A. (1980). Effects of preferred maternal roles, maternal employment and socio-demographic status on school adjustment and competence. *Child Development*, 50, 1179-1186.
- Feng, D., Giarrusso, R., Bengtson, V., & Frye, N. (1999). Intergenerational transmission of marital quality and marital instability. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 61(2), 451-463.
- Fincham, F. D., & Bradbury, T. N. (1987). The assessment of marital quality: A reevaluation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 49(4), 797-809.
- Fincham, F. D., & Linfield, K. J. (1997). A new look at marital quality: Can spouses feel positive and negative about their marriage? *Journal of Family Psychology*, 11(4), 489-502.

- Fincham, F. D. (2003). Marital conflict: Correlates, structure, and context. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 12*(1), 23-27.
- Fischer, C. S., & Oliner, S. J. (1983). A research note on friendship, gender, and the life cycle. *Social Forces, 62*(1), 124-133.
- Fisher, H. E. (1992). *Anatomy of Love*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Forman-Barzilai, F. (2000). Adam Smith as globalization theorist. *Critical Review, 14*(4), 391-419.
- Foucault, M. (1986). *The Care of the Self*. Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1993). About the beginnings of the hermeneutics of the self: Two lectures at Dartmouth. *Political Theory, 21*(2), 198-227.
- Fowers, B. J., & Olson, D. H. (1993). ENRICH Marital Satisfaction Scale: A brief research and clinical tool. *Journal of Family Psychology, 7*(2), 176-185.
- Fowers, B. J., & Owenz, M. B. (2010). A eudaimonic theory of marital quality. *Journal of Family Theory and Review, 2*, 334-352.
- Fraser, N., & Honneth, A. (2003). *Redistribution or recognition? A political-philosophical exchange*. Verso Books.
- Freud, S. (2014). *'Civilized' sexual morality and modern nervous illness* (I. Smith, Ed.). White Press (Original work published 1908).
- Friedman, T. L. (2005). *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Fuller, C. J., & Narasimhan, H. (2008). Companionate marriage in India: The changing marriage system in a middle-class Brahman subcaste. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 14*(4), 736-754.
- Gager, C. T., & Sanchez, L. (1998). Two as one? Couples' perceptions of time spent together, marital quality, and the risk of divorce. *Journal of Family Issues, 24*(1), 21-50.
- Galambos, N. L., & Silbereisen, R. K. (1989). Role strain in West German dual-earner households. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 51*(2), 385-389.
- Gatzeva, M., & Paik, A. (2011). Emotional and physical satisfaction in noncohabiting, cohabiting, and marital relationships: The importance of jealous conflict. *The Journal of Sex Research, 48*(1), 29-42.
- Ghurye, G. S. (1956). *Sexual behavior of the American female*. Current Book House.

- Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1992). *The transformation of intimacy: Sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies*. Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1994). *Beyond left and right: The future of radical politics*. Polity Press.
- Gigy, L., & Kelly, J. B. (1992). Reasons for divorce: Perspectives of divorcing men and women. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage* 18, 169-187.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Aldine Transaction.
- Glenn, N. D. (1975). The contribution of marriage to the psychological well-being of males and females. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 37(3), 594-600.
- Glenn, N. D., & Weaver, C. N. (1977). The marital happiness of remarried divorced persons. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 39(2), 331-337.
- Glenn, N. D., & Weaver, C. N. (1981). The contribution of marital happiness to global happiness. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 43(1), 161-168.
- Glenn, N., & Shelton, B. (1983). Pre-adult background variables and divorce: A note of caution about overreliance on explained variance. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 45(2), 405-410.
- Glenn, N. D. (1987). Social trends in the United States: Evidence from sample surveys. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51, 109-126.
- Glenn, N., & Kramer, K. (1987). The marriages and divorces of the children of divorce. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 49(4), 811-825.
- Glenn, N. D. (1990). Quantitative research on marital quality in the 1980s: A critical review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 52(4), 818-831.
- Glenn, N. D. (2001). Is the current concern about American marriage warranted? *The Virginia Journal of Social Policy & the Law*, 9, 5-47.
- Glorieux, I., Minnen, J., & van Tienoven, T. P. (2011). Spouse "Together Time": Quality time within the household. *Social Indicators Research*, 101(2), 281-287.
- Goldscheider, F. K., & Waite, L. J. (1991). *New families, no families? The transformation of the American home*. University of California Press.



- Goode, W. J. (1960). A theory of role strain. *American Sociological Review*, 25(4), 483-496.
- Goode, W. J. (1993). *World changes in divorce patterns*. Yale University Press.
- Goswami, B. (2012). *An Investigation into the Pattern of Delayed Marriage in India*. The Institute for Social and Economic Change. <http://www.isec.ac.in/WP%20275%20-%20Baishali%20delayed%20marriage%2015%20sep.pdf>
- Gottman, J. M. (1982). Emotional responsiveness in marital conversations. *Journal of Communication*, 32(3), 108-120.
- Gottman, J. M. (1991). Predicting the longitudinal course of marriage. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 17(1), 3-7.
- Gottman, J. M. (1994). *Why Marriages Succeed or Fail*. Simon & Schuster.
- Gottman, J. M., & Krokoff, L. J. (1989). Marital interaction and satisfaction: A longitudinal view. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 57(1), 47-52.
- Gottman, J. M., Coan, J., Carrere, S., & Swanson, C. (1998). Predicting marital happiness and stability from newlywed interactions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 60(1), 5-22.
- Gottman, J. M., & Notarius, C. I. (2000). Decade review: Observing marital interaction. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), 927-947.
- Gove, W., & Zeiss, C. (1987). Multiple roles and happiness. In F. J. Crosby (Ed.), *Spouse, parent, worker: On gender and multiple roles* (pp. 125-137). Yale University Press.
- Gowaty, P. A. (1997). Introduction: Darwinian Feminists and Feminist Evolutionists. In P. A. Gowaty (Ed.), *Feminism and evolutionary biology: Boundaries, intersections, and frontiers* (pp. 1-18). Chapman & Hall.
- Gray, J. (1992). *Men are from Mars, women are from Venus: A practical guide for improving communication and getting what you want in your relationships*. Harper Collins.
- Greeley, A. M. (1991). *Faithful attraction: Discovering intimacy, love, and fidelity in American marriage*. Tom Doherty Associates.
- Greenberg, E., & Nay, W. (1982). The intergenerational transmission of marital instability reconsidered. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 44(2), 335-347.
- Greenstein, T. N. (1990). Marital disruption and the employment of married women. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 52(3), 657-676.
- Greenstein, T. N., & Davis, S. N. (2006). Cross-national variations in divorce: Effects of

- women's power, prestige and dependence. *Journal of Comparative Studies*, 37(2), 253-273.
- Grosz, E. (1999). Darwin and feminism: Preliminary investigations for a possible alliance. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 14(29), 31-45.
- Grosz, E. (2005). *Time travels: Feminism, nature, power*. Duke University Press.
- Gunder-Frank, A. (1967). *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America*. Monthly Review Press.
- Gunder-Frank, A. (1970). The development of underdevelopment. In R. I. Rhodes (Ed.), *Imperialism and underdevelopment: A reader*. Monthly Review Press.
- Gupta, G. R. (1976). Love, arranged marriage, and the Indian social structure. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 7(1), 75-85.
- Gwanfogbe, P. N., Schumm, W. R., Smith, M., & Furrow, J. L. (1997). Polygyny and marital life satisfaction: An exploratory study from rural Cameroon. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 28(1), 55-71.
- Hackstaff, K. B. (1999). *Marriage in a culture of divorce*. Temple University Press.
- Haddock, S. A., Zimmerman, T. S., Ziemba, S. J., & Current, L. R. (2001). Ten adaptive strategies for work and family balance: Advice from successful families. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 27(4), 445-458.
- Halford, W. K., Hahlweg, K., & Dunne, M. (1990). The cross-cultural consistency of marital communication associated with marital distress. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 52(2), 487-500.
- Hahlweg, K. (1996). Fragebogen zur Partnerschaftsdiagnostik (PFB) [Partnership questionnaire]. Hogrefe.
- Härkönen, J., & Dronkers, J. (2006). Stability and change in the educational gradients of divorce: A comparison of 17 countries. *European Sociological Review*, 22(5), 501-517.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, nature, & the geography of difference*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Hansen, G. L. (1987). The effect of religiosity on factors predicting marital adjustment. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 50(3), 264-269.
- Heaton, T. B. (1990). Marital stability throughout the child-rearing years. *Demography*, 27(1), 55-63.

- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., & Perraton, J. (1999). *Global transformations: Politics, economics and culture*. Stanford University Press.
- Hendrick, S. S., Dicke, A., & Hendrick, C. (1998). The Relationship Assessment Scale. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 15(1), 137-142.
- Hernandez, D. J. (1993). *America's children: Resources from family, government, and the economy*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Hewitt, B. (2008). *Marriage breakdown in Australia: Social correlates, gender and initiator status* (Social Policy Research Paper No. 35). Australian Government Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.
- Hill, R. (1949). *Families under stress*. Harper and Row.
- Hill, R. (1958). Generic features of families under stress. *Social Casework*, 49 (February-March), 139-150.
- Hochschild, A. (1974). The sociology of feeling and emotion: Selected possibilities. *Sociological Inquiry*, 45(2-3), 280-307.
- Hochschild, A., & Machung, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home*. Viking Press.
- Hoelter, L. F., Axinn, W. G., & Ghimire, D. J. (2017). Social change, premarital nonfamily experiences, and marital dynamics. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(5), 1131-1151.
- Hofmeister, H., & Moen, P. (1999). Late midlife employment, gender roles and marital quality: His and her perspectives. *Sociological Focus*, 32(3), 317-337.
- Hoffman, L. W. (1989). Effects of maternal employment in the two-parent family. *American Psychologist*, 44(2), 283-292.
- Hofstede, G. H. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Sage.
- Holahan, C. (1984). Marital attitudes over 40 years: A longitudinal and cohort analysis. *Journal of Gerontology*, 39(1), 49-57.
- Holman, T. B., Larson, J. H., & Harmer, S. L. (1994). The development and predictive validity of a new premarital assessment instrument: The preparation for marriage questionnaire. *Family Relations*, 43(1), 46-52.
- Holman, T. B. (2002). *Premarital prediction of marital quality or breakup: Research, theory, and practice*. Kluwer Academic Publishers.

- Holt, J. L., & DeVore, C. J. (2005). Culture, gender, organizational role, and styles of conflict resolution: A meta-analysis. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(2), 165-196.
- Homans, G. C. (1958). Social behavior as exchange. *American Journal of Sociology*, 63(6), 597-606.
- Homans, G. C. (1961). *Social behavior*. Harcourt Brace.
- Hood, J. (1983). *Becoming a two-job family*. Praeger.
- Houseknecht, S. K., & Spanier, G. B. (1980). Marital disruption and higher education among women in the United States. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 21(3), 375-389.
- Hughes, A. (2010). The 'non-criminal' class: Wife-beating in Scotland (c. 1800-1949). *Crime, History & Societies*, 14(2), 31-53.
- Huston, T. L. (2000). The social ecology of marriage and other intimate unions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(2), 298-320.
- Hyde, J. S. (2005). The Gender Similarities Hypothesis. *American Psychologist*, 60(6), 581-592.
- Inaba, A. (2004). The Pattern of Marital Relationships and their Changes. In H. Watanabe, A. Inaba, & N. Shimazaki (Eds.), *Structures and changes of contemporary Japanese families: Quantitative analyses of national family research* (pp. 261-276). University of Tokyo Press.
- B.
- Inglehart, R. F. (2018). *Cultural evolution*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jackson, D. L. (2003). Revisiting sample size and the number of parameter estimates: Some support for the N:q hypothesis. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 10(1), 128-141.
- Jackson, D. L. (2007). The effect of the number of observations per parameter in misspecified confirmatory factor analytic models. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 14(1), 48-76.
- Jackson, J. B., Miller, R. B., Oka, M., & Henry, R. G. (2014). Gender differences in marital satisfaction: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76(1), 105-129.
- Jackson, D. L., Voth, J., & Frey, M. P. (2013). A note on sample size and solution propriety for confirmatory factor analytic models. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 20(1), 86-97.
- Jacobson, N. S. (1981). Behavioral marital therapy. In A. Gurman & D. P. Kniskern (Eds.), *Handbook of family therapy* (pp. 556-591). Brunner/Mazel.

- James, S. L. (2015). Variation in trajectories of women's marital quality. *Social Science Research, 49*, 16-30.
- Jeejeebhoy, S. J., & Sathar, Z. A. (2001). Women's autonomy in India and Pakistan: The influence of religion and region. *Population and Development Review, 27*(4), 687-712.
- Jeffries, V. (2000). Virtue and marital conflict: A theoretical formulation and research agenda. *Sociological Perspectives, 43*(2), 231-246.
- Jeffries, V. (2002). The structure and dynamics of love: Towards a theory of marital quality and stability. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations, 27*(1), 42-72.
- Johnson, M. P. (1991). Commitment to personal relationships. In W. H. Jones & D. W. Perlman (Eds.), *Advances in personal relationships* (Vol. 3, pp. 117-143). Jessica Kingsley.
- Johnson, M. P., Caughlin, J. P., & Huston, T. L. (1999). The tripartite nature of marital commitment: Personal, moral, and structural reasons to stay married. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 61*(1), 160-177.
- Johnson, D. R., White, L. K., Edwards, J. N., & Booth, A. (1986). Dimensions of marital quality: Toward methodological and conceptual refinement. *Journal of Family Issues, 7*(1), 31-49.
- Johnson, D., & Booth, A. (1998). Marital quality: A product of the dyadic environment or individual factors? *Social Forces, 76*(3), 883-904.
- Joshanloo, M., & Jarden, A. (2016). Individualism as the moderator of the relationship between hedonism and happiness: A study in 19 nations. *Personality and Individual Differences, 94*, 149-152.
- Joshi, O., Desai, S., & Vanneman, R. (2017, April 27). *Marital quality and spousal choice: An Indian scenario* [Conference presentation]. Annual Meeting of Population Association of America (PAA).
- Kail, R.V., & Cavanaugh, J. C. (2000). *Human development: A lifespan approach*. Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Kakar, S. (1989). *Intimate relations: Exploring Indian sexuality*. University of Chicago Press.
- Kalmijn, M., & Poortman, A. (2006). His or her divorce? The gendered nature of divorce and its determinants. *European Sociological Review, 22*(2), 201-214.
- Kalmijn, M. (2013). The educational gradient in marriage: A comparison of 25 European countries. *Demography, 50*(4), 1499-1520.

- Kalmuss, D., & Seltzer, J. A. (1986). Continuity of marital behavior in remarriage: The case of spouse abuse. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 48(1), 113-120.
- Kalu, O. U. (1991). Gender ideology in Igbo religion. The changing religious role of women in Igboland. *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente*, 46(2), 184-202.
- Kamo, Y. (1993). Determinants of marital satisfaction: A comparison of the United States and Japan. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 10(4), 551-568.
- Kapadia, K. M. (1966). *Marriage and family in India* (3rd ed). Oxford University Press.
- Kapinus, C. A., & Johnson, M. P. (1996, November). *The utility of family life cycle as a theoretical tool* [Conference presentation]. Annual meeting of the National Council on Family Relations. Kansas City, MO, United States.
- Kapinus, C. A., & Johnson, M. P. (2002). Personal, moral, and structural commitment to marriage: Gender and the effects of family life cycle stage. *Sociological Focus*, 35(2), 189-205.
- Kaplan, M., & Maddux, J. E. (2002). Goals and marital satisfaction: Perceived support for personal goals and collective efficacy for collective goals. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 21(2), 157-164.
- Kaufman, G., & Taniguchi, H. (2009). Gender and marital happiness in Japan. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 35(1), 69-87.
- Kearns, J. N., & Leonard, K. E. (2004). Social networks, structural independence, and marital quality over the transition to marriage: A prospective analysis. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 18(2), 383-395.
- Kemper, T. D. (1978). *A social interactional theory of emotions*. Wiley.
- Kemper, T. D. (1981). Social constructionist and positivist approaches to the Sociology of Emotions. *American Journal of Sociology*, 87(2), 336-362.
- Kemper, T. D. (1987). How many emotions are there? Wedding the social and the autonomic components. *American Journal of Sociology*, 93(2), 263-289.
- Kenny, D. A, Kashy, D. A., & Cook, W. L. (2006). *Dyadic data analysis*. The Guilford Press.
- Keohane, R. O., & Nye Jr., J. S. (2000). Globalization: What's new? What's not? (And so what?). *Foreign Policy*, 118, 104-119.
- Khalili, F. (2018). Cultural values and marital satisfaction: Do collectivism and gender

- role orientation affect marital satisfaction among Palestinian couples? *The International Journal of Indian Psychology*, 6(2), 76-99.
- Kibria, N. (2006). Globalization and the family: Introduction to the special issue of International Journal of Sociology of the Family. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 32(2), 137-139.
- Kindelan, K., & McCarrey, M. (1979). Spouses' value systems: Similarity, type and attributed marital adjustment. *Psychological Reports*, 44(3), 1295-1302.
- Kingston, P. W., & Nock, S. L. (1987). Time together among dual-earner couples. *American Sociological Review*, 52(3), 391-400.
- Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., Martin, M. C. E., & Gebhard, P. H. (1953). *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. W. B. Saunders Company.
- Kippen, R., Chapman, B., Yu, P., & Lounkaew, K. (2013). What's love got to do with it? Homogamy and dyadic approaches to understanding marital instability. *Journal of Population Research*, 30(3), 213-247.
- Kolb, T. M., & Straus, M. A. (1974). Marital power and marital happiness in relation to problem-solving ability. *Journal of Family and Marriage*, 36(4), 756-766.
- Kraeger, D. A., Felson, R. B., Warner, C., & Wenger, M. R. (2013). Women's education, marital violence, and divorce: A social exchange perspective. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 75(3), 565-581.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Kulka, R. A., & Weingarten, H. (1979). The long-term effects of parental divorce in childhood on adult adjustment. *Journal of Social Issues*, 35(4), 50-78.
- Kurdek, L. A. (1993). Predicting marital dissolution: A 5-year prospective longitudinal study of newlywed couples. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(2), 221-242.
- Kurian, G. (1974). Modern trends in mate selection and marriage with special reference to Kerala. In G. Kurian (Ed.), *The family in India – A regional view* (pp. 351-367). Mouton Press.
- Kurian, G. (1975). Structural changes in the family in Kerala, India. In T. R. Williams (Ed.), *Socialization and communication in primary groups* (pp. 59-79). Mouton Publishers.
- Kurz, D. (1996). Separation, divorce, and woman abuse. *Violence Against Women*, 2(1), 63-81.

- Lalonde, R. N., Hynie, M., Pannu, M., & Tatla, S. (2004). The role of culture in interpersonal Relationships: Do second generation South Asian Canadians want a traditional partner? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 35*(5), 503-524.
- Laner, M. R. (1978). Love's labor lost: A theory of marital dissolution. *Journal of Divorce, 1*(3), 213-232.
- Lardy, N. R. (2018). *The State strikes back: The end of economic reforms in China?* Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Larson, J. H., & Holman, T. B. (1994). Premarital predictors of marital quality and stability: An applied literature review. *Family Relations, 43*(2), 228-237.
- Lavner, J. A., & Clark, M. A. (2017). Workload and marital satisfaction over time: Testing lagged spillover and crossover effects during the newlywed years. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 101*, 67-76.
- Lazartigues, A., Morales, H., & Planche, P. (2005). Consensus, hedonism: the characteristics of new family and their consequences for the development of children. *Encephale, 31*(4), 457-465.
- Leach, E. (1955). Polyandry, inheritance and the definition of marriage. *Man, 55*, 182-186.
- Ledermann, T., Bodenmann, G., Rudaz, M., & Bradbury, T. N. (2010). Stress, communication, and marital quality in couples. *Family Relations, 59*(2), 195-206.
- Lee, G. R., Seccombe, K., & Sheehan, C. L. (1991). Marital status and personal happiness: An analysis of trend data. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 53*(4), 839-844.
- Lee, W., & McKinnish, T. (2018). The marital satisfaction of differently aged couples. *Journal of Population Economics, 31*(2), 337-362.
- Lehrer, E. L. (2008). Age at marriage and marital instability: Revisiting the Becker-Landes-Michael hypothesis. *Journal of Population Economics, 21*(2), 463-484.
- Leik, R., & Leik, S. (1972). *Interpersonal commitment as a balancing mechanism in social exchange* [Conference presentation]. Pacific Sociological Association Meeting, Scottsdale, Arizona, United States.
- Leik, R., & Leik, S. (1976). Transition to interpersonal commitment. In R. L. Hamblin & J. Kunkel (Eds.), *Behavioral theory in sociology* (pp. 229-321). Transaction Publishers.
- Lerner, G. (1986). *The creation of patriarchy*. Oxford University Press.



- Levinger, G. (1965). Marital cohesiveness and dissolution: An integrative review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 27(1), 19-28.
- Levinger, G. (1974). A three-level approach to attraction: Toward an understanding of pair relatedness. In T. L. Huston (Ed.), *Foundations of interpersonal attraction* (pp. 49-67). Academic Press.
- Levinger, G. (1976). A social psychological perspective on marital dissolution. *Journal of Social Issues*, 32(1), 21-47.
- Lewis, C. I. (1929). *Mind and the World Order*. Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Lewis, R., & Spanier, G. (1979). Theorizing about the quality and stability of marriage. In W. Burr, R. Hill, F. I. Nye, & I. Reiss (Eds.), *Contemporary theories about the family: Research-based theories* (pp. 268-294). Free Press.
- Lloyd, E. A. (2005). *The case of the female orgasm: Bias in the science of evolution*. Harvard University Press.
- Locke, H. J., & Wallace, K. M. (1959). Short marital adjustment and prediction tests: Their reliability and validity. *Marriage and Family Living*, 21(3), 251-255.
- Locksley, A. (1980). On the effects of wives' employment on marital adjustment and companionship. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 42(2), 337-346.
- Madan, T. (1993). The Hindu family and development. In P. Uberoi (Ed.), *Family, kinship and marriage in India*. Oxford University Press.
- Maine, H. S. (1876). *Ancient Law*. John Murray.
- Marchand, J. F., & Hock, E. (2000). Avoidance and attacking conflict-resolution strategies among married couples: Relations to depressive symptoms and marital satisfaction. *Family Relations*, 49(2), 201-206.
- Marini, M. M. (1976). Dimensions of marriage happiness: A research note. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 38(3), 443-448.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98(2), 224-253.
- Martin, S.P. (2006). Trends in marital dissolution by women's education in the United States. *Demographic Research*, 15(20), 537-560.
- Marsh, H. W., Hau, K. T., Balla, J. R., & Grayson, D. (1998). Is more ever too much? The number of indicators per factor in confirmatory factor analysis. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 33(2), 181-220.

- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1970). *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1<sup>st</sup> ed.). Foreign Languages Press (Original work published 1848).
- Maryanski, A., & Turner, J. H. (1992). *The social cage: Human nature and the evolution of society*. Stanford University Press.
- Maslin, K. (2013). The gender-neutral feminism of Hannah Arendt. *Hypatia*, 28(3), 585-601.
- Massey, D. S. (2002). A brief history of human society: The origin and role of emotion in social life. *American Sociological Review*, 67(1), 1-29.
- Masters, W. H., & Johnson, V. E. (1966). *Human sexual response*. Little, Brown and Company.
- Masters, W. H., & Johnson, V. E. (1970). *Human sexual inadequacy*. Little, Brown and Company.
- Matthews, L. S., Conger, R. D., & Wickrama, K. A. S. (1996). Work-family conflict and marital quality: Mediating processes. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 59(1), 62-79.
- Matysiak, A., Styrac, M., & Vignoli, D. (2014). The changing educational gradient in marital disruption: A meta-analysis of European research findings. *Population Studies*, 68(2), 197-215.
- Mayer, J. P. (1944). *Max Weber and German politics*. Faber and Faber.
- McCubbin, H., Joy, C., Cauble, A., Comeau, A. E., Patterson, J., & Needle, R. (1980). Family stress and coping: A decade review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 42(4), 855-868.
- McCubbin, H., & Patterson, J. (1982). Family adaptation to crisis. In H. McCubbin, E. A. Cauble, & J. Patterson (Eds.), *Family stress, coping, and social support* (pp. 26-47). Charles C. Thomas Publisher.
- McDonald, G. W. (1981). Structural exchange and marital interaction. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 43(4), 825-839.
- McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding media*. McGraw-Hill.
- McNulty, J. K. (2010). When positive processes hurt relationships. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 19(3), 167-171.
- Medling, J. M., & McCarrey, M. (1981). Marital adjustment over segments of the family life cycle: The issue of spouses' value similarity. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 43(1), 195-203.
- Meyer, J. J. (1953). *Sexual life in ancient India*. Barnes & Noble.

- Meyers, C. L. (2014). Was ancient Israel a patriarchal society? *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 133(1), 8-27.
- Miller, D., Costa, E., Haynes, N., McDonald, T., Nicolescu, R., Sinanan, J., Spyer, J., Venkatraman, S., & Xinyuan, Y. (2016). *How the world changed social media*. UCL Press.
- Miller, N. B., & Kanna, L. A. (1999). Predicting marital quality in Ghana. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 30(4), 599-615.
- Minnotte, K. L., Mannon, S. E., Stevens, D. P., & Kiger, G. (2008). Does it take a village to make a marriage? Exploring the relationship between community and marital satisfaction. *Sociological Focus*, 41(2), 119-136.
- Mintz, S., & Kellogg, S. (1988). *Domestic revolutions: A social history of American family life*. Free Press.
- Mitchell, B. A. (2010). Midlife marital happiness and ethnic culture: A life course perspective. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 41(1), 167-183.
- Montenegro, X. P. (2004). *The divorce experience: A study of divorce in midlife and beyond*. AARP.
- Morgado, F. F. R., Meireles, J. F. F., Neves, C. M., Amaral, A. C. S., & Ferreira, M. E. C. (2018). Scale development: Ten main limitations and recommendations to improve future research practices. *Psicologia, Reflexão e Crítica*, 30 (3). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41155-016-0057-1>
- Morgan, S. P., & Rindfuss, R. R. (1985). Marital disruption: Structural and temporal dimensions. *American Journal of Sociology*, 90(5), 1055-1077.
- Mueller, C., & Pope, H. (1977). Marital instability: A study of its transmission between generations. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 39(1), 83-93.
- Murdock, G. P. (1949). *Social structure*. The Macmillan Company.
- Murstein, B. I. (1974). *Love, sex, and marriage through the ages*. Springer Publishing Co.
- Murstein, B. I., Cerreto, M., & Mac Donald, M. G. (1977). A theory and investigation of the effect of exchange-orientation on marriage and friendship. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 39(3), 543-548.
- Nafstad, H. E., Blakar, R. M., Botchway, A., & Bruer, E. S., Filkuková, P., & Rand, K. (2012). Communal values and individualism in our era of globalization: A comparative longitudinal study of three different societies. In H. H. Knoop & A. D. Fave (Eds.), *Well-being and cultures* (pp. 51-69). Springer.

- Netting, N. S. (2009). Marital ideoscapes in 21st-century India: Creative combinations of love and responsibility. *Journal of Family Issues*, 20(10), 1-20.
- Ng, K. M., Loy, J. T. C., Gudmunson, C. G., & Cheong, W. (2009). Gender differences in marital and life satisfaction among Chinese Malaysians. *Sex Roles*, 60(1-2), 33-43.
- Hiekel, N. & Wagner, M. (2016, September 14). *On the stability of individualistic marriages* [Conference presentation]. European Population Conference, Mainz, Germany.
- Nock, S. L. (1979). The family life cycle: Empirical or conceptual tool? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 41(1), 15-26.
- Norton, R. (1983). Measuring marital quality: A critical look at the dependent variable. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 45(1), 141-151.
- Oakley, A. (1974a). *The sociology of housework*. Martin Robertson.
- Oakley, A. (1974b). *Housewife*. Allen Lane.
- Oakley, A. (2018). *The sociology of housework*. Policy Press.
- Obeyesekere, G. (1981). *Medusa's hair: An essay on personal symbols and religious experience*. University of Chicago Press.
- O'Brien, M., & Peyton, V. (2002). Parenting attitudes and marital intimacy: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 16(2), 118-127.
- Obradovic, J. & Cudina-Obradovic, M. (1998). Marital quality: Definition, causes and consequences. *Journal for General Social Issues*, 7, 659-682.
- Olivelle, P. (2005). *Manu's code of law*. Oxford University Press.
- Orbach, S. (2005). *Hunger strike: The anorectic's struggle as a metaphor of our age*. Karnac Books.
- Orden, S. R., & Bradburn, N. (1968). Dimensions of marriage happiness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 73 (6), 715-731.
- Orgill, J., & Heaton, T. B. (2005). Women's status and marital satisfaction in Bolivia. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 36(1), 23-40.
- O'Rourke, P. J. (2007). *On the wealth of nations*. Grove Atlantic.
- Ouyang, Y., Zhou, W., Xiong, Z., Wang, R., & Redding, S. R. (2019). A web-based survey of marital quality and job satisfaction among Chinese nurses. *Asian Nursing Research*, 13(3), 216-220.

- Papp, L. M., Cummings, E. M., & Goeke-Morey, M. C. (2009). For richer, for poorer: Money as a topic of marital conflict in the home. *Family Relations*, 58(1), 91-103.
- Parcel, T., & Menaghan, E. (1994). Early parental work, family social capital, and early childhood outcomes. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(4), 972-1009.
- Parfit, D. (1973). Later selves and moral principles. In A. Montefiore (Ed.), *Philosophy and personal relations* (pp. 137-169). Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Parish, W.L., & Whyte, M. K. (1978). *Village and family in contemporary China*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Park, H., Raymo, J., & Creighton, M. (2009). Educational differences in the risk of divorce and their trends across marriage cohorts of Korean women. *Gender Studies and Policy Review*, 2(1), 6-17.
- Parry, T. G. (2016). *The association between shared values and marital couples' well-being* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Utah State University.
- Parsons, T. (1949). The social structure of the family. In R. Anshen (Ed.), *The family: Its function and destiny* (pp. 173-201). Harper and Brothers.
- Parsons, T. (1955). Sex roles and family structure. In T. Parsons & R. F. Bales (Eds.), *Family socialization and interaction process* (pp. 1-32). Free Press.
- Parsons, T., & Bales, R. (1955). *Family, socialization and interaction process*. The Free Press.
- Patai, D. (2000). *Heterophobia: Sexual harassment and the future of feminism*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Paul, S., & Sridhar, K. S. (2015). *The paradox of India's north-south divide: Lessons from the states and regions*. SAGE India.
- Pearson, W., & Hendrix, L. (1979). Divorce and the status of women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 41 (2), 375-385.
- Pearson, V. M. S., & Stephan, W. G. (1998). Preferences for styles of negotiation: A comparison of Brazil and the U.S. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 22(1), 67-83.
- Pei, M. (2006). *China's trapped transition: The limits of developmental autocracy*. Harvard University Press.
- Penn, R. (2011). Arranged marriages in Western Europe: Media representations and social reality. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 42(5), 637-650.
- Perry-Jenkins, M., & Folk, K. (1994). Class, couples, and conflict: Effects of the division of

- labor on assessments of marriage in dual-earner families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 56(1), 165-180.
- Peterson, D. (1992). Wife beating: An American tradition. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23(1), 97-118.
- Pickford, J. H., Signori, E. I., & Rempel, H. (1966). Similar or related personality traits as a factor in marital happiness. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 28(2), 190-192.
- Pieterse, J. N. (2003). Globalization and culture: Three paradigms. In J. N. Pieterse (Ed.), *Globalization and culture: Global mélange* (pp. 41-58). Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
- Pimentel, E. E. (2000). Just how do I love thee? Marital relations in urban China. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(1), 32-47.
- Pinker, S. 2003. *The blank slate: The modern denial of human nature*. Penguin Books.
- Pope, H., & Mueller, C. (1976). The intergenerational transmission of marital instability: Comparisons by race and sex. *Journal of Social Issues*, 32(1), 49-66.
- Popenoe, D. (1996). *Life without father*. Martin Kessler.
- Quach, A.S., & Anderson, E. A. (2008). Implications of China's open-door policy for families: A family impact analysis. *Journal of Family Issues*, 29(8), 1089-1103.
- Rahaju, S., Hartini, N., & Hendriani, W. (2019). Is commitment related to marriage stability? *North American Journal of Psychology*, 21(1), 165-168.
- Raja, S., & Stein, S. L. (2014). Work-life balance: History, costs, and budgeting for balance. *Clinics in Colon and Rectal Surgery*, 27(2), 71-74.
- Rands, M., Levinger, G., & Mellinger, G. D. (1981). Patterns of conflict resolution and marital satisfaction. *Journal of Family Issues*, 2(3), 297-321.
- Raush, H. L., Barry, W. A., Hertel, R. K., & Swain, M. A. (1974). *Communication, conflict and marriage*. Jossey-Bass.
- Ravindran, T. K. S. (1999). Female autonomy in Tamil Nadu: Unravelling the complexities. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(16/17), 34-44.
- Raymo, J. M., Fukuda, S., & Iwasawa, M. (2013). Educational differences in divorce in Japan. *Demographic Research*, 28(6), 177-206.
- Reed, P., Bircek, N. I., Osborne, L. A., Vigano, C., & Truzoli, R. (2018). Visual social

- media use moderates the relationship between initial problematic internet use and later narcissism. *The Open Psychology Journal*, 11, 163-170.
- Rhyme, D. (1981). Bases of marital satisfaction among men and women. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 43(4), 941-955.
- Ritzer, G., & Trice, H. M. (1969). An empirical study of Howard Becker's Side-Bet theory. *Social Forces*, 47(4), 475-478.
- Ritzer, G. (1983). The “McDonaldization” of Society. *The Journal of American Culture*, 6(1), 100-107.
- Ritzer, G. (1996). *The McDonaldization of Society* (Revised ed.). Pine Forge Press.
- Robinson, L. C., & Blanton, P. W. (1993). Marital strengths in enduring marriages. *Family Relations*, 42(1), 38-45.
- Roest, A. M. C., Dubas, J. S., Gerris, J. R. M., & Engels, R. C. M. E. (2006). Disentangling value similarities and transmissions in established marriages: A cross-lagged longitudinal study. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(5), 1132-1146.
- Rogers, S. J. (2004). Dollars, dependency, and divorce: Four perspectives on the role of wives' income. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 66(1), 59-74.
- Rogers, S. J., & Amato, P. R. (2000). Have changes in gender relations affected marital quality? *Social Forces*, 79(2), 731-753.
- Rogers, S. J., & May, D. C. (2003). Spillover between marital quality and job satisfaction: Long-term patterns and gender differences. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(2), 482-495.
- Rokach, R., Cohen, O., & Dreman, S. (2004). Who pulls the trigger? Who initiates divorce among over 45-year-olds? *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 42(1-2), 61-83.
- Rollins, B. C., & Cannon, K. L. (1974). Marital satisfaction over the family life cycle: A reevaluation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 36(2), 271-282.
- Rollins, B. C., & Feldman, H. (1970). Marital Satisfaction over the family life cycle. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 32(1), 20-28.
- Rosenfeld, M. (2018). Who wants the breakup? Gender and breakup in heterosexual couples. In D. F. Alwin, D. Felmler, & D. Kreager (Eds.), *Social networks and the life course: Integrating the development of human lives and social relational networks* (pp. 221-243). Springer.

- Ross, C., Miroskwy, J., & Huber, J. (1983). Dividing work, sharing work and in-between: Marriage patterns and depression. *American Sociological Review*, 48(6), 809-823.
- Rostami, A., Ghazinour, M., Nygren, L., & Richter, J. (2014). Marital satisfaction with a special focus on gender differences in medical staff in Tehran, Iran. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(14), 1940-1958.
- Rotter, J. B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 80(1), 1-28.
- Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. (1951). *Notes and queries on Anthropology* (6th ed.). Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Ruppanner, L., Brandén, M., & Turunen, J. (2018). Does unequal housework lead to divorce? Evidence from Sweden. *Sociology*, 52 (1), 75-94.
- Ruvolo, A. P. (1998). Marital well-being and general happiness of newlywed couples: Relationships across time. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 15(4), 470-489.
- Ruvolo, A. P., & Veroff, J. (1997). For better or for worse: Real-ideal discrepancies and the marital well-being of newlyweds. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 14(2), 223-242.
- Ryan, K. A. (2015). "The Spirit of Contradiction": Wife abuse in New England, 1780–1820. *Early American Studies*, 13(3), 586-625.
- Sabatelli, R. M. (1984). The Marital Comparison Level Index: A measure for assessing outcomes relative to expectations. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 46(3), 651-662.
- Sabourin, T. C. (1995). The role of negative reciprocity in spouse abuse: A relational control analysis. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 23(4), 271-283.
- Safilios-Rothschild, C. (1967). A comparison of power structure and marital satisfaction in urban Greek and French families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 29 (2), 345-352.
- Sanchez, L., Wright, J. D, Wilson, J. C., & Nock, S. L. (2003). Covenant Marriage Turns 5 Years Old. *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law*, 10(1), 169-188.
- Sandhya, S. (2009). The social context of marital happiness in urban Indian couples: Interplay of intimacy and conflict. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 35(1), 74-96.
- Sarebanha, F., Zaharakar, K., & Nazari, A. M. (2015). Association between a value system and marital commitment along couple burnout in nurses. *Journal of Occupational Health and Epidemiology*, 4(2), 107-115.
- Sarma, Naga Raja R. (1931). Ethics of divorce in ancient India. *International Journal of Ethics*,



41(3), 329-342.

- Sayer, L. C., & Bianchi, S. M. (2000). Women's economic independence and the probability of divorce: A review and reexamination. *Journal of Family Issues*, 21(7), 906-943.
- Scanzoni, J. (1972). *Sexual bargaining: Power politics in the American Marriage*. University of Chicago Press.
- Scanzoni, J. (1978). *Sex roles, women's work and marital conflict: A study of family change*. Heath.
- Scanzoni, J. (1979). Social exchange and behavioral interdependence. In R. L. Burgess & T. Huston (Eds.), *Social exchange in developing relationships* (pp. 61-98). Academic Press.
- Scanzoni, J., & Arnett, C. (1987). Enlarging the understanding of marital commitment via religious devoutness, gender role preferences, and locus of marital control. *Journal of Family Issues*, 8(1), 136-156.
- Scheuerman, W. (2018). Globalization. *UpToDate*. Retrieved October 05, 2021 from <https://stanford.library.sydney.edu.au/archives/win2018/entries/globalization>
- Schoen, R., Rogers, S. J., & Amato, P. R. (2006). Wives' employment and spouses' marital happiness. *Journal of Family Issues*, 27(4), 506-528.
- Schwartz S. H., Melech, G., Lehrnami, A., Burgess, S., Harris, M., & Owens, V. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of basic human values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 32(5), 519-542.
- Secombe, K., & Lee, G. R. (1987). Female status, wives' autonomy and divorce: A cross-cultural study. *Family Perspectives*, 20(4), 241-249.
- Sen, B. (2002). Does married women's market work affect marital stability adversely? An intercohort analysis using NLS data. *Review of Social Economy*, 60(1), 71-92.
- Sharangpani, M (2010). Browsing for bridegroom: Matchmaking and modernity in Mumbai. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 17(2), 249-276.
- Sharma, M. R. (1993). *Marriage in Ancient India*. Agam Kala Prakashan.
- Shaw, G. B. (1914). *Getting married and the shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*. Bernhard Tauchnitz.
- Shukla, A. (1987). Decision making in single- and dual-career families in India. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 49(3), 621-629.
- Shukla, A., & Kapoor, M. (1990). Sex role identity, marital power, and marital satisfaction

- among middle-class couples in India. *Sex Roles*, 22(11/12), 693-706.
- Shweder, R. (1991). Menstrual pollution, soul loss and the comparative study of emotions. In R. Shweder (Ed.), *Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology* (pp. 241-265). Harvard University Press.
- Singh, J. P. (2002). Social and cultural aspects of gender inequality and discrimination in India. *Asian Profile*, 30(2), 163-176.
- Singh, K. (2013). *Separated and divorced women in India: Economic rights and entitlements*. SAGE Publications.
- Singh, R. N., & Khullar, G. S. (1989). Role of marital commitment in intimacy: Case of immigrants from India. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 19(1), 37-47.
- Singh, R., Thind, S. K., & Jaswal, S. (2006). Assessment of marital adjustment among couples with respect to women's educational level and employment status. *Anthropologist*, 8(4), 259-266.
- Sinha, A., & Ram, F. (2018). Mental health status of unmarried youth living in single parent families: A case study from India. *Journal of Mental Health*, 27(1), 1-8.
- Smith, W. (1884). *Smith's Bible dictionary*. Christian Classics Ethereal Library.
- Smith, J. (1994). Maternal employment and the young child [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Columbia University.
- Smith, J. R., Brooks-Gunn, J., & Jackson, A. (1997). Parental employment and children. In R. M. Hauser, B. V. Brown & W. R. Prosser (Eds.), *Indicators of children's well-being* (pp. 279-308). Russell Sage Foundation.
- Snyder, D. K. (1982). Advances in marital assessment: Behavioral, communications, and psychometric approaches. In C. D. Spielberger & J. N. Butcher (Eds.). *Advances in personality assessment* (Vol. 1, pp. 169-201). Erlbaum.
- Sommers, C. H. (1994). *Who stole feminism? How women have betrayed women*. Simon & Schuster.
- South, S. J. (2001). Time-dependent effects of wives' employment on marital dissolution. *American Sociological Review*, 66 (2), 226-245.
- Spanier, G. B. (1976). Measuring dyadic adjustment: New scales for assessing the quality of marriage and similar dyads. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 38(1), 15-28.
- Spanier, G. B. (1979). The measurement of marital quality. *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy*, 5 (3), 288-300.

- Spencer, H. (1910). *The principles of Sociology* (3rd ed., Vol. 1). D. Appleton and Company.
- Spitze, G. (1988). Women's employment and family relations: A Review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 50(3), 595-618.
- Spitze, G., & South, S. J. (1985). Women's employment, time expenditure, and divorce. *Journal of Family Issues*, 6(3), 307-329.
- Stack, S., & Eshleman, J. R. (1998). Marital status and happiness: A 17-nation study. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 60(2), 527-536.
- Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from within: A book of self-esteem*. Little Brown and Company.
- Stone, A. A. (Ed.). (2000). *The science of self-report: Implications for research and practice*. Erlbaum.
- Straus, M. A. (1964). Measuring families. In H. T. Christensen (Ed.), *Handbook of marriage and the family* (pp. 335-400). Rand McNally.
- Straus, M.A. (1969). *Family measurement techniques*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Strikwerda, C. (2000). From world-systems to globalization: Theories of transnational change and the place of the United States. *American Studies*, 41(2/3), 333-348.
- Talani, L. S. (2019). What is Globalisation? In T. M. Shaw, L. C. Mahrenbach, R. Modi, & X. Yi-chong (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of contemporary international political economy* (pp. 413-428). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tancredi, L. M. (2005). *Hardwired behavior*. Cambridge University Press.
- Teachman, J. D. (2002). Stability across cohorts in divorce risk factors. *Demography*, 39(2), 331-351.
- Teachman, J. D. (2010). Wives' economic resources and risk of divorce. *Journal of Family Issues*, 31(10), 1305-1323.
- Terman, L. M., & Bottenwieser, P. (1935). Personality factors in marital compatibility. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 6(2), 143-171.
- Thomas, S., Albrecht, K., & White, P. (1984). Determinants of marital quality in dual-career couples. *Family Relations*, 33(4), 513-521.
- Thompson, L., & Walker, A. J. (1989). Gender in families: Women and men in marriage, work, and parenthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 51(4), 845-871.

- Thomson, E., & Colella, U. (1992). Cohabitation and marital stability: Quality or commitment? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 54(2), 259-267.
- Thornton, A. (1977). Children and marital stability. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 39(3), 531-540.
- Tiggle, R. B., Peters, M. D., Kelley, H. H., & Vincent, J. (1982). Correlational and discrepancy indices of understanding and their relation to marital satisfaction. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 44(1), 209-215.
- Ting, K. (2014). The changing pattern of marital satisfaction in Hong Kong. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 45(1), 113-126.
- Trawick, M. (1990). *Notes on love in a Tamil family*. University of California Press.
- Turner, J. H. (Ed.). (2004). *Theory and research on human emotions*. Emerald Group.
- Udry, J. R. (1966). Marital instability by race, education, and occupation using 1960 census data. *American Journal of Sociology*, 72(2), 203-209.
- Udry, J. R., Morris, N. M., & Kovenock, J. (1995). Androgen effects on women's gendered behavior. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 27(3), 359-368.
- Umberson, D., Williams, K., Powers, D. A., Chen, M. D., & Campbell, A. M. (2005). As good as it gets? A life course perspective on marital quality. *Social Forces*, 84(1), 493-511.
- Valliant, C. O., & Valliant, G. E. (1993). Is the U-Curve of marital satisfaction an illusion? A 40-year study of marriage. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 55(1), 230-239.
- Vannoy, D., & Cubbins, L. A. (2001). Relative socioeconomic status of spouses, gender attitudes, and attributes, and marital quality experienced by couples in metropolitan Moscow. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 32(2), 195-217.
- Vaughn, R. A. C., & Heaton, T. B. (1997). Religious influence on marital stability. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 36(3), 382-392.
- Vidyárñava, S. C. (1918). *Yājñavalkya Smṛitī*. The Indian Press.
- Vlasceanu, L. (2011). *Sociologie*. Editura Polirom.
- Voydanoff, P. (1990). Economic distress and family relations: A review of the eighties. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 52(4), 1099-1115.
- Waite, L. J., Haggstrom, G. W., & Kanouse, D. E. (1985). The consequences of parenthood for the marital stability of young adults. *American Sociological Review*, 50(6), 850-857.

- Waite, L. J., & Gallagher, M. (2000). *The case for marriage: Why married people are happier, healthier, and better off financially*. Doubleday.
- Waite, L. J., & Lehrer, E. L. (2003). The benefits from marriage and religion in the United States: A comparative analysis. *Population Development Review*, 29(2), 255-276.
- Wallerstein, I. (1979). *The capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wallerstein, J. S., & Kelly, J. B. (1974). The effects of parental divorce: The adolescent experience. In E. J. Anthony & C. Koupernik (Eds.), *The child in his family: Children at psychiatric risk* (pp. 479-506). Wiley.
- Wallin, P. (1954). Marital happiness of parents and their children's attitude to marriage. *American Sociological Review*, 19 (1), 20-23.
- Wallin, P., & Vollmer, H. M. (1953). Marital happiness of parents and their children's attitudes to them. *American Sociological Review*, 18 (4), 424-431.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54(6), 1063-1070.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive Sociology*. University of California Press.
- Weber, M., & Bermingham, C. (2003). Authority and autonomy in marriage. *Sociological Theory*, 21(2), 85-102.
- Weisner, T. S., & Fiese, B. H. (2011). Introduction to special section of the Journal of Family Psychology, Advances in Mixed Methods in Family Psychology: Integrative and Applied Solutions for Family Science. *Journal of Family Psychology* 25(6), 795-798.
- Weisner, T. S. (2014). Why qualitative and ethnographic methods are essential for understanding family life. In S. M. McHale, P. Amato, & A. Booth (Eds.), *Emerging methods in family research* (pp. 163-178). Springer.
- Welzel, C. (2013). *Freedom rising: Human empowerment and the quest for emancipation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wheeler, L. A., Updegraff, K. A., & Thayer, S. M. (2010). Conflict resolution in Mexican-origin couples: Culture, gender, and marital quality. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(4), 991-1005.
- Whisman, M. A., Uebelacker, L. A., & Weinstock, L. M. (2004). Psychopathology and marital satisfaction: The importance of evaluating both partners. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 72(5), 830-838.

- White, L., & Rogers, S. (2000). Economic circumstances and family outcomes: A review of the 1990s. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), 1035-1051.
- Wilcox, W., & Nock, S. (2006). What's love got to do with it? Equality, equity, commitment and women's marital quality. *Social Forces*, 84(3), 1321-1345.
- Wilcox, W. B. & Nock, S. L. (2007). "Her" marriage after the revolutions. *Sociological Forum*, 22(1), 103-110.
- Williams, S., & Bendelow, G. (1998). Introduction. Emotions in social life: Mapping the sociological terrain. In G. Bendelow & S. J. Williams (Eds.), *Emotions in social life: Critical themes and contemporary issues* (pp. xv-xxx). Routledge.
- Winkler, I., & Doherty, W. J. (1983). Communication styles and marital satisfaction in Israeli and American couples. *Family Process*, 22(2), 221-228.
- Wilson, J. Q. (2002). *The marriage problem: How our culture has weakened families*. New Harper Collins.
- Wilson, M., & Filsinger, E. (1986). Religiosity and marital adjustment: Multidimensional interrelationships. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 48(1), 147-151.
- Winslow, S. (2011). Marital conflict and the duration of wives' income advantage. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 37(2), 203-225.
- Wolf, N. (2002). *The beauty myth*. Harper Collins.
- Wolfinger, N. H. (2005). *Understanding the divorce cycle*. Harvard University Press.
- Wolfinger, N. H., & Wilcox, W. B. (2008). Happily ever after? Religion, marital status, gender and relationship quality in urban families. *Social Forces*, 86(3), 1311-1337.
- Xu, A., Zhang, Y., & Amato, P. R. (2011). A comparison of divorce risk models in China and the United States. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 42(2), 289-295.
- Xu, A., & Ye, W. (1999). *Studies on the Chinese marital quality* Social Science Press of China.
- Xu, X. (1996). Measuring the concept of marital quality as social indicators in urban China. *Social Indicators Research*, 37(2), 189-206.
- Xu, X. H., & Lai, S. C. (2004). Gender ideologies, marital roles, and marital quality in Taiwan. *Journal of Family Issues*, 25(3), 318-355.
- Yabiku, S. T., Agadjanian, V., & Sevoyan, A. (2010). Husbands' labour migration and wives' autonomy, Mozambique 2000-2006. *Population Studies*, 64(3), 293-306.

- Zammichieli, M, Gilroy, F., & Sherman, M. (1988). Relation between sex-role orientation and marital satisfaction. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 14(4), 747-754.
- Zhang, H., Xu, X., & Tsang, S. K. M. (2013). Conceptualizing and validating marital quality in Beijing: A pilot study. *Social Indicators Research*, 113(1), 197-212.
- Zuo, J. (1992). The reciprocal relationship between marital interaction and marital Happiness: A three-wave study. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 54(4), 870-878.