

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROUP COMMITMENT,
RELIGIOSITY, MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AND ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE
IN THE JEWISH ETHNIC GROUP

by

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SUMMARY

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
MARITAL ADJUSTMENT, GROUP COMMITMENT, RELIGIOSITY AND
ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE IN THE JEWISH ETHNIC GROUP

The purpose of this research was to investigate the interrelationships between marital adjustment, group commitment, religiosity and attitude to divorce in the Jewish group. It amounted to a within group empirical study of the Jewish community of Cape Town.

Research, to date, on the Jewish group has focused on marital stability where researchers have found that Jews have lower divorce rates than the general population. The present study attempted to assess the psycho-social outcomes of group commitment in the form of marital adjustment, thus bridging the gap between marital quality and marital stability in the Jewish group.

On a wider level, the purpose of this research was to assess whether a social structural framework, utilizing the concept of social integration, is a perspective that can be used in explaining variations in marital adjustment.

The following were the findings of the research: Religiosity was correlated to group commitment but not to marital adjustment; group commitment was correlated to marital adjustment; a negative attitude to divorce was not correlated to marital adjustment, group commitment or religiosity.

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CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of marital adjustment has taken a prominent place in the study of marriage and family relationships (Spanier, 1976). The focus of research to date has largely been on the relationship of demographic, personality and social variables to marital adjustment. While these factors are no doubt important there are certain cultural and structural variables that play a part in marital adjustment (Scanzoni, 1965). As Landis (1970) points out, marriage should be studied within a cultural context as cultures provide the framework of human social aspirations.

There have been numerous and significant changes in family structure and relationships which have taken place over the past two centuries with the trends of the past two decades being particularly significant. Many of these family trends are interwoven with several fundamental transformations of Western societies, including industrialization, urbanization, lower mortality, long-term economic growth, growth of scientific knowledge, technological advancement and women's liberation (Thornton, 1985).

This modernization process has led to changes in value orientations of society which have influenced and moulded marriage and family institutions. D'Antonio (1983) delineated the following major value orientations of Western society :

1. Individual Achievement - this is the key value of Western Society where individuals are expected to achieve well at school, sport, work, etc., at all costs. Primacy is accorded to the individual and to the individual's efforts.
2. Activity/Work - closely related to the value of achievement is the so-called work ethic. This value embodies the idea that work is a good thing in itself and is important as the principal mechanism by which to improve socio-economic status.
3. Efficiency and Practicality - this is linked to the value of work.
4. Progress - the focus is on future orientation : Life will be better tomorrow than today and is seen to result from achievement, hard work, efficiency and practicality. One consequence of this has been ambivalent feelings about old age. The younger generation has out-performed older generations and the elderly are no longer seen as sources of wisdom but as stumbling blocks to progress.
5. Science and Rationality - people have come to believe they can master their environment. In one sense, the changes in family are the result of the application of science (the pill, better nutrition, health care) and rationality (no-fault divorce). It may be said that in part the application of rationality to family life has fostered the tension and conflict patterns.

6. Material Comfort - people value the "good things" of life. Material comfort has become a component of the 'American Dream', the reward that comes from successful striving. The business sector promotes it in every way as do governments.

7. Equality - this value originated in equality of opportunity and has eventuated within the world of work, ensuring that women have equal opportunity to compete for all jobs with equal pay for equal work; in religion, with the growing demand by women to become priests, ministers and rabbis; and in the family, the changing husband-wife roles, and the role of children vis-a-vis parents.

8. Freedom - this is the most cherished of all values. Within the family, it has come to mean training children early to be independent and to be responsible for their behaviour. In supporting this value, people have come to stress the rights of the individual rather than those of the group.

This has resulted in a "culture of narcissism" which is marked by values such as a "duty to myself" and self fulfilment (Yankelovitz in Hargrove, 1983:29).

Modern marriage is increasingly seen in terms of personal gains and rewards. Swindler in Morgan & Scanzoni (1983:3) says that "a gradual replacement is occurring - commitment to group and relationship interests is losing ground to commitment to oneself - one's own individualist interests. To which she adds that people who are not

'growing' in their relationships are compromising their commitment to self to grow. This individualism is one of the major causes of divorce (Dominion, 1968; Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986; Morgan & Scanzoni, 1987) which is pervasive in modern society. While this is suggestive of a society or culture of narcissists, Lasch (1977) points out that it is the social structure composed of institutions that predisposes people to develop narcissistic traits.

It would therefore follow, from the above discussion, that a social structural approach would be appropriate in examining marital relationships.

Group Commitment and Religiosity have been singled out by researchers as important in alleviating the disadvantages of individualism.

Brodbar-Nemzer (1986), assuming a social structural framework, and using a sample of 4 505 Jewish households in New York, found that those Jews who had a greater group commitment were consistently less likely ever to have been divorced. He argued that group commitment is an active manifestation of a greater social integration which provides a coefficient of preservation for marriage. In effect, group commitment provides a measure of social integration. In conclusion he suggested that studies should be done at the psychosocial level to explore the links between social integration and various processes and outcomes of marital relationships. Hence, the present research was undertaken as an exploratory study using a social structural framework in order to assess whether group com-

mitment, as a measure of social integration, is related to marital adjustment in the Jewish ethnic group.

While a variety of studies to date have demonstrated that religiosity is a significant predictor of marital adjustment (Glenn & Weaver, 1978; Schumm, Bollman & Jurich, 1982; Filsinger & Wilson, 1984; Wilson & Filsinger, 1986) the main focus of research has been on church attendance and marital adjustment. Filsinger & Wilson (1984) call for additional explanations with specific focus on variables such as values, accommodation and normative integration. Therefore, religiosity is included in the present research in so far as it has been documented by researchers such as Aldonis & D'Antonio (1983), Glenn & Supanac (1984) and Stack (1985) as being an antidote to individualism with the purpose of highlighting the social integration concept in its relation to marital adjustment.

Moreover, group commitment and religiosity can be linked together in that they both provide individuals with a set of traditional norms and values by which to live, thereby facilitating the process of accommodation (Filsinger & Wilson, 1984), which process, according to Locke's (1968) definition of marital adjustment, is fundamental to marital adjustment.

Attitudes have an important role to play in social psychological research. They imply a predisposition to act and if an attitude towards a given object or class of objects is known, it can be used together with situational and dispositional variables to predict

and explain the reactions of people to that class of objects (Pennington, 1986). Therefore, attitude to divorce is a variable that will also be examined in relation to group commitment and religiosity with the aim of firstly, assessing the role that attitude to divorce plays in the Jewish group who have a lower divorce rate than the general population (Cohen, 1982; Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986); secondly, assessing whether a negative attitude to divorce is an antidote to individualism in the light of Thornton's (1985) findings that people's attitudes to divorce have changed over a period of eighteen years, to them becoming more accepting of divorce. This is consistent with the increased divorce rate which researchers have attributed to the prevailing individualistic values of society (Dominion, 1968; Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986).

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between marital adjustment, group commitment, religiosity and attitude to divorce in the Jewish ethnic group.

This study used a Jewish sample for the following reasons :

- a) Religion is fundamental to Judaism (Sklare, 1971).
- b) Their lower divorce rate than the general population (Cohen, 1982; Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986). While statistics for South Africa are not available, the researcher hypothesizes this to be so, based on personal impression.

- c) They have become acculturated into the Western societies in which they live while still retaining links to a communal infrastructure and tradition (Dubb, 1977; Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986; Arkin, 1989).

This study is important for the following reasons :

- a) It is important to the group under study from the standpoint of providing empirical data on marital adjustment, an area not much researched in this group.
- b) It will contribute to the efficacy of professional personnel who are involved in therapeutic intervention with Jewish spouses experiencing marital problems.
- c) On a wider level, it is important from the standpoint of contributing additional data to the existing body of knowledge relating to marital adjustment, group commitment, religiosity and attitude to divorce.
- d) It is important from the standpoint that it will demonstrate that a social-structural framework can be used in examining marital relationships.

1.1 AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

At the outset it must be said that the present research is in the form of an empirical study as no research has been carried out in this area. The researcher assumed a social-structural framework in

order to assess whether group commitment and religiosity have an effect on marital adjustment based on Brodbar-Nemzer's (1986) suggestion that studies be done at the psycho-social level to explore the links between social integration and various processes and outcomes of marital relationships.

This research was undertaken to examine the interrelationships between marital adjustment, group commitment, religiosity and attitude to divorce in the Jewish ethnic group with the purpose of :

- a) determining whether individuals who have a greater group commitment will have better adjusted marriages;
- b) determining whether religiosity is a significant predictor of marital adjustment;
- c) determining whether a negative attitude towards divorce will be correlated to marital adjustment, group commitment and religiosity; and
- d) determining the interrelationships between the four variables.

1.2 FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESIS

In order to attain the above objectives, the following hypotheses were formulated for investigation :

1. Jewish subjects who are more religious will have better adjusted marriages;

2. Jewish subjects who are more religious will be more committed to the group;
3. Jewish subjects who are more committed to the group will have better adjusted marriages;
4. Jewish subjects who are more committed to the group will have a negative attitude to divorce;
5. Jewish subjects who are more religious will have a negative attitude to divorce; and
6. Jewish subjects who have a negative attitude to divorce will have better adjusted marriages.

CHAPTER 2

2. RELATED LITERATURE : A REVIEW

This review investigates marital adjustment, religiosity, group commitment, attitude to divorce and their interrelationships.

2.1 MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

There are two basic ways in which social scientists have viewed marital success or failure (Lewis & Spanier, 1979).

The first approach has been to focus on marital stability which is defined as the behavioural outcome of a marriage. A stable marriage is likely to remain intact while an unstable one is likely to end in divorce. The second approach focuses on the quality of marital relationships. The concepts 'marital adjustment', 'marital satisfaction', 'marital integration' and others have been used to describe the quality of marriage relationships. To date research using Jewish subjects has focused on marital stability. It is the intention of the researcher to assess the variations in marital adjustment within the Jewish group.

2.1.1 DEFINITION OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

One definition which has been widely used is that offered by Locke (1951).

"Marital adjustment is the process of adaptation of the husband and the wife in such a way as to avoid conflicts sufficiently so that the mates feel satisfied with the marriage and with each other, develop common interests and activities and feel the marriage is fulfilling their expectations" (pg 45).

According to Locke, marital adjustment may be thought of as a continuum, ranging from complete adjustment to complete maladjustment.

2.1.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARITAL QUALITY AND MARITAL STABILITY

As has been noted, research to date on the Jewish group has centred on marital stability where researchers such as Cohen (1982) and Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) have found that Jews have lower divorce rates than the general population. Since the focus of the present research is on marital adjustment, a concept used to describe the quality of marital relationships, it is, therefore, pertinent to analyse the relationship between marital stability and marital quality due to its relevance to today's world where marriage is increasingly seen in terms of individual gratification.

Marriage researchers have come to acknowledge the importance of examining the interrelationship between marital quality and marital stability (Lewis & Spanier, 1979; Thomas & Kleber, 1981; Udry, 1983). While these two dimensions are related to each other, high marital quality does not always result in marital stability, nor does low marital quality always lead to marital instability (Lewis & Spanier, 1979, 1980).

Lewis & Spanier (1979) proposed a social exchange theory of marital quality and stability which they induced from the marital literature. A basic premise of social exchange theory is that when personal profits from relationships are rewarding, there is a build-up of positive sentiments and the relationships continue to grow. Conversely, when costs of the interaction are less than the profits, relationships will be slow in their development and perhaps terminate.

In the final analysis their theory consists of the following propositions:

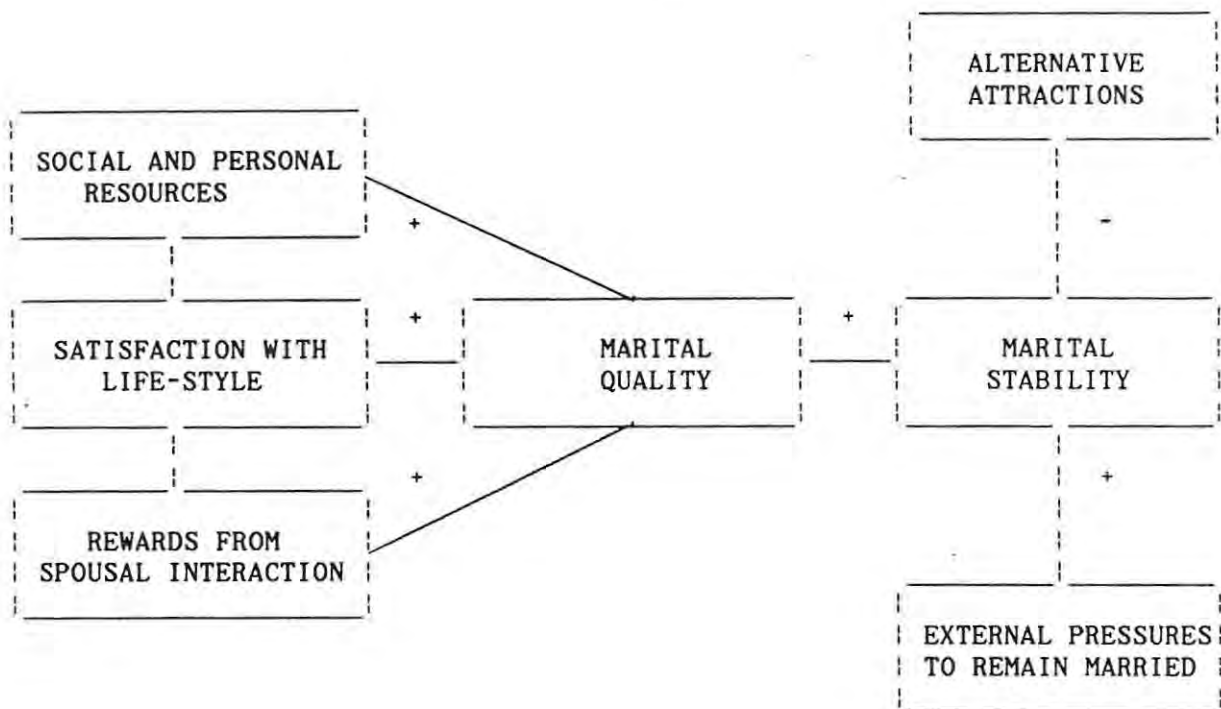
- 1) the greater the social and personal resources available for adequate role functioning, the higher the subsequent marital quality.
- 2) the greater the spouses satisfaction with their life style, the greater the marital quality.
- 3) the greater the rewards from spousal interaction, the greater the marital quality.

In relating marital quality to marital stability they add the following propositions:

- 1) The greater the marital quality, the greater the marital stability.
- 2) Alternative attractions to a marriage negatively influence the strength of the relationship between marital quality and marital stability.
- 3) External pressures to remain married positively influence the strength of the relationship between marital quality and marital stability.

This is graphically demonstrated in the following diagram.

FIGURE 1

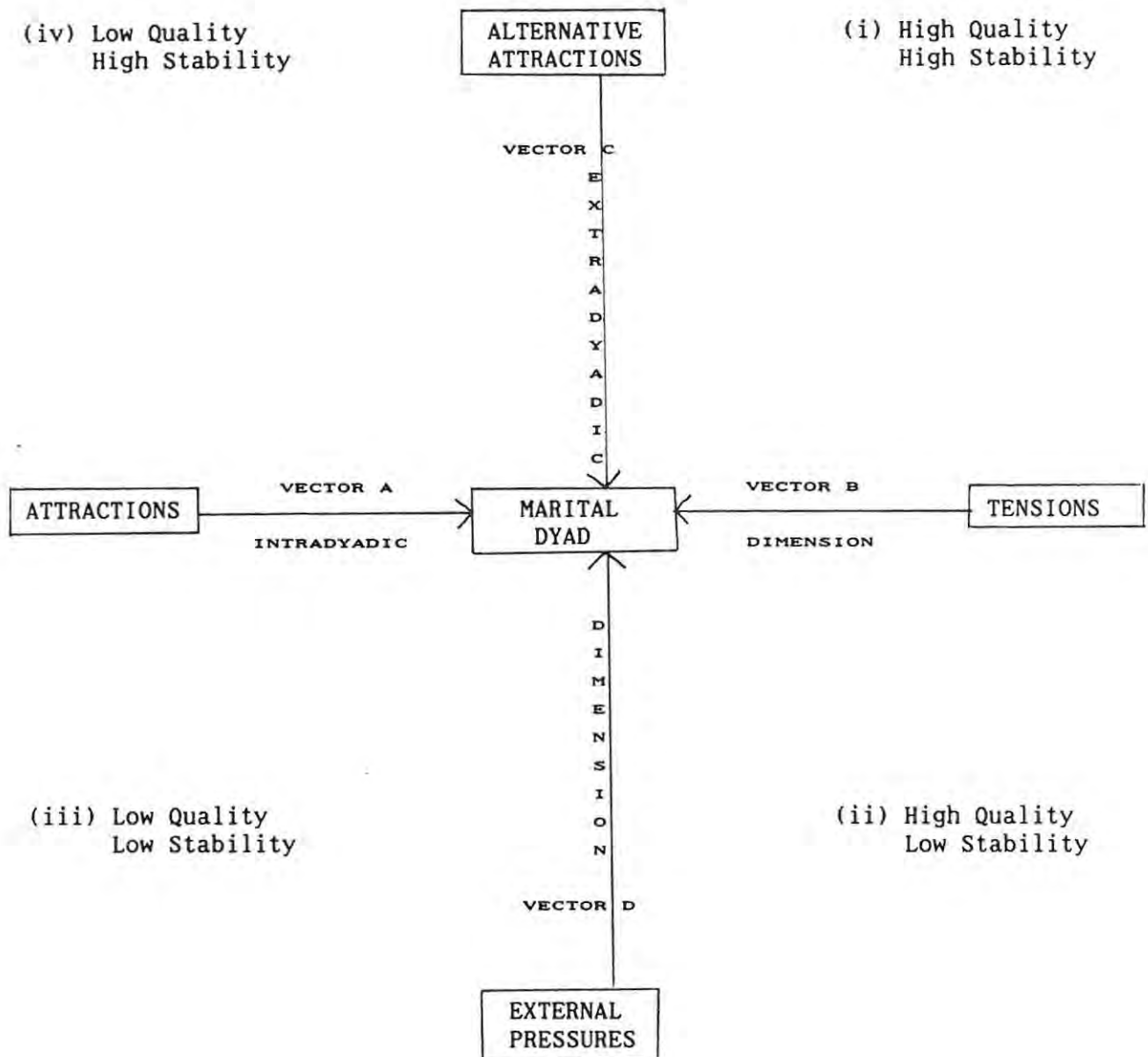


LEWIS & SPANIER'S EXCHANGE THEORY OF MARITAL QUALITY AND MARITAL STABILITY

Furthermore, Lewis & Spanier (1979) add that, although marital quality and marital stability are highly correlated, it is probable that there are some marriages of high quality which terminate in divorce and some marriages of low quality which remain intact in spite of what may be an intolerable relationship.

They offer a typology of marital quality and marital stability which examines the relationships between marital quality, marital stability, intradyadic factors which influence marital quality, and extradyadic factors which influence marital stability.

FIGURE 2



LEWIS & SPANIER'S EXCHANGE TYPOLOGY OF MARITAL QUALITY AND MARITAL STABILITY

The horizontal axis represents intradyadic factors - those factors which affect the quality of the marriage. Intradyadic factors may be influenced by several premarital predispositional factors as well as a number of factors which become prominent after the marriage. Within any dyad there are to be found costs and rewards which operate to move the dyad along the continuum from low to high marital quality.

The vertical axis represents extradyadic factors which affect the stability of the marriage. The extradyadic factors associated with high marital stability are strict divorce laws, strong social stigma, strict adherence to or influence from restrictive religious doctrine, low evaluation of non marital alternatives, high degree of commitment to marriage, and high tolerance for marital conflict and tension. Conversely, liberal divorce laws, little social stigma, little or no adherence to or influence from religious doctrine, high evaluation of non marital alternatives, low degree of commitment to marriage, and low tolerance for marital conflict and tension, influence the dyad in the direction of lower marital stability.

A couple may move from one quadrant to another or to different parts within a given quadrant over time, depending on the balance between the positive and negative intradyadic factors and the balance of extradyadic factors.

This model illustrates that marriages of all four types exist in any given society. The magnitude of each of the four vectors may vary from one couple to the next, from time to time for a given couple, and from one culture to the next. For example, a society with very restrictive marital dissolution laws would increase the magnitude of the external pressures extradyadic factor vector D and consequently there would be a greater number of couples falling into either quadrant i or iv. Couples found in quadrant (i) represent the ideal. While research has shown that the majority of couples can be found in this quadrant at some time during their marriage (most likely in the early years), only a minority of

couples can be found in this quadrant at any single point in time. Quadrant (ii) marriages are rare. As divorce laws and social responses to divorce become more liberal, it is possible that greater numbers of married people will fall into this category when relatively well-adjusted and conflict free marriages may opt for termination of the relationship due to even more attractive alternatives.

Quadrant (iii) dyads represents an increasingly greater number of marriages. These are the relationships with low marital quality that eventually terminate.

The couples in quadrant (iv) comprise a significant portion of married people. They have marriages of low quality, but have been unable or unwilling to cross the threshold to separation or divorce. This quadrant might include the devitalized or conflict-habituated relationships. As divorce becomes a more realistic alternative to a marriage of low quality, it is expected that the proportion of couples in quadrant (iv) will decrease.

In societies with minimal divorce, there are often a number of social, cultural and legal reasons which influence the low divorce rate. Although there are real differences from one culture to the next, and variable rates within cultures depending on social class, religiosity, and other social factors, it can be said that much of the variation between and within cultures can be influenced by changes in divorce laws. Thus, divorce rates are an indicator of marital stability, but not necessarily marital quality. The high correlation between marital quality and marital

stability is most likely to be demonstrated in Western countries, where laws easily permit divorce and where other sociocultural pressures which might limit divorce are not profound.

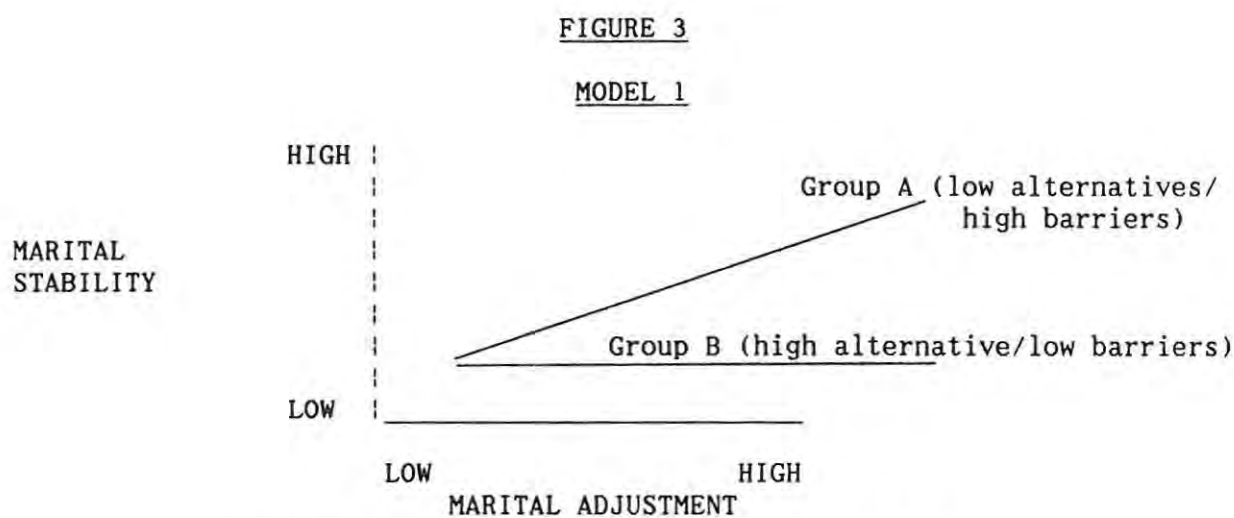
Thomas & Kleber (1981) level criticisms at Lewis & Spanier's (1979, 1980) theoretical assertions about the relationship between marital quality and marital stability. They say that external pressures weakens the relationship between marital quality and marital stability rather than positively influence the strength of the relationship. They predict that, in studying couples who experienced high pressures to remain married from families, religious institutions etc., marital quality would not be strongly related to marital stability. The correlation between marital quality and stability would be low for the high pressure group since the costs associated with marital dissolution would be high. Consequently, many couples with relatively low marital quality and high pressures would elect to remain married, making marital quality a poor predictor of marital stability.

Conversely, they say that alternative attractions strengthens the relationship between marital quality and marital stability rather than negatively influence the strength of the relationship. If couples experiencing low external pressures to remain married were studied, they predict a higher correlation between marital quality and marital stability. Since the costs associated with divorce would be low, couples in this group with low marital quality would be expected to end their marriages, while couples with high marital quality would be expected to continue their relationships.

In reply Spanier & Lewis (1981) acknowledge Thomas & Kleber's argument and concede the logic of their critics.

Schumm & Bugaighis (1985) addressed this issue by illustrating both approaches graphically and pointing out how both models are accurate under different conditions.

They interpret Lewis & Spanier's (1979, 1980) position to mean that a high number of alternatives will tend to lead to divorce even if the quality of the relationship is relatively high. If there are absolutely no barriers to divorce, then many people would change partners in pursuit of relatively small gains in relationship quality. This is illustrated in the following diagram.



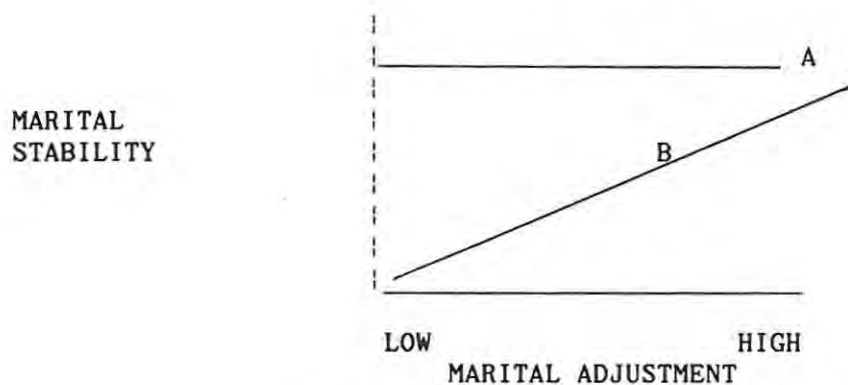
This demonstrates low marital stability in the presence of strong alternatives/low barriers with a positive association between the two variables when alternatives are minimal. In essence, the fig-

ure suggests that either a low quality relationship or a high number of viable alternatives will be associated with separation or divorce.

Thomas & Kleber (1981) argued that the number of alternatives would strengthen the relationship between marital quality and marital stability because those people with low alternatives/greater barriers would not divorce, even when their marital quality was very poor. Thus, marital quality would only be relevant to predicting marital stability for those persons with more alternatives or fewer barriers. This pattern is illustrated by the following diagram:

FIGURE 4

MODEL 2



THOMAS & KLEBER'S MODEL OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
MARITAL QUALITY AND MARITAL STABILITY

Marital stability is high in the presence of low alternatives and is positively associated with marital quality when alternatives are greater. In essence, the figure says that separation or divorce is predicted only when both conditions (greater alternatives

and lower quality) are present, a significant contrast to Spanier & Lewis' model in which either of the conditions alone predicted marital instability.

Even though empirical comparison is not simple, recent research by Green & Sporakowski (1983) and Udry (1983) tend to favour Model 1.

Schumm & Bugaighis (1985) feel that both models are valid under certain conditions. In a society in which marital stability is valued over marital quality, Model 2 would be most descriptive of the marital quality/stability relationship; but in a society in which marital quality is valued over marital stability, Model 1 would provide the best fit. Perhaps in most cultures, Thomas & Kleber's model is most accurate but in contemporary American society and other societies undergoing such trends, Lewis & Spanier's model is becoming most accurate. Because conditions in America have been shifting towards more liberal attitudes to divorce, at the present time Spanier & Lewis' model is likely to find more support with the possible exception of more conservative subcultures (eg. conservative adherants of Christianity, Islam, Judaism, etc.)

In conclusion Schumm & Bugaighis say that each model is valid under certain conditions and that neither have a claim to superiority.

CONCLUSION

In terms of the present research pertaining to the Jewish ethnic group in South Africa, it is assumed, due to the existence of the

strong barriers to divorce which subsist in the group, that Thomas & Kleber's model is applicable in predicting marital stability from marital quality.

According to Locke, marital adjustment may be thought of as a continuum, ranging from complete adjustment to complete maladjustment.

2.1.3 THEORY OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

The theory of marital adjustment offered by Scanzoni (1965) is of particular relevance to the present research. As a starting point he sees the marital dyad as a group which is influenced by cultural and structural variables.

The dependent variable in his theory is 'conflict resolution'. He reasons that conflict, which he considers neither to be functional nor dysfunctional, is inherent in any social system including the marital dyad. In his model, conflict is the dissensus between marital partners over values, beliefs, goals, norms and behaviours which make up the structure of the marital unit. The conflict may centre on any area of marital interaction such as financial matters, leisure pursuits, child-rearing, religion, community activities, sex, in-laws etc.

Further, he makes a distinction between two types of conflict. In the first type, the conflict is over basic values or goals which leads to the very existence of the group being threatened as the bands of consensus which maintain the collectivity are challenged. In the second type, the conflict is over means to attain commonly

held values or goals which does not threaten the group and could serve to enhance the functioning as optimum solutions are often employed.

In Scanzoni's view, then, marital adjustment would result from adequate conflict resolution within the marital dyad when the partners share common values.

Based on Ackerman's (1963) suggestion that mutual membership of both spouses in the same external collectivities leads to the same "norm and value sets" within the nuclear unit, Scanzoni proposes that the degree of integration into certain external groups or networks is related to marital adjustment. As a result of the above he isolates the following as independent variables.

a) Control of mate selection :

Control of mate selection raises the probability that the marriage would possess a common universe of values and goals. Homogeneity in the background of spouses in relation to marital adjustment has also been documented by Burgess & Cottrell (1939), Goode (1956) and Heaton (1984).

b) Mutual participation of partners in the same external groups :

If partners participate mutually in the same external group or groups in terms of economic, friendship, religious behaviours, etc., the probability would be increased that marital partners would possess similar values and goals by which to structure their own interaction. In essence, the groups are reference groups to both partners where they interact with the same significant others.

c) Permanence - Pragmatism :

In his original paper Scanzoni briefly mentioned this variable as the belief in marriage as being an end in itself when conflict would be more likely resolved or the belief that the chief end of marriage is personal benefit when, if this end is not achieved, spouses would seek this benefit elsewhere.

More recently, Morgan and Scanzoni (1987) addressed this issue more fully due to the "gradual emergence of a set of rules emphasizing the import of individual gratifications even at the expense of family stability" (p 3).

The authors devised a unidimensional measure called the PPCR (permanence - pragmatism in close relationships). At one polar end (permanence) people indicate commitment to group interests even though costly to them as individuals i.e. a relationship is to be maintained for its own sake. At the other extreme end (pragmatism), people indicate that they favour their own interests with less concern for dyadic maintenance. In effect, what the PPCR measures is people's system of values as, according to the authors, people's system of values predict their commitments. In the context of a set of value orientations regarding individual gratifications versus group maintenance, spouses assess and evaluate their own reward/cost ratios so as to come to some level of commitment to their particular relationship insofar as it is deemed worth preserving or not. People who lean toward the permanent end are more likely to be tolerant of fewer rewards and higher cost than people who tend towards the pragmatic end.

Morgan and Scanzoni suggest two factors, based on theoretical grounds, that affect permanence/pragmatism orientations, viz. gender and religious devoutness.

In this regard, they say that people who are more gender role traditional are less likely to favour pragmatic orientations. In reviewing the literature, they found that women tend to be more gender role egalitarian than men and that this has been one of the factors that has accounted for the increase in divorce over the past 15 years. As far as religious devoutness is concerned, they say that people with religious commitments attach a sacred character to marriage for its own sake and therefore tend towards the permanence end. Their religious orientations make them less likely to justify or legitimate fulfilling their own personal gratifications.

2.1.3.1 CONCLUSION

Scanzoni's theory deals with the area of values in relation to marital relations. He discusses firstly, how mutual integration into external networks will result in shared values and norms which have an impact on marital adjustment. Secondly, taking into account the cultural changes that have taken place over the past decades, how values affect commitment to marriage.

In assessing Scanzoni's theoretical approach it can be said that the central focus is on traditional values. This is evidenced by his latter work on marital commitment where the variables he selected are traditional gender roles and religious commitment both of which represent a source of traditional values.

While Scanzoni appreciates the "delicate balance between group maintenance and individual gratifications" (p. 22) this approach is only salient in understanding marital adjustment among individuals who are integrated into groups and who have traditional value orientations. In effect it serves to highlight the trend towards personal gratification and individualism that is pervasive in today's world.

This approach is pertinent to the present study as it serves to highlight the relevance of group commitment and religiosity in the role it plays in marital adjustment.

2.1.4 DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN RELATION TO MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

In explaining the variations in marital adjustment that exist amongst Jews, this study will utilize a social structural framework, and look at the concept of SI (Social Integration) of which active group commitment is a measure (Brodbar-Nemzer 1986).

Following a Durkeimian definition, Shelton (1987) considered SI to be characterized by consensus on rules of behaviour (norms) and by the existence of some means to enforce or ensure the conformity to these norms most of the time. When the level of social integration is low, there are fewer norms to govern behaviour and the enforcement of norms is relaxed.

Glenn & Shelton (1985) found that where there is high SI, the actions of each individual tend to complement the actions of others. There is reciprocity of roles, and the behaviours of individuals is highly predictable, because most people act as

others in the group expect them to act. The absence of SI is anomie or normlessness and a lack of coordinated, reciprocal and predictable behaviour of individuals. Marital dissolution was thus found to vary inversely with the level of SI. Low social integration was found to be conducive to the development of cultural values which emphasize independence and adventurousness. These were conducive to marital dissolution.

The most important way in which the level of SI affects the level of marital dissolution is that effective enforcement of norms concerning marital obligations keeps the quality of marriages high, as quality is defined by the prevailing values shared by both parties. Moreover, effective enforcement of norms concerning marital commitment prevents dissatisfied spouses from seeking divorce or separation for socially disapproved reasons.

Effective enforcement of norms pertaining to mate selection, prevent marriages that the prevailing values define as inappropriate (those more likely to end in divorce, e.g. marriages between the very young and immature).

Some other conditions which are an integral part of SI also affect the level of divorce and separation. These include a lack of extreme isolation of the nuclear family and the availability to married persons of multiple sources of emotional support and companionship. Such conditions reduce the emotional dependence of spouses on one another and thus reduce the need for and expectation of enduring closeness in marriage. In other words, the more socially isolated the nuclear family is, the greater the

burden of emotional support it bears, and the greater the likelihood that it will fail to carry that burden well. Isolation of the nuclear family tends to increase the child-care burden for parents and to increase the loneliness and boredom associated with the roles of housewife and mother.

Glenn & Supancic (1984) found that persons who frequently or always attend religious services are most likely to be highly integrated along with their spouses into social groups characterized by solidarity, value consensus and effective social controls. Persons highly integrated into such groups will be deterred from actions that would tend to disrupt their marriages.

Glenn & Supancic (1984) and Glenn & Shelton (1985), utilizing a social structural framework, employed the concept of social integration to explain differential divorce rates in different communities and regions. Consistent findings were that Jewish groups had the lowest divorce rates than other communities or groups. This they attribute to high pre-existing levels of social integration where a large percentage of Jewish people are well integrated into a relatively tightly-knit ethnic community which provides the social control and social support that tends to keep marriages intact.

Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) addressed the issue of the Jewish group more fully. He conducted a within group analysis of divorce among American Jews and found that those Jews who had a greater group commitment were consistently less likely ever to have been divorced. This he attributed to high pre-existing levels of social

integration which is in line with the above researchers. He argued that group commitment is an active manifestation of a greater social integration which provides a coefficient of preservation for marriage. In effect, an active group commitment provides a measure of social integration. Their participation in group life and the benefits of social integration can be seen as arising from a combination of interrelated phenomena. These include, historical minority status and the communal institutions that were created to promote social integration as a separate minority; the Jewish traditional values and most importantly, the habits, practices, rituals and communal associations involved in the embodiment of an active commitment.

He saw social integration as standing in opposite relation to the forces of fragmentation, separation and contraction of which marital dissolution could be seen as a manifestation. In other words, divorce can be seen as a manifestation of increasing individualism. Social integration provides the meaning and anchoring in life which provides the climate for the support of the reinvestment of self in marital dyads and larger social units.

Thus far the discussion has focused on levels of social integration in relation to marital dissolution where research findings showed that high levels of social integration resulted in lower divorce rates.

In order to explain the variations in marital adjustment rather than divorce rates, the present study uses Brodbar-Nemzer's framework and looks at marital adjustment rather than divorce, and

argues that social integration is a concept that can be used to aid in the understanding of marital adjustment. This notion is based on Scanzoni's view of marital adjustment where he saw marital adjustment as the consequence of integration into groups. This integration provides spouses with the same norm and value set which facilitates value consensus and therefore conflict resolution. Social integration is the concept that is utilized in the present research as it has been well documented by recent researchers as offsetting the effects of individualism, pervasive in modern society. Moreover, it offers an explanation of the differences that exist between groups or communities in society with regard to the processes and outcomes of marital relationships.

Therefore, it is hypothesised in the present research that variations in marital adjustment amongst Jews can be explained by the extent to which individuals are integrated into the Jewish group which has pre-existing high levels of social integration.

2.1.4.1 CONCLUSION

From the above discussion it can be said that the benefits that individuals derive from identifying with groups which have high levels of social integration would have an effect on marital adjustment.

2.2 RELIGIOSITY

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past, the main focus in the study of religion was on belief. With the advent of the social science interest in religion, this concern with doctrine waned and social scientists turned to

trying to understand the social functions of religion. In order to do this, new ways of classifying and conceptualizing religion had to be developed. The major problem has been to find an abstract, transhistorical and cross-culturally applicable definition.

2.2.2 DEFINITION

Glock & Stark (1965) synthesize the definitions of Talcot Parsons, J Milton Yinger, Elizabeth K Nottingham and J Paul Williams into the following generalization :

"Religion or what societies hold to be sacred, comprises an institutionalized system of symbols, beliefs, values and practices focused on questions of ultimate meaning. The word "institutionalized" indicates that religion is a relatively permanent property of groups. But the key phrase is questions of ultimate meaning. This term relates the nature, meaning and purpose of existence, specifically to the purpose, origin and fate of the world and what happens when we die" (pg 4).

Himmelfarb (1975) defines religious involvement as :

"The degree to which a person's religion occupies his or her interests, beliefs and activities" (pg 607).

2.2.3 THEORIES OF RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOUR:

Argyle & Beit Hallahmi (1975) divide theories of religious behaviour into three categories; theories of origin, which explain how religion first arose, theories of maintenance, which explain why individuals or societies hold certain belief systems, and theories of consequence, which deal with the effects of religious behaviour for individuals or groups.

2.2.3.1 COGNITIVE NEED THEORY AS A THEORY OF ORIGIN

Cognitive theorists see humans as intelligent and rational and as such have a need to understand phenomena and experiences. Beliefs fulfill the function of providing an intelligible explanation of experiences and phenomena (Witbank & Gecas, 1987). However, belief systems are not acceptable to most people unless they are shared with members of a social group. Social-cognitive psychologists interpret religion in the same way as they interpret other social behaviour and view religion as examples of social psychological processes. Processes such as conformity to the norms of the religious group and the dynamics underlying commitment to the belief and/or group are emphasised (Batson & Ventis, 1982).

The main sociological theories of religion also focus on the explanation of phenomena. Weber (1930), and Yinger (1977), maintained that religion is concerned with the meaning of the incomprehensible aspects of life such as evil, suffering and death which are insoluble by science. Durkheim (1951) saw religion as a set of symbols which represents society and which function to control people and provide a disciplined code of behaviour. Beit-Hallahmi (1986), and Bellah (1967) add that religion provides a sense of identity for groups and individuals.

2.2.3.2 THEORIES OF MAINTENANCE

2.2.3.2.1 SOCIAL LEARNING

Following social learning theory, religious beliefs and behaviours are learned by imitating and modelling behaviours of significant others who are religious during the process of socialization. In

this way religion is transmitted from generation to generation. "Most individuals don't choose a religion, they are simply born into one and they learn their religion in the same way they learn other aspects of their social identity" (Beit-Hallahmi, 1986, p. 13). Since religion is part of social identity most people follow the religion they have learned. While research has shown that parents are the most important agents in the formation of religious beliefs (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975; Chalfant, Beckley & Palmer, 1981), this influence varies with a number of factors. Hunsberger (1983) found that the emphasis placed on religion in the home is one of the best predictors of later religiosity. Children who like, identify with or have a close relationship with their parents, are more likely to adopt parental attitudes (Hunsberger & Brown, 1984). However, while there is a great deal of evidence in support of the social learning theory an important limitation of the theory is that it does not account for the development of new religious movements or for the decline of the old ones.

2.2.3.2.2 DEPRIVATION AND COMPENSATION

Theories linking religious activity to deprivation have been common in the literature and can be traced back to Karl Marx's description of religion as the 'opium of the people'. Freud (1927) held a similar view of religious beliefs as reactions to both individual and social deprivations as well as keeping the masses under control. Glock (1964) supports this and distinguishes between 5 kinds of deprivations which may give rise to religious beliefs; economic, social, organismic, ethical and psychic.

2.2.3.3 THEORIES OF CONSEQUENCE

2.2.3.3.1 INDIVIDUAL INTEGRATION

Although the notion of the function of religion for the individual as personal integration and adjustment is a reflection of an older religious tradition it has also been well documented in modern psychological studies. Allport (1950) saw religious beliefs as having an integrative function for the individual in the way that all strongly held beliefs have the function of creating mental unity out of discordant impulses and aspirations. The integration of personality can be seen as the control of lower and more basic needs by higher level and longer term plans.

These long term plans may be provided for by developing an identity which is committed to a certain way of life which has goals and values. Furthermore, following Goethe's line of reasoning that personal salvation lies in the striving to achieve, Allport contended that religion serves as an integrative agent as religious accomplishment is never complete.

The purpose of creation and evil are two problems of meaning with which people throughout the ages have been concerned. Scientific thought deals with problems of empirical causation and religion is one of the ways of dealing with problems of meaning (Allport, 1950). Religion provides a framework which makes life understandable and interpretable (Berger, 1967; Chamberlain & Zika, 1988; Hadaway & Roof, 1978). All the great religions of the world provide a world conception that has logical simplicity to those who can subscribe to their arguments. In

addition, religion not only provides a world order but also a code of ethics and norms and values by which to live (Stone, 1980). In this way intrapersonal integration is facilitated by people not being faced with an overwhelming number of choices which leaves them in a state of what Victor Frankl (1984) calls an 'existential vacuum' which manifests itself in feelings of boredom and apathy. The integrative function of religion is also highlighted by Beit-Hallahmi's (1986) discussion of religion as a form of identity and as identity is a necessary support system for the ego it may facilitate individual integration. It must be noted that religion as meaning also explains the origin of religion.

That religion facilitates individual integration is illustrated by research which shows; a positive relationship between religiosity and psychological well being (Chamberlain & Zika, 1988; Hadaway & Roof, 1978; George & McNamara, 1984); lower suicide rates amongst religious people (Stack, 1985; Durkheim, 1951); marital adjustment amongst religious people (Kunz & Albrech, 1977; Wilson & Filsinger, 1986); lower incidences of drug abuse amongst religious adolescents (Hadaway, Elifson & Petersen, 1984); and higher self esteem and religiosity (Smith, Weigart & Thomas, 1979).

2.2.3.3.2 SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The etymology of the word religion comes from the Latin word 'legare', which means to bind or to connect. Religion then, refers to the process of rebinding or reconnecting which leads to

the idea that religion involves peoples' striving for a sense of joining together (Paloutzian, 1983).

Religion has been understood from different conceptual perspectives. One of the frameworks which sociologists of religion have utilized is the functional approach which explains religion in terms of the functions it performs for society and the individual. Functional theory views society as an interdependent system of parts which focuses on the basic problem of societal survival. A society, or the patterns of beliefs, values and actions is the result of a balancing of different parts of the whole which form an equilibrium which must be maintained. Durkheim (1951) saw religion as a social institution which helped to bring people together and stabilize society. This was accomplished by religion functioning as that which contained and perpetuated necessary social/moral codes and that which made it possible for people to overcome 'anomie' or isolation. By providing a unified or unifying value system, religion contributed to the integration of society and the functioning of other social institutions. Parsons (1960, p. 302) described the 'core' function of religion in the social system as 'the regulation of the balance of the motivational commitment of the individual to the values of his society - and through these values to his role in it'. Yinger (1970) described religion as the set of beliefs, practices and symbols human groups evolve in order to deal with the ultimate problem of existence and as religion is seen as a group produce it integrates society through its emphasis on shared beliefs.

Religion in such a functional integrative framework has practical consequences at the individual level. Religion fosters the internalization of norms which advocate particular guidelines for behaviour which give believers a sense of right and wrong (Lee & Clyde, 1974). By implication then, those who are religious will be imbued with a repertoire of attitudes and behaviours which facilitate social integration. Examples of this are, knowledge of a code of conduct, more comfortable acquaintance with their neighbours and more feelings of satisfaction and belonging indicative of social integration (Martinson, Wilkening & Buttell, 1982). In this regard, Hadaway & Roof (1978) discuss religion as belonging and therefore the personal value received from integration into a community of like minded believers. Martin & Stack (1983) found an inverse relationship between religiosity and alienation highlighting the integrative function of religion.

The conceptualization of religion in terms of functions does pose the question of what happens in societies where religion has been suppressed or for individuals who have rejected traditional religious interpretations. Chalfont et al. (1983) suggest that individuals or groups replace religious beliefs with another set of values, symbols and beliefs such as science or a political ideology such as Communism which serve the same functions as religion.

It has been suggested in the sociology of religion that in today's world there is the existence of nontheological religions. Yinger (1969) postulates the existence of nondoctrinal relig-

ions. He says that people may be religious but in ways which are different from the traditional patterns. There is religion whenever individuals are concerned with questions of ultimate meanings. Luckman (1967) similarly formulates the existence of what he calls 'invisible religion'. He contends that as traditional forms of belief are less relevant to modern society people have formulated other meaning systems which serve the same function as religion. These systems he refers to as 'invisible religion'. In this way people are religious in different ways which are not observable as they do not fit into the traditional models. Approached in this way, the crucial question is not 'How religious is a person?' according to preconceived, culturally specific standards, but rather 'How is the person religious'.

While it is important to take cognisance of the above as well as acknowledge that religion in its traditional form has changed and is changing, with many new sects and movements evolving, some of which are world affirming while others world rejecting, this research focuses on traditional Judaistic religious beliefs.

2.2.4

A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT

While some researchers have argued that there is a general factor of religiosity (Clayton & Gladden, 1974; Dittes, 1969) the most frequent findings have suggested a multidimensional nature of religion (Fukuyama, 1961; Glock, 1968; Faulkner & De Jong, 1966; King & Hunt, 1975; Himmelfarb, 1975).

The most often used conception of individuals' religious commitment was first proposed by Charles Y Glock in the late 1950's and was refined in subsequent work (Stark & Glock, 1965). Glock proposed that all religious institutions make certain demands on their members. The extent to which one meets these demands indicates the extent of one's religiosity. Obviously, different religions make different demands but Glock (1965) argued that all of these variations fit into five general kinds of demands and that all religious institutions make all five kinds of demands on their members.

Glock called these the dimensions of religious commitment. They are: Belief (Ideological Dimension); Practice (Ritualistic Dimension); Feeling (Experiential Dimension); Knowledge (Intellectual Dimension); Effects (Consequential Dimension).

2.2.4.1 IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION:

The belief dimension refers to what is believed as part of a religion, how strongly the belief is held and how important the belief is in a person's life. Belief in the existence of God is a religious ideology. In non-traditional religions this dimension refers to a commitment to a set of values while belief in primitive religions could refer to the fact that spirits inhabit physical objects. While every religion maintains some set of beliefs which adherents are expected to ratify, the content or doctrine varies between religions and often within the same religious tradition. Religious beliefs can be held to varying degrees and the more central and strongly held the beliefs are,

the more pervasive the effects will be in a persons life and the more 'religious' the person would appear to others.

2.2.4.2 RITUALISTIC DIMENSION

The practice dimension refers to the set of behaviours that are expected of a person who believes in a certain religion. This includes such practices as Synagogue or Church attendance, observance of special holidays, prayer etc. The rule of religious practice may vary from group to group and depend upon the degree to which the religion is institutionalized and organized. The more structured the religion is the more specific the codes of conduct, format and codes of dress will be. Most religions include as part of the religious practice some ethical code which members are expected to adhere to. In the Hebrew Bible this code is stated in the Ten Commandments which is also practiced by Christian believers.

2.2.4.3 EXPERIENTIAL DIMENSION

The feeling dimension refers to the inner mental and emotional world of the individual. In addition to the experiential events which people label as religious experiences the feeling dimension includes such things as the desire to believe in a religion, the fear of not being religious and the sense of well-being derived from the belief. All religions have certain expectations that religious people will at some time or another achieve a direct, subjective knowledge of ultimate reality and that they will achieve some sense of contact, however fleeting, with a supernatural agency. Different religious groups place varying degrees of emphasis on inner experiences. Transcendental Medita-

tion places emphasis on an individual's learning how to meditate in order to achieve an altered state of consciousness. Mystical states are important to some Eastern religions. Certain forms of ecstatic utterances, glossolalia or 'speaking in tongues' are important to certain Western religions, especially Pentecostals.

2.2.4.4 THE INTELLECTUAL DIMENSION

The knowledge dimension refers to the information people have about the basic tenets of their faith and its rites, scriptures and traditions. The knowledge and belief dimensions are clearly related since knowledge of a belief is a necessary precondition for the belief. However, belief need not follow knowledge, nor does all religious knowledge bear on belief. People may hold a belief without really understanding it or know about it.

2.2.4.5 CONSEQUENTIAL DIMENSION

The effects dimension refers to behaviour, but not behaviour that is a formal part of religious practice. Rather, to the effect that religion has on non-religious facets of a person's life. Examples of this are; sexual behaviours being confined to marriage; Jewish businesses closing on the Sabbath; abstaining from alcohol and other addictive substance use and abuse; not getting divorced etc. These five dimensions of religiosity have been developed into a religiosity scale by Faulkner & De Jong (1966). For the purposes of this research the first four dimensions of the scale were used but instead of the consequential subsection an attitude towards divorce questionnaire was utilized which would in effect examine the consequences of relig-

iosity. This was decided upon as it is specifically salient to the research topic.

2.2.4.6 THE DIMENSIONS IN COMBINATION

While most researches have accepted that these five dimensions are somewhat related, they represent separate and distinct components of the construct 'religiosity' (Lenski, 1963; King & Hunt, 1972). Clayton & Gladden (1973) are of the opinion that religiosity is basically a commitment to an ideology and the other dimensions are merely expressions of the strength of that core commitment. These authors level a criticism at the Glock & Stark's typology, who claim that their dimensions are universal by saying that it is only salient for traditional religions and not non-doctrinal religions.

By analysing religious commitment in terms of five dimensions Paloutzian (1983) comments that it is possible to understand the way in which individuals are religious. For example, if someone has a strong belief but little knowledge it would be possible to say that the person has 'blind faith'. Furthermore, conceptualizing religious commitment along a series of dimensions makes it possible to study religion from a psychological perspective.

2.3 GROUP COMMITMENT

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first instance it must be pointed out that the Jewish group is not merely a religious group which is analogous to Christianity. It is a group similar to other ethnic groups in that it has religious, traditional and national components.

Jewish religion, Jewish history and the Jewish people are interwoven. Judaism is what it is because it inheres in a particular people and that particular people is what it is because of religion (Herman, 1977). Jews thus have been described as a race, a nation, a people, a religious denomination, a social group and a subculture. With the exception of a race, they may be all or any of the above (Dubb, 1977).

Secondly, it is important to distinguish between Jewish 'identity' and 'identification'. Jewish identification is the process of thinking and behaving in a way that indicates involvement with and attachment to Jewish life. Jewish identity is one's sense of self with regard to being Jewish (Himmelfarb, 1982).

Identification studies focus on the extent to which the behaviour and attitudes of Jews are oriented Jewishly while identity studies are concerned with what being Jewish means to individuals and the extent to which it is an important part of the way they view themselves in relation to others. Within this perspective, group commitment is to be seen as Jewish identification in the present research.

2.3.2

CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES OF MAINTENANCE OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

The term 'conceptual' rather than 'theoretical' perspectives is used for two reasons: Firstly, despite numerous attempts to categorize general, social and psychological theories there remains an overlap and ambiguity in the various categorical schemes. Secondly, the work on Jewish identification has not flowed out of any major theoretical schools.

2.3.2.1 ACCULTURATION PERSPECTIVE

This perspective focuses on the extent to which Jews maintain their distinctively Jewish behaviour and attitudes as a minority group within a larger society. It has been seen that while Jews do not assimilate they do acculturate into whatever country they live - that is, they drop traditional habits and speech and become culturally indistinguishable from other members of the society while still maintaining their Jewish identification (Himmelfarb, 1982).

2.3.2.1.1 SOCIALIZATION APPROACH:

The concepts and theories used to study acculturation have relied on reference group theory. Based on the work of Charles Cooley (1922) and George Herbert Mead (1934), psychologists and sociologists have viewed the process of socialization as one where the child internalizes the values, attitudes and norms of others. This occurs through interaction with 'significant others' who are initially the child's caretakers, which in most cases, are the parents. The child's perspective on what he sees and encounters in his environment is largely determined by how these significant others respond to those stimuli. Just as the child internalizes others' views towards objects, he also internalizes their views towards himself as object. Therefore, one's view of oneself or one's identity is shaped by a perspective of the view of others toward the self. As children grow older and begins to participate in games and play roles they learn the views of 'generalized' others - friends, neighbours and the community. All these people have some impact upon the child's view of the world and of himself.

People encounter many groups in society and the extent to which they might influence their self perception depends upon whether they become 'reference groups'. Reference groups are those groups to which people refer in order to make comparative self-judgements. Individuals evaluate themselves according to the standards and values of their reference group and they orientate their behaviour toward these groups. Thus, people take from their reference group a set of values, standards of behaviour and even, in some cases, a certain self-image. For minority group members, the important question is whether the minority or majority group is accepted as the most important reference group.

Three psychological approaches to socialization are pertinent to Jewish identification.

2.3.2.1.1.1 SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

This emphasises the mechanism of imitation, identification and reinforcement. It is assumed that preference for one reference group over another is due to identification and modelling.

2.3.2.1.1.2 DEVELOPMENTAL STUDIES

Elkind (1961) studied children's conception of God, and found that they followed the general cognitive developmental stages outline by Piaget. Kohlberg's (1969) work on moral development also supports a Piagetian sequence of development.

2.3.1.1.1.3 THEORIES OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND ATTITUDE CHANGES

Himmelfarb (1982) quotes Kelman (1977) who developed a model of social influence based on :

- 1) The importance of induction
- 2) The source of power of the influencing agent
- 3) The manner of achieving prepotency of the induced response.

Responses to the influence can be:

- a) compliance
- b) identification
- c) internalization

The desired response would be internalization which leads to an 'authentic' personality. This identity is congruent with the individuals personality and is therefore flexible and changeable. Each person develops his own unique form of Jewish identity.

2.3.2.1.2 STRUCTURAL APPROACH:

Another approach to acculturation stems from the structural-functional approach of sociology and anthropology. This approach has been dominant in the sociology of religion since Durkheim's (1915) work "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life". The basic premise is that humans organize their activities to fulfill certain functions and the structures they create affect consequent behaviour. For individuals who enter a new society, or grow up in an existing society, prevailing conditions in that society will affect the way they structure their activities.

Himmelfarb (1982) quotes Sharot (1976) who contended that the extent to which Jews acculturated depended on whether the dominant religion was syncretic rather than insular, tolerant of pluralism or attempting to be monopolistic, and the extent to which Jews and non-Jews interacted. He says that acculturation was greater in syncretic, pluralistic and socially interactive societies.

South Africa is such a case in point but due to the general cultural and political climate that exists in South Africa, which emphasises the separateness of the various racial and cultural groups of the population, South African Jewry has, thus far, succeeded in maintaining a vigorous group existence. This is different to what it is in Britain and the United States, where there is a dominant national culture (Saron & Hotz 1955).

2.3.3 SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

2.3.3.1 GENERATION

It has been documented that Jewish identification declines with distance from the immigrant generation (Sklare & Greenblum, 1967). The only exceptions to this pattern appears to be in regard to certain rituals (attending a Passover service, lighting Chanukah candles) and Jewish school enrollment. Sklare & Greenblum (1967, p. 57) explain this by saying five criteria emerge as important in explaining retention to specific home rituals. Thus, the highest retention will occur when a ritual :

- 1) is capable of effective redefinition in modern terms;

- 2) does not demand social isolation or the adoption of a unique life style;
- 3) accords with the religious culture of the larger community and provides a "Jewish" alternative when such a need is felt;
- 4) is centred on the child;
- 5) is performed annually or infrequently.

2.3.3.2 COMMUNITY

The community in which people live affects their Jewish identification (Himmelfarb, 1982). The relative presence or absence of Jewish neighbours and institutions affect the opportunities and needs to identify in different ways. Community size has a mixed effect although Rosenthal (1963) found that there is more intermarriage where Jews are a smaller proportion of the total population than in larger Jewish communities.

2.3.3.3 LIFE CYCLE

Marriage and children tend to have the effect of inducing individuals to become more involved in Jewish life. Jewish identification among adults tends to reach a peak between the ages of 40 and 60 (Himmelfarb, 1982). Sklare & Greenblum (1967) found the peak age to be around the time children are Bar and Bar-Mitzvah (12 and 13 years old). They also found identification to be low amongst the young, married and childless couples and middle-aged couples without children. Life-cycle effects also

tend to be important for public types of identification such as participation in formal organizations (Lazerwitz, 1977) where younger adults are more involved in school and social organizations and older adults, especially men, are more involved in synagogue and decision making groups.

2.3.3.4 EVENTS OF JEWISH HISTORY (ANTI SEMITISM)

Jewish identification increases when Jews are under attack, for example the Holocaust, wars in Israel, the Munich Massacre etc. (Himmelfarb, 1982). Records of the United Jewish Appeal in America show that contributions increased after the 1967 and 1973 wars in Israel.

2.3.3.5 FAMILY INFLUENCES

The family is the most important factor in Jewish Identification (Dashevsky & Levine, 1982; Cohen, 1982; Himmelfarb, 1978). Cohen (1982, p. 137) goes as far as to say that "The Jewish Family and Jewishness are inextricably intertwined" and that changes in Jewish family life also imply changes in Jewish identification. The family is not only an agent in the transmission of Jewish values but is also the source of these values in that Jewish family life is interwoven with ethnic practices such as rituals and ceremonies, rites of passage etc. In this way Jewish children are constantly participating in and are faced with the very rubric of Judaism (Dashevsky and Levine, 1982).

That the family is the most important variable in Jewish Identification is illustrated by research which has shown that there

is positive relationship between people's Jewish Identification and that of their parents (Sklare & Greenblum, 1967; Himmelfarb, 1982; Dashevsky & Levine, 1982).

2.3.3.6 PEERS

Research has shown that peer influence has an important impact on Jewish identification (Himmelfarb, 1982). Where peer and parental influences on Jewish identification are contradictory, the peer group is often more influential particularly if adolescents choose their peer group over their parents as a reference group.

2.3.3.7 SCHOOLS

Research on the impact of schools on Jewish Identification has been contradictory. Some researchers such as Cohen (in Himmelfarb, 1982) and Himmelfarb (1982) found that schooling has an interactional effect with the greatest impact on those from religious homes while others such as Bock (in Himmelfarb, 1982) found that schooling does not have an important influence on Jewish identification. Himmelfarb (1982) suggests in the light of the above that this field is open for experimentation and evaluation.

2.3.4 GROUP COMMITMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Dubb (1977), addressing the issue of Jewish identification, conducted a study on the Johannesburg Jewish community in order to assess what being Jewish means in the South African context. In essence, it was a study of the patterns of identification exhibited by the members of the Jewish group. Using a quota sampling

method, he obtained schedule responses from 283 Jews out of a desired 300. The schedule consisted of questions relating to biographical and demographic details, religious observances, cultural interests, Zionism, Jewish survival-children, Jewish survival-intermarriage, social relations, relation to South Africa and an attitude scale comprising of 48 items relating to issues such as social relations, religious beliefs, ethnocentrism, antisemitism, Zionism, religious conservatism, insecurity in South Africa and South African politics.

The following is a summary of his major findings under the headings of Social Relations; Cultural Characteristics and the Role of Religion.

2.3.4.1 SOCIAL RELATIONS

a) Institutional Framework :

Johannesburg Jews maintain a wide system of institutions which cater for individual and group needs. Examples of these are synagogues, halls which serve as venues for meetings, social events, etc., Jewish day schools, adult Zionist societies and youth groups, benevolent societies, burial societies, homes for the aged and a home for retarded Jewish children. Participation in and support of Jewish communal institutions is entirely voluntary as this organisation does not have any official standing. Legally, the Jews have no special status; they are private citizens whose religious convictions, ethnic attachments and associational affiliations are a matter of choice.

b) Synagogue Affiliation :

The importance of belonging to a synagogue was pervasive. However, this belonging was not interpreted as an expression of religious commitment as a considerable discrepancy was found between synagogue affiliation and attendance at services. Dubb suggested that synagogue membership was a means of identification with the Jewish community rather than an expression of religiosity. He, in fact, found that religiosity was in many cases secondary or even totally absent.

c) Associational Affiliation and Participation :

While there was a widespread affiliation to Jewish organizations, Dubb was cautious in interpreting this finding as an indication of commitment to the goals of the organization. He suggested that there were, perhaps, other reasons for this participation, such as social pressures; desire to mix with other Jews; opportunities for achieving positions of leadership; special interests such as the aged; or simply the desire to belong to an available organization.

d) Informal Social Relations :

There was a marked tendency towards residential clustering as well as an overwhelming preference to confine social relations to fellow-Jews. About two thirds preferred a Jewish neighbourhood, 90% felt more at home amongst Jews than among non-Jews and 87% had only or mostly Jewish friends and acquaintances.

This pattern of social relationships has important implications for the study of Jewish identification. Sklare & Greenblum, (1979) used the term 'associational Judaism' to point out the strength of Jewish friendship patterns and saw these associational based relationships as a ground for group solidarity and preservation. In order to assess the impact of associational Jewishness on divorce, Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) constructed a measure of 'associational Judaism' by combining the most extreme responses of the friendship item, based on Sklare and Greenblum's measure, and the Jewish neighbourhood item. Those who responded that all three of their closest friends were Jewish and that living in a Jewish neighbourhood was important scored high on the 'associational Judaism' measure. He found that associational Judaism made a difference in group commitment and therefore had an impact on divorce. Thus, it can be seen that associational Jewishness as found by Dubb and Brodbar-Nemzer in itself is predictive of Jewish identification.

2.3.4.2 The Cultural Dimension

It was on this level that the greatest individual differences were found. Dubb identified a wide range of customs, habits and traits that were characteristic of Jews arising out of: Jewish tradition (mainly religious); Jewish life and conditions in Eastern Europe, and the process of adaptation to South Africa. Yet, at the same time Jews were found to be highly acculturated into the English speaking culture. Their characteristics were superimposed upon or integrated into the South African cultural patterns. This is supported by Himmelfarb (1982) who say that Jews acculturate into whatever country they live in. They drop

their traditional habits and speech and become culturally indistinguishable from other members of the society while still maintaining their Jewish identification.

A further point which Dubb makes, regarding the cultural dimension, is that, while the structural dimensions are the most vital aspect of Jewish identification, it is the traditional aspects of the culture which fosters community life.

2.3.4.3 THE ROLE OF RELIGION

Dubb found that religious observances, including attendance of Friday evening and festival synagogue services, lighting candles on Friday night and participation in some kind of Passover service were primarily a means of identifying with the group, rather than expressions of religiosity. Furthermore, he found that, apart from the most strictly orthodox section of the community, which constituted a small minority, there was little relationship between religious beliefs and practices. People who observed few taboos, rituals or other rules might have strong positive religious attitudes while, conversely, even those who believed very little, tended to observe at least some practices. Moreover, people made little distinction in their minds between being religious and being observant. This is highlighted by the high relationship he found on the two 7-point self rating scale between "I am a religious irreligious person" and "I am an observant non-observant Jew".

Arkin (1989) supports this when he describes the South African Jewish community today as one in which the majority of Jews can

be classified as 'unobservant orthodox' who remain attached to traditional Judaism without adhering to the strictly religious requirements.

In discussing the role that religion plays amongst the Jews of South Africa, Dubb points out that Judaism is a system of spiritual truth, moral laws and religious practices. While the moral laws and religious practices have been clearly set out, this has not been the case with the spiritual doctrines. The reason for this is that Judaism has never made salvation dependent upon doctrine in itself, apart from its influence on culture.

The emphasis on conduct and the pervasiveness of the rules relating to it have led to the development of Jewish culture. Therefore, it can be said that these codes of conduct are the essence of Jewish culture rather than the fundamental religious beliefs which are basic to Christianity. Although Dubb found a tendency towards fundamentalism in religious belief as well as a tendency towards conservatism in attitudes relating to the observance of the laws he attributes this to a desire to preserve traditional modes of identification rather than a belief in their religious efficacy.

2.4 ATTITUDES TO DIVORCE

2.4.1 DEFINITION OF ATTITUDES

An attitude is a construct used to account for consistency in social behaviour. Attitudes influence an individual's response to cultural products, to other people and to groups of people.

If an attitude toward a given object or class of objects is known, it can be used together with situational and dispositional variable to predict and explain the reactions of the person to that class of objects. Social mores and cultural norms play an important role in determining the attitude people hold (Pennington, 1986), therefore any assessment of the attitudes people have, must be undertaken within a cultural context.

"An attitude toward any given object, idea or person is an enduring system with a cognitive component, and affective component and a behavioural tendency (Friedman, Sears & Carlsmith, 1978, p. 283)

The cognitive component consists of beliefs about the attitude object, the affective component consists of the emotional feeling connected with the beliefs and the behavioural tendency is what Allport referred to as the readiness to respond in a particular way.

2.4.2

DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES

"Socialization is a lifelong process by which individuals develop attitudes, values, beliefs, knowledge, awareness of social expectation and appropriate role behaviour" (Craig, 1976; p. 89).

One of the ways in which individuals become socialized, is through the process of social learning. Observational learning, the basis of social learning theory, is where behaviour is learned by watching another person behave and observing the consequences of that behaviour for that person. The other person is a model which people identify with and whose behaviour they

imitate. If the consequences are seen to be rewarding for the model, children will behave in a similar way in the appropriate social context.

Certain models are more influential than others; to be effective, a model must possess certain characteristics that invite imitation. Three positive characteristics identified in research are power, nurturance and perceived similarity (Bandura, 1969). Power is the ability to control desirable resources and to exert influence over others. Children tend to imitate the more powerful models. Nurturance, or affectionate care and attention is important in that children tend to imitate the warm, rewarding and affectionate model rather than the punitive one. Perceived similarity is also significant in that children imitate those that are similar to them. Girls model their behaviour on other girls and women; boys on other boys or men, athletic children on athletes, etc. At the most basic level, children develop sexual identity through appropriate role modelling.

Traditional conceptions of socialization have viewed the family, specifically parents, as the principle agents of socialization in childhood (Freud, 1933; Erikson, 1950). The family is seen to provide systematic socialization through which children learn the norms of the social order. Children learn their parents' values, beliefs and attitudes through both direct teaching and observational learning in manouvering their way through life (Glass, Bengston & Dunham, 1986). If cultural continuity is to be maintained, values must be transmitted from one generation to another.

Socialization theory usually stresses the family as the most important mechanism in value transmission (Hoge, Petrillo & Smith, 1982), although researchers have taken cognizance of the influence of the peer group, school and sociohistorical events (Hoge, Petrillo & Smith, 1982; Adcock & Bengtson, 1980). While research has generally shown high levels of intergenerational attitude and value similarity between parents and their children (Glass, Bengston & Dunham, 1986; Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988; Acock & Bengston, 1980; Hoge, Petrillo & Smith, 1982; Thornton, 1985), this relationship is mediated, qualified and affected by certain variables. These include the degree of specificity or concreteness of the value, the value's salience for the parent, the accuracy with which the value is perceived, the extent to which the child identifies with the parent and the quality of the parent-child relationship.

2.4.3 DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

Judaism is an ascriptive religion which relies on the socialization and retention of its progeny rather than on recruitment and conversion for its continuity as a group (Farber in Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986). It is for this reason that the family is of great importance to the Jews. Brodbar-Nemzer (1984) sees the central function of the Jewish family as a transmitter of religious and ethnic identity which is crucial for the perpetuation of the community and threats to the viability of the family would be perceived as threats to the group itself. Cohen (1982) contends that the Jewish family and Jewishness are inextricably inter-

twined. Thus, salient attitudes and values must be transmitted from generation to generation to ensure Jewish continuity.

In order to achieve this, Jewish parents have traditionally exercised certain child-rearing practices which would foster perpetuation of the group's norms and values. These include a high level of nurturance; parents making sacrifices for their children with the expectation that when they grow up they are to repay their parents by behaving in appropriate ways; relationships with children with less generational boundaries which would be conducive to close parent-child relationships, all of which would facilitate learning during the socialization process. Furthermore, the family is not only the chief mechanism by which attitudes are transmitted but also an important source of attitude transmission. The content of family life is interwoven with ethnic practices in the form of rituals and ceremonies which mark religious observances, holidays, family events and rites of passage (Dashelsky & Levine, 1982).

One of the most consistent findings in the Jewish identification literature is the positive relationship between people's Jewish identification and that of their parents (Sklare & Greenblum, 1967; Lazerow, 1973; Himmelfarb, 1977; Cohen, 1981; Schiff, 1984) highlighting the role of the parents in transmitting Jewish values and attitudes during the socialization process.

As the family is of importance to the survival of the group it would therefore follow that its stability would be of central concern to the Jewish people. Therefore, one of the values that

would have to be transmitted from generation to generation would be a negative attitude towards divorce. In this regard, Brodbar-Nemzer (1984) says that divorce can be seen as a manifestation of the weakening of group values and absence of commitment to the group. Research has shown that Jews do in fact have a low divorce rate (Cohen, 1981; Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986; Glenn & Supancic, 1984) which can be attributed to their norms and values which have been internalized through the process of socialization (Brodbar-Nemzer, 1984; Cohen, 1981; Linzer-Nulman, 1984; Schiff, 1984; Rosenman, 1984).

Therefore, it is hypothesized in this research that Jews who have a commitment to the group will have a negative attitude towards divorce.

The following narrative can be seen as illustrative of the above :

In the musical about Eastern European Jewish Life, "Fiddler on the Roof", Tevye, compares life in his village of Anatevka to a fiddler on the roof trying to keep his balance. What prevents the fiddler on the roof from falling off the slanted roof and what keeps the Jewish people, by analogy, from losing their balance? "Tradition" says Tevya.

2.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOSITY AND MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

Early researchers of marital adjustment such as Terman (1938) and Burgess & Cottrell (1939) did not view religiosity as a significant predictor of marital adjustment. While Terman de-

cided not to include religious items in his marital-prediction scale and indicated that it had little or no correlation with marital happiness. Burgess & Cottrell present Sunday School and Church attendance, where the marriage took place and type of official performing the ceremony as some of the indices of a certain "social type" of personality. They reported that while all of these items showed a positive relationship with marital adjustment, they were not in and of themselves significant predictors of marital adjustment but rather reveal sentiments and attitudes which are the underlying important factors. Likewise, Locke (1951) found place of marriage, Sunday School attendance and frequency of Church attendance to be related to marital adjustment but that these behaviours are symptomatic of people who are conventional.

In response to this, Landis (1960) initiated a study in order to assess whether there are certain kinds of relationships, value patterns or interactional patterns in religious families which are in themselves predictive of marital adjustment rather than the relationship between religious practices being the result of conventional characteristics of the family. He hypothesized that parents who subscribe to religion pass on to their children religious and social values closely related to values of the parents, which values in themselves may be predictive of success in marriage for the children, that closeness to parents and a higher conception of self are more characteristic of children from religiously orientated families and the transmission of family and social values would be found within each of the major faith groups.

His sample consisted of 2 654 students of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and no religious preferences. Each respondent rated his family on religiousness as well as on marital happiness. Results showed a positive relationship between parents' marital happiness and the religiousness of the parents. This association held for all groups with the exception of the Jewish groups. The Jews in the study rated low in religiosity but high in marital happiness. Unfortunately, the researcher offered no explanation for this. Religiousness of parents was found to be positively associated with the child's reported feeling of closeness to mother and father. Jews were closest to their parents, Catholics next, then Protestants. In this regard, Landis analysed the data closely so as to control for the fact that marital happiness was the cause of the closeness. Students who reported that they had no doubt about having a successful marriage were from devout homes. Unwillingness to marry out of the faith was related to religiosity. In conclusion, Landis states that children from more religious homes tended to hold attitudes and values which may tend to perpetuate successful marriages.

More recent researchers have employed one or two indicators of religiosity in relation to marital adjustment such as church attendance and denominational affiliation. Kunz & Albrecht (1977) found church attendance to be associated with marital adjustment in a large sample of 2,054 individuals residing in the State of Utah. This they attribute to the sharing of a common interest through religious participation and absence of conflict over marital roles. Bahr & Chadwick (1985) also found Church attendance to be related to marital adjustment in a

sample of Catholics and Protestants in Middletown, contending that it is religious affiliation per se and not type of religion which is important in relation to marital adjustment as they found no difference between the two groups.

Glenn & Weaver (1978) in their multivariate, multisurvey of marital happiness also established that Church attendance was associated with marital happiness but that this positive relationship was partially spurious due to the tendency for more conventional people to be more likely both to attend Church frequently (or say they do) and to overreport their marital happiness. Marital adjustment literature has been dogged by the marital conventionalization argument put forward by Edmond (1967, p. 682) who defines it as "the extent to which appraisal of a phenomenon is distorted in the direction of social desirability" and says that most measures of marital adjustment are so contaminated by social desirability and conventionality that they are of little value.

Schumm, Bollman & Jurich (1982) address this issue by levelling criticism at researchers such as Glenn & Weaver, who they say take this issue at face value and at researchers such as Clayton, Spanier & Hunt who, they say have raised theoretical objections to the concept of marital conventionalization but have not supported their counter arguments. This they feel is surprising given the theoretical importance of the relationships between religiosity, marital adjustment and marital conventionalization.

While this argument has not been resolved adequately, later researchers such as Filsinger & Wilson (1984) and Wilson & Filsinger (1986) included the Edmonds (1967) Marital Conventionalization scale in their research designs.

More recently Filsinger & Wilson (1984) related marital adjustment to religiosity within a theoretical framework. As a background to their research they discuss the difficulty of putting marital adjustment within a theoretical framework as the predictor variables are so many that a complete analysis is virtually impossible in one study. Several strategies have been used to deal with the diversity of variables. One approach has been to analyse a large group of relatively unrelated predictors. Glenn & Weaver (1978) used eight variables from three national surveys and compared their relative contribution to marital happiness. Another multivariate strategy has been to focus on one basic conceptual area, e.g., family development and examine the effects of variables related to that perspective. Because there are so many conceptual areas, many studies have to be done in order to put the pieces together. Part of this process is to compare the relative contribution of variables from different conceptual areas. According to Filsinger & Wilson, this represents a middle road between the two approaches mentioned above. It is for this reason that the researchers selected socio-economic rewards, family development and religiosity as variables. They were selected because of their potential explanatory power, their historical acceptance as predictors and their different types of explanation. The subjects for the study were 208 marital dyads from Churches in an American south-

western metropolitan area. They represented a cross section of fundamental and liberal Protestants. Religiosity was measured by the De Jong-Faulkner-Warland Religiosity Scale (1976). Marital adjustment was measured by the 32 item Spanier Dyadic Adjustment Scale (1976). Results showed that religiosity was the strongest predictor of marital adjustment. The reasons that Filsinger & Wilson give for this are that firstly, adjustment at the individual level refers to changing oneself (e.g. goals and expectations) to be more in line with what is real, which is the process of accommodation and religion may facilitate accommodation, thereby making life, or a marriage, more acceptable and the spouses more satisfied. Secondly, religion provides a set of norms and values by which to live, thereby making life easier. Filsinger & Wilson used the Edmonds (1967) scale for checking conventionalization and found that the relationship between religiosity and marital adjustment held.

In order to explore the relationship further between religiosity and marital adjustment, Wilson & Filsinger (1986) undertook research to assess which aspects of religiosity were related to marital adjustment. According to the researchers, both religiosity and marital adjustment are multidimensional concepts and therefore they wanted to establish the relationship among the various dimensions of the two variables. The data for this study were collected from 190 Protestant white married couples within a southwestern metropolitan area. The study emphasised variation in degree of religiosity within couples already identified as religious. The study employed the De Jong, Faulkner & Warland (1976) Religiosity Scale which is based on a multidimensional

conceptualization of religiosity that follows the religious components of Glock (1962) viz. ideological, ritualistic, experiential, intellectual and consequential. Marital adjustment was measured with Spaniers 32-item Dyadic Adjustment Scale which comprises the following subscales: Dyadic consensus, dyadic satisfaction, dyadic cohesion and affectional expression. Results showed that the dimensions of religiosity most closely associated with marital adjustment are the belief, ritualistic and experiential dimensions. Religiosity affected all aspects of marital adjustment except affectional expression. Social desirability was controlled for by the inclusion of the short form of the Edmonds (1967) Marital Conventionality Scale.

2.5.1

CONCLUSION

While research has shown that religiosity is a significant predictor of marital adjustment the following must be taken into account. Many researchers have used Church attendance as a measure of religiosity which may not be a true reflection of religiosity but rather of sociability and conventionality as suggested by Edmonds. In addition the samples used were often church going individuals within a specific community, the results of which cannot be generalized to other population groups, other religious groups and to those who do not attend church. Another limitation of many of the studies is the lack of a control sample of non-religious people. The overall impression in reviewing the literature of the relationship between religiosity and marital adjustment is that it has not been fully addressed and in this regard Filsinger & Wilson (1984) suggest that additional explanations are called for with specific focus on vari-

ables such as values, accommodation and normative integration at the forefront.

2.6

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROUP COMMITMENT AND MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

To date research on group commitment and marital relations has focused on demographic variables such as divorce.

In order to examine the relationship between group commitment and divorce among Jews, Brodbar-Nemzer (1968) used the data from a large survey of Jews of greater metropolitan New York conducted by Steven M. Cohen and Paul Ritterband in 1981. The survey included a number of items designed to measure variables that tap a wide definition of the nature and extent of Jewish commitment. These differentiating variables are denominational affiliation, degree of ritual observance, synagogue attendance, synagogue membership, proportion of closest friends Jewish, desirability of living in a Jewish neighbourhood, travel to Israel, membership in a Jewish organization and contribution to a Jewish charity. These variables were used to serve as a basis for dividing the population into subgroups. Brodbar-Nemzer found that Jews who have a greater group commitment have a lower divorce rate. The explanation he gives is that group commitment is an active manifestation of social integration which provides a coefficient of preservation for marriage. The Jews have bonds with a communal infrastructure and tradition which provides a basis for social integration despite them being in the mainstream of various contemporary trends, participating in trends such as egalitarianism and female participation in the work force. Social integration stands in opposite relation to forces

such as fragmentation, individualism and separation of which divorce can be seen as a manifestation. In conclusion, Brodbar-Nemzer suggests that research be undertaken at the social-psychological level in order to explore the links between group memberships, social integration and individual identity and decision making.

Glenn & Supancic (1984) and Glenn & Shelton (1985) in researching differential divorce rates in different communities and regions obtained results which were similar to Brodbar-Nemzers. Their overall findings were that Jews had the lowest divorce rate which they attribute to the likelihood that Jews are in cohesive social groups. Their explanation being that Jewish people are well integrated into a relatively tight-knit ethnic community which provides the social control and social support that tends to keep marriages intact. Furthermore, the effective enforcement of norms which is characteristic of high levels of social integration would tend to keep the quality of marriage high as quality is defined by the prevailing norms.

2.6.1

CONCLUSION

While the literature has shown that Jews have a low divorce rate which researchers have attributed to high levels of social integration there is no research at the social psychological level of the possible consequences of social integration on marital relationships. The present research was undertaken in response to Brodbar-Nemzer's suggestion in order to assess the relationship at the social psychological level between social integration and marital adjustment.

2.7 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROUP COMMITMENT AND RELIGIOSITY

The issue of the relationship between group commitment and religiosity has become problematic in these times.

After the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans, Jewish communities were held together by Jewish law, which was religious law. A Jewish community was a separate community in the secular mode, that is, a group with common bonds occupying a geographic location as well as a religious community. In short, it was a community in which the religious and secular elements were closely intertwined. Threats from outside the community served to strengthen the community bonds. These communities were so well bounded and isolated that adherence to cultural norms and values was automatic.

In Europe, beginning with the Enlightenment of the 18th century and culminating in the emancipation of the Jews from the ghettos they had been confined to during medieval times, Jews came to have religious and community choices. Their contacts with non-Jewish ideas, cultures and individuals increased which undermined their adherence to Jewish norms and values. Over the years and with each successive generation, Jews have become highly acculturated and increasingly integrated into the social, cultural, political and economic life of the countries in which they live (Dubb 1977).

This has led to the issue of religious commitment and integration into a Jewish community becoming problematic. The question in today's world is whether Jews are predominantly an ethnic group who can survive without religion or whether religion is still

fundamental to Judaism. As Brodbar-Nemzer (1984, p. 155) says, "the separation of Judaism into religious and ethnic components is a difficult matter".

Dubb's (1977) research on Jewish identification in the Johannesburg Jewish community has been important in clarifying this issue in the South African context. He found with the exception of the few Jews who were strictly orthodox, that religious practices were a means of identifying with the group rather than an expression of religiosity and that there was little relationship between religious beliefs and practices. Thus, it can be said that among South African Jewry commitment to the group is not dependent on religiosity. However, it can be said that individuals who are religious and strictly orthodox will be committed to the group. This is supported by Levine (1986) who found that the more individuals are committed to Judaism specifically as a religion, the more integrated they are into a Jewish community. While Levine acknowledges the ethnic dimension of Judaism, she contends that Jewish communities will not survive unless there is a strong religious basis for their commitment.

In reviewing the literature on Jewish identification it appears that the issue of religiosity and group commitment has not been dealt with in the same depth within the American context. Since Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) utilised similar variables to Dubb (1977) in tapping the nature and extent of Jewish commitment, namely, social relations, synagogue attendance, ritual observance etc., it is felt that American studies can be used for the purposes of this research.

A thorough investigation of the similarities and differences in group commitment between the South African and American situation is beyond the scope of the present investigation.

2.7.1 CONCLUSION

Findings have shown that the relationship between religiosity and group commitment is not a simple one. It can be said that individuals who are religious will be committed to the group but Dubb's (1977) findings have shown that there are many Jews who are committed to the group without being religious.

2.8 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROUP COMMITMENT, RELIGIOSITY, MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AND ATTITUDE TOWARD DIVORCE

In reviewing the literature on attitude toward divorce in relation to the above variables it became apparent that for the most part the relationship is inferred rather than explicitly stated.

One study which deals specifically with attitudes toward divorce is that undertaken by Thornton (1985). She addressed several issues concerning divorce attitudes and attitude change using data from an intergenerational longitudinal panel study of mothers and their children over a period of eighteen years. Personal interviews were conducted with the mothers in the winter of 1961, followed by five telephone re-interviews in the spring of 1962, 1963, 1977 and 1980. Her results showed that there was a change toward approval of divorce between 1962 and 1980. In 1962, about one half of the mothers disagreed with the idea that when there are children in the family, parents should stay together even if they do not get along. By 1977, 80% of the mothers disagreed with the

statement. Between 1977 and 1980, the percentage indicating approval of divorce remained fairly constant at the high 1977 level. Thornton documents the following as sources of divorce attitudes and attitude change:

RELIGION

Religiosity and church attendance were influential in women having negative attitudes towards divorce and these attitudes remained constant over the eighteen years. Thornton's explanation of this is that religious involvement provides a source of traditional family values which act in opposition to the modern values of individualism and self-fulfillment.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Education and labour force participation represent access to new ideas and values which are at odds with traditional orientations. Women with greater earning capacity because of higher educational attainments or more experience in the labour force have enhanced potential for financial independence and can afford to look more favourably on the prospects of terminating a marriage. Thornton found that women who had more education in 1962 had a more positive attitude to divorce than did other subjects and these attitudes became even more positive in 1977.

FAMILY SIZE

Large families reduce the ability of women to support themselves as well as representing a traditional value for families. Thornton found that women who had large families had negative attitudes to divorce and that these attitudes remained negative in 1977.

AGE AND AGE AT MARRIAGE

In 1962, there was no association between age of subjects and divorce attitudes. However, between 1962 and 1977, an association became apparent. Younger women made changes toward the acceptance of divorce while older women maintained a negative attitude toward divorce. Older women, presumably, have had more experience with traditional values and are less willing to adapt to new patterns of thought and behaviour during times of change.

Age at marriage had a consistent negative influence on the acceptability of divorce. Mothers who married young were the most accepting of divorce in 1962 and maintained that position during the eighteen year period. This could be attributed to factors such as unreadiness for marriage as well as less time having been spent on looking for a marriage partner.

In linking attitudes to divorce experience, Thornton found that attitudes do not play a substantial role in determining divorce with the exception of older women and those who are religious and attend church regularly. Additionally, she found that children's attitudes were similar to their mother's attitudes, highlighting the importance of the parental family in the socialization of attitudes.

Another issue which is highlighted by Thornton's findings is that attitudes do not always play a substantial role in determining behaviour. It demonstrates the controversy in attitude research which exists between the three components of attitudes, namely, affective, behavioural and cognitive. Originally it was

assumed that peoples attitudes determined their behaviour. However, research has shown that this is not always so. Freedman, Sears & Carlsmith (1978) propose the following conditions that yield greater or lesser degrees of consistency :

- Attitudes must be strong and clear as well as specific and directly relevant to the behaviour in question. Inconsistencies can come from weak or ambivalent affects or when the affective and cognitive components conflict.
- When the attitude is made particularly salient, then it is more likely to be related to behaviour.
- The more specific the attitude measure is, the more it tends to be correlated to behaviour.
- As time elapses between the attitude measurement and behaviour assessment, the attitude may change.
- Situational pressures are likely to effect the relationship between attitudes and behaviour.
- Poor methodology will effect the attitude - behaviour relationship.

In summing up, from Thornton's research it can be said that individuals who hold traditional family values consistently hold negative attitudes towards divorce which are translated into practice.

Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) found that Jews who have a greater group commitment have a lower divorce rate (refer to section 2.6 for a detailed account). It is therefore inferred that because of their traditional family values those Jews will have a negative attitude towards divorce which demonstrates the relationship between group commitment and negative attitude toward divorce. As religiosity has the greatest impact on group commitment, it can be hypothesized that there is also a relationship between group commitment, religiosity and a negative attitude towards divorce.

To the extent that religiosity and group commitment are predictive of marital adjustment it will be predicted that a negative attitude toward divorce is correlated to marital adjustment.

Furthermore, this relationship is highlighted by Durkheim's (1951) contention that divorce is a reflection of a group's attitude towards marriage. It would therefore follow that Jews, who have a lower divorce rate than the general population (Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986; Cohen, 1981; Dashefsky & Levine, 1983), would have a negative attitude towards divorce.

2.8.1 CONCLUSION

Attitude to divorce has been used in the present research as consequences of religiosity and group commitment. It is predicted that Jews who are more religious and committed to the group will have a negative attitude to divorce. Furthermore, it is predicted that a negative attitude to divorce is correlated to

marital adjustment to the extent that religiosity and group commitment are predictive of marital adjustment.

2.9

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it is evident that the concepts of marital adjustment, religiosity, attitude to divorce and group commitment are well documented in the literature.

This study investigates the interrelationships between marital adjustment, religiosity, attitude to divorce and group commitment in the Jewish ethnic group.

CHAPTER 3

3. THE INVESTIGATION

The empirical design involved the analysis of questionnaire responses obtained from 63 Jewish couples in Cape Town.

3.1 THE JEWISH ETHNIC GROUP

While the Jews have resided in South Africa since the first British occupation in 1795, the major Jewish settlement dates from the 1880's. Large numbers of immigrants from Lithuania and Eastern European countries began arriving in 1880 and continued until the 1930's. The early 1930's saw the arrival of Jews from Germany, seeking refuge from increasing Nazi pressure and persecution, and immigration continued until the outbreak of World War II. Today the Jews are largely South African born, with a negative immigration rate.

In 1986, the Jewish population numbered 115 000 which at that time represented 2.3% of the white population. They are a relatively homogeneous group in respect of their origins, religious patterns and commitment to the Zionist cause and Israel. The community is geographically concentrated in two major metropolitan centres, namely, Johannesburg and Cape Town, with Johannesburg's Jewish population being 64 367 and Cape Town's 26 975 (1980 Census). The rest of the population is centred in areas such as Port Elizabeth, Durban, East London, Germiston and Pretoria.

According to the last census, the following demographic variables apply to the Jewish population. Sex ratios of males were higher than females amongst the 0-29 age group which was reversed from age 30 to 65+ when females predominated. About 60% of South African Jews aged 15 and over were married. Five percent of Jewish men and 8% of women were divorced in the 35-44 age group. Married women had 2.6 births on average. Household structure was typically nuclear.

In common with other Western Jewish communities, South African Jews were found to be better educated than other whites and over-represented in professional and managerial occupations. This, together with their income and residential distribution, indicates a middle- and upper-middle class population.

Compared with the total white population, of which they are a part, Jews are an ageing population, with a significantly lower (and declining) birth rate and a long life expectancy. They are an essentially urban population, gravitating toward the major metropolitan areas, where, in general, they have tended to form distinct residential concentrations.

It is on the community level that the uniqueness of the Jewish population of South Africa is most clearly evident. South African Jewry has a highly centralized structure, with a number of national institutions responsible for funding, planning and organizing facilities and activities in the fields of education, religious life, welfare and Zionism. In terms of Jewish identification, the particular kind of pluralism of South African society has minimized both the need for, and the possibility of, large scale assimilation, while at the

same time lending legitimacy to the preservation of a distinctive Jewish ethnic identity. Consistent with this, Jews themselves exhibit a high level of commitment to the local community, Israel and the Jewish people as a whole. This is expressed primarily in a well-developed Jewish educational network, wide-scale synagogue affiliation and strong support for Zionism (Della Pergalla & Dubb, 1988).

3.2 METHOD

3.2.1 SUBJECT SELECTION

Subjects were selected from the Jewish community of Cape Town. The following criteria were adopted :

- a) Couples were to have been married for a minimum of five years.
- b) Couples were to have one child still living at home.

In order to obtain a sample of 75 couples, 400 couples were randomly sampled using the table of random numbers from an up-to-date community list which was made available to the researcher.

3.2.2 PROCEDURE

During a visit to Cape Town in October 1988 the subjects were randomly sampled at the Zionist Office. Thereafter, the University of Cape Town's Psychology Department was approached and the researcher was put in contact with a senior lecturer who recruited third year students to administer the questionnaires. In addition, a Masters student volunteered to co-ordinate and supervise the research proceedings.

The researcher held a meeting with the students and the co-ordinator in order to explain the goals and procedures of the research. Seven suitable students were each provided with a list of names and telephone numbers, together with the questionnaires and envelopes.

The instructions to the students were as follows :

- a) Each couple was to be telephoned in order to establish whether they complied with the criteria of having been married for five years and having one child still living at home.
- b) Should they comply with the criteria, subjects were to be asked whether they would be willing to complete a questionnaire after an explanation had been given as to the goals of the research.
- c) A suitable appointment was to be made when husband and wife could each complete the questionnaire simultaneously.
- d) Students were to check that all items on the questionnaire had been answered.
- e) Each couple's questionnaires were to be placed in one envelope in their presence and sealed.

Students went to the homes of the subjects at an appointed time. Husband and wife were each presented with a questionnaire which they were required to complete. Caution was taken to ensure that the husband and wife answered the questionnaires independently. The questionnaires were checked and thereafter put into a large envelope.

lope and sealed in order to ensure confidentiality. The questionnaires took approximately twenty minutes to complete. The completed questionnaires were handed to the co-ordinator at her office in the Psychology Department.

The students and the co-ordinator were in constant contact and, where necessary, the co-ordinator would check on the progress of the students. Throughout the proceedings the researcher kept in contact with the co-ordinator and monitored the progress.

The research was carried out over a period of three months, from November 1988 until January 1989, after which time the students either returned to University or began working. Furthermore, it was felt that a more extended time period would bias the research as information would more likely be shared within the group.

The students encountered several problems :

- a) Many couples did not comply with the criteria;
- b) Unwillingness of subjects to complete the questionnaires which could be attributed to unavailability of time, lack of interest or to the sensitive nature of the subject matter;

From the original sample of 400 couples, 63 completed questionnaires were obtained, instead of the desired 75. All 63 questionnaires could be utilized as the students had rigorously checked for uncompleted items. Thus, 126 completed questionnaires were obtained. It should be noted that 60 couples could not be contacted.

Of the 340 couples who were contacted, 187 (55%) did not fit the criteria, while 153 (45%) did. Of the 153 couples who fitted the criteria, 90 (58,82%) refused. The result of which were the 126 completed questionnaires from the 63 couples. This represents 41,18% of the couples who were contacted and who fitted the criteria.

The following table summarizes the main demographic characteristics of the sample :

TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

AGE (YEARS)	X	S
GROUP	40,78	6,95
MALES	43,55	6,90
FEMALES	36,90	6,63
NO. OF CHILDREN	2,46	,84
	N	PERCENT
EVER BEEN DIVORCED	6	4,76
PARENTS EVER BEEN DIVORCED	6	4,76
EDUCATION :		
UNDER STD 10	9	7,14
STD 10	34	26,98
UNIVERSITY DIPLOMA	9	7,14
TECHNICAL DIPLOMA	23	18,25
DEGREE	27	21,42
POST GRADUATE DEGREE	5	3,97
POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA	13	10,32
MASTERS DEGREE	5	3,97
OCCUPATION (MALES) :		
TECHNICAL	2	3,17
BUSINESSMAN	38	60,32
PROFESSIONAL	23	36,51
OCCUPATION (FEMALES) :		
HOUSEWIFE	25	39,68
BUSINESSWOMAN	14	22,22
SECRETARIAL	8	12,70
PROFESSIONAL	8	12,70
SERVICE INDUSTRY	8	12,70

3.3 THE INSTRUMENTS USED

The instruments administered to each husband and wife were :

- a) a Biographical Inventory which was constructed by the researcher in order to obtain relevant biographical details (see Appendix A);
- b) the Locke Marital Adjustment Test which was used to measure marital adjustment (see Appendix B);
- c) the De-Jong-Faulkner Religiosity Scale which was used to measure religiosity (see Appendix C);
- d) a Jewish Identification Measure which was based on Brodbar-Nemzer's (1986) framework and constructed by the researcher in order to measure group commitment (see Appendix D; and
- e) an Attitude to Divorce Scale which was constructed by Robinson in order to measure attitude toward divorce (see Appendix E).

All the above were combined into a single battery.

3.3.1 THE LOCKE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT TEST

3.3.1.1 Description

In his landmark study of marital adjustment, Locke (1951) proposed a marital adjustment test composed of those items which discriminate most effectively between successful and unsuccessful marriages.

The Locke Marital Adjustment Test (LMAT) is a test of an individual's perception of marital adjustment. Locke states that the test does not measure the amount of adjustment of individual marriages, but rather the probability that any given marriage includes some degree of adjustment.

The LMAT is a self-administered questionnaire comprising 23 items which relate to various components of marital adjustment, namely : Companionship; Sexual satisfaction; Amount of conflict regarding finances, friends, philosophy of life, etc; Degree of communication; Means of settling disputes; and Existence of specific complaints.

Each item has several alternate answers and respondents are required to tick the answer which they believe is most appropriate. Husband and wife scores are obtained separately.

According to Spanier & Lewis (1980) and L'Abate & Goodrich (1980) in Bagarozzi (1985), the LMAT is the most used and validated instrument employed to evaluate marital quality, and that new instruments do not compare as the LMAT has had such a large number of validation and reliability studies.

3.3.1.2 The reliability of the LMAT

Kimmel & Van der Veen (1974) factor-analysed the LMAT to obtain distinct components of marital adjustment for husbands and wives. The subjects were 149 wives and 157 husbands in intact families with at least one child of school age (6 to 16 years old). Approximately half of the families had applied to a mental health clinic.

Test-retest stability of individual factor scores was computed between initial and final administrations of the test (a 2,15 year interval on average) for the portion of the sample which had not received marital counselling during the intervening period. Test-retest correlations were ,76 for husbands and ,78 for wives.

Locke & Wallace (1959) investigated the reliability of a shorter form of the LMAT comprising 15 items in a sample of 236 middle-class, urban subjects. Using the split-half technique and corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula, the reliability coefficient was found to be ,90.

The above findings indicate that the LMAT has established reliability.

3.3.1.3 The validity of the LMAT

The original test included 19 items from the Burgess-Cottrell Marital Adjustment Form (1939), two adaptations from Terman's (1938) Happiness in Marriage Scale and eight new items formulated by Locke. To establish the validity of his criteria, Locke (1951) investigated the ability of the items to discriminate between a maritally adjusted and maritally maladjusted group of couples. Happiness, as judged by an outsider, and divorce, were used as criteria for marital adjustment and marital maladjustment, respectively, as significant differences were more likely to be revealed when the extremes of a continuum of behaviour are compared. Locke assumed that adjustment in marriage varies along a continuum and that divorce would be on the lower end of the continuum and those happily married would be at the upper end.

The test was administered to a group of divorced couples and a group of happily married couples. The divorced sample included 201 people and their respective mates, and 123 persons where only one side of the case was secured; of these, 50 were men and 73 were women. The happily married sample comprised 200 couples, and four cases where only one side was secured. Social characteristics, such as education, age, nationality, religion, education and economic factors, of the total sample were similar to persons in the general population. Variables, such as type of marriage, for example, forced marriages, married more than once, and married once, and date and length of marriage were taken into consideration.

The results of the investigation were :

- a) Happily married men obtained a mean score of 138.5;
- b) Divorced men obtained a mean score of 100.8;
- c) Happily married women obtained a mean score of 137.4; and
- d) Divorced women obtained a mean score of 102.4.

The great differences between the average scores of the divorced and married groups indicated that the two criteria have great validity, in that they separate the well-adjusted from the poorly-adjusted.

In order to establish which items best differentiated the well-adjusted from the maladjusted, the data were statistically analysed. Contingency correlations between the answers given by the happily-married and the divorced were computed for each item for both husbands and wives. Even though most of the items were statistically significant in differentiating between happily-married and divorced,

all items with contingency correlations below ,30 were eliminated. The result was the 23-item LMAT.

Locke & Wallace (1959) developed a short 15 item form of the LMAT. In order to assess the reliability of measure, they used 48 marital-ly maladjusted subjects from their sample of 236, comprising marital counselling clients, divorced people and separated people. This group of 48 was matched for age and sex with 48 people in the sample, judged to be well-adjusted in marriage by friends who knew them well. The mean score for the well-adjusted group was 135.9, while the mean score for the maladjusted group was 71.7. This difference was significant. Since the short form clearly differentiated between the maladjusted and adjusted group, it was concluded that the test has validity.

More recently, Cross & Sharply (1981) investigated the validity of the short form of the LMAT in order to determine whether the instrument remained valid, both in terms of its original criteria and in the light of changing values. The subjects were 37 married men and 58 married women who were not related. The mean age was 33 years, and all respondents had been married for at least three years. The mean score on the short form test was 106 (the range being 30-158), with 59 subjects scoring at least 101 (the suggested cut-off point for high versus low marital adjustment. The range of scores and the number of subjects reflecting either high or low adjustment was considered very acceptable for data analysis.

Three steps were taken in analysing the data :

- a) Discriminant analysis across items with the dichotomous subgroup criterion of having earned a high versus low total score;
- b) Item analysis; and
- c) Factor analysis.

Results showed that all 15 items of the short form discriminated between placement into low and high groups. Furthermore, they found that the first item, either by itself, which is where respondents are asked to rate their happiness on a seven-point scale, or together with the fourteenth item, where respondents are asked whether they would marry the same person, another person or not at all, provided the same degree of confidence in classification. It was concluded that the short form was still measuring marital adjustment according to Locke's (1951) definition, in spite of changing values within society in general and within marriage in particular.

The LMAT has been widely used in a variety of research investigations. Rollens & Cannon (1974) used the LMAT to test marital satisfaction over the family life cycle. Luckey (1966) used the Locke, the Interpersonal Check List and Terman's self-rating Happiness in Marriage Scale in concluding that a process of disillusionment takes place in marriage over time. Suchet & Barling (1985) used the short form in assessing the relationship between inter-role con-

flict, spouse support and marital functioning in a sample of employed mothers.

The thorough selection of items in the construction of the test, the stringent testing and the subsequent successful usage of the LMAT, are indications of its reliability, validity and usefulness.

3.3.1.4 The scoring of the LMAT

Locke (1951) constructed the scoring key for the LMAT by assigning weights to each item. The weights were determined by the degree of difference between the percentages of happily married and divorced couples, giving the various answers to each question. Few of the items were weighted differently for men and women.

The total marital adjustment score for a subject is calculated by adding the weights assigned to the answers given to the test items. The score has a possible range of 48-138 for husbands and 50-138 for women. High scores indicate marital adjustment and low scores indicate marital maladjustment.

In the present study the LMAT was used to divide subjects into low, medium and high adjustment groups.

3.3.2 MEASUREMENT OF RELIGIOSITY

3.3.2.1 Introduction

In the last two decades, research has focused on the conceptualization and measurement of religious involvement. The field moved from simple unidimensional scales to complex multidimensional scales.

Two empirical studies which were important in the development of multidimensional research were Lenski's & Fukuyama's. Lenski (1961) identified four 'dimensions' which consisted of two types of religious group involvement, associational versus communal, and two types of religious orientation, doctrinal orthodoxy and devotionism. His Detroit data revealed very weak relationships between the two types of group involvement and between the two orientations. On the basis of these data, he concluded that these were 'separate and independent' aspects of religion. In the same year, Fukuyama (1961) published the results of an exploratory study in which he examined alternative ways in which people are religious. With measures for cognitive (knowledge), cultic (ritual), credal (belief) and devotional (experience) dimensions, he shows that these were related differently to each other and varied in relation to basic social and demographic correlates, such as sex, age, education and social class.

Fukuyama's work was based on the work of Charles Y Glock, as is much of the research since. In 1959, Glock delineated dimensions of religious commitment. More complex statements were put forth by Glock in 1962 and further refined by Glock & Stark in 1965. Five dimensions, which they say all religions presumably share, were presented: The ideological, the ritualistic, the experiential, the intellectual and the consequential. The approach focused on the various ways in which people are religious, and drew from intuitive understanding of how religious expression is manifested in everyday life. The primary concern was to isolate the internal components of these dimensions and to explore the patterns of interrelation among them. Later, Glock & Stark chose not to include the consequential

dimension, but researchers, such as De Jong & Faulkner (1966), decided upon including it in their religiosity scale.

While subsequent researchers, such as De Jong & Faulkner (1966) and King & Hunt (1975) have employed Glock & Stark's five dimensions, they have been more concerned with the empirical interrelationships among the dimensions than with exploring the content and meaning of the dimensions themselves.

3.3.2.2 The De Jong and Faulkner Religiosity Scale

In 1966, Faulkner & De Jong developed a religiosity scale based on Glock & Stark's five dimensions. The scale was based on traditional Judeo-Christian beliefs. They developed measures of religiosity for each of the five dimensions using a Guttman Scaling technique, the main purpose of which was to test the multidimensional hypothesis as well as to investigate the nature of the interrelationship among the five dimensions.

The instrument they devised was administered to students in introductory Sociology classes at the Pennsylvania State University in 1964. Out of a total of 375 students, 362 usable responses were obtained.

From this data, dichotomized responses in each dimension were analyzed for scalability. This procedure yielded items which were most promising on empirical grounds. For the ideological dimension, a five item scale yielded a coefficient of reproducibility of .94. A four item intellectual dimension yielded a coefficient of reproducibility of .93. A five item ritualistic dimension yielded a co-

efficient of reproducibility of ,92. A five item experiential dimension yielded a coefficient of reproducibility of ,92 and the four attitudinal items of the consequential scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of ,90. Faulkner & De Jong say that as ,90 is the minimum standard for the coefficient of reproducibility, all scales met the standard.

The hypothesized interrelationships were tested by computing correlation coefficients among the five dimensions of religiosity. For all students, the correlation coefficients ranged from a high of ,58 between the ideological and intellectual dimensions to a low of ,36 between the experiential and consequential dimensions.

The findings from the correlations among the five dimensions of religiosity indicate the interdependent nature of these measures of religious involvement which is what was theoretically anticipated. The degree of relationships differed for the various dimensions which lends empirical support to the view that religious involvement is characterized by several dimensions. The highest correlations were, in every case, associated with the ideological dimension, while the lowest were associated with the consequential. Since the ideological dimension had the highest correlations with the other dimensions, De Jong & Faulkner suggest that more attention should be given to studying the importance of belief in the religious person's life. The low correlations which were found for the consequential dimension supports Glock's suggestion that this dimension is different from the others.

Other researchers offer the same interpretation in support of multidimensionality. Clayton (1968) tested De Jong & Faulkner's Religiosity Scale on a large sample of undergraduate students at the private liberal arts university of Stetson. Eight-hundred-and-seventy-three responses were obtained. Results showed that the students at Stetson were more 'orthodox' on four out of the five scales. The coefficients of reproducibility were higher than those obtained at Pennsylvania State University and ranged from ,92 to ,96.

In conclusion, Clayton says that the De Jong and Faulkner Religiosity Scale appears to be a valuable instrument for measuring religiosity and that it is possible to assume unidimensionality for each of the five scales.

3.3.2.3 Criticisms of the De Jong and Faulkner Scale

Some researchers have questioned the multidimensionality of the scale. Weigert & Thomas (1969) argue that in terms of content validity, many of the 5-D scale items used by De Jong & Faulkner are not distinctly differentiated, despite the fact that as separate scales they each meet minimum standards of scalability. Their rationale for this is that items which De Jong and Faulkner use to operationalize the belief dimension correctly, include such stimulus words as 'believe', 'idea', 'opinion' and 'view', the content validity of which is acceptable. However, the same semantic category of stimuli, namely, view, opinion and believe, is found in three out of the four items on the knowing dimension, which, in terms of content validity, is actually measuring ideological commitment which therefore invalidates their findings.

Clayton & Gladden (1974) found that the 5-D scales, with the exception of the consequential scale, measure different aspects of the belief dimension. On the basis of a factor analysis of two sets of data gathered in 1967 and 1970 at a small, private liberal-arts university in Florida, they found that ideological commitment accounted for 78% and 83% of the common variance in the two studies, respectively. Additional evidence of the interdependence of the scales followed from a second-order factor extraction, in which one general factor - the belief - emerged from each of the data sets. They concluded that religiosity is not multidimensional.

3.3.2.4 Usefulness of the De Jong-Faulkner

Despite criticisms of the test and continuing concern as to the multidimensional nature of religiosity, the De Jong-Faulkner has been used in research.

For the purposes of this research, the first four dimensions were used and an Attitude Towards Divorce Scale was employed to assess the consequences of religiosity as it is more pertinent to the present research.

3.3.2.5 Scoring

Each scale consists of four or five items, each item having three to six responses from which respondents are required to indicate which they feel is the most correct for them, with the exception of item 9, where respondents are expected to write down the first five books of the Old Testament. On each item there are one or two responses which indicate a traditional religious response. The per-

centages of correct responses for each dimension would be calculated in order to assess degree of religiosity.

Subjects were divided into low, medium and high commitment.

3.3.3 MEASUREMENT OF GROUP COMMITMENT

3.3.3.1 Introduction

When studying Jewish identification, scholars have disagreed about which behaviour and attitudes ought to be considered (Himmelfarb, 1980).

While most researchers today agree that Jewish identification is a multidimensional phenomenon, there is little agreement as to how many dimensions there are.

As a result, Brodbar-Nemzer (1986), in his research on analysing the differences in commitment, included a number of variables which would tap a wide definition of the nature and extent of Jewish group commitment. These differentiating variables were :

- a) denominational affiliation;
- b) ritual observance;
- c) synagogue attendance;
- d) synagogue membership;
- e) proportion of closest friends Jewish;
- f) desirability of living in a Jewish neighbourhood;
- g) importance of travel to Israel;
- h) membership in a Jewish organization; and
- i) contribution to a Jewish charity.

3.3.3.2 The Group Commitment Questionnaire

For the purposes of this research, Brodbar-Nemzer's framework was used.

The Group Commitment Questionnaire was constructed by taking each of Brodbar-Nemzer's dimensions and combining them into an attitude scale.

Each question, of which there are eleven, with the exception of No. 1 which deals with denominational affiliation, was divided into a five point Likert scale where respondents were required to indicate which response, from most unimportant to most important, was most true for them. Question 2 relates to synagogue membership; Question 3 relates to synagogue attendance; Question 4 relates to ritual observance, and is divided into ten subsections; Question 5 relates to desirability of living in a Jewish neighbourhood, and is divided into three subsections; Question 7 and 11 relate to contribution to a Jewish charity, with Question 7 being divided into five subsections; Question 8 relates to importance of travel to Israel and Questions 9 and 10 relate to membership in a Jewish organization. In terms of associational Jewishness, Questions 5 and 6 may be examined together.

3.3.3.3 The reliability of the Group Commitment Questionnaire.

In order to test reliability, the questionnaire was administered at a Jewish function in Port Elizabeth, to fifty females and fifty males, who met the criteria of having one child still living at home and having been married for five years.

The data were statistically analysed using a scale response analysis. An alpha coefficient of ,8852 was obtained.

In addition, the commonalities obtained from a factor analysis indicated that the scale as a whole had a high degree of internal consistency, with many of the correlations being above ,55. The results of the item analysis can be found in Appendix D 1.

3.3.3.4 Scoring

The alternative responses are credited 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1, respectively, from the most favourable to the least favourable. The sum of the item credits represents the subject's total score. Subjects would be divided into low, medium and high commitment groups.

3.3.4 ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCALE

The Attitude Towards Divorce Scale was constructed by a research assistant using a framework presented by Shaw & Wright (1967). A 45 item marriage attitudes survey was administered to 105 first-year Rhodes University students of which 15 items were specifically related to attitude towards divorce.

A scale item analysis was done and the ten items that loaded the highest on the Divorce Scale were used as the Attitude Towards Divorce Scale. The resultant scale had an alpha coefficient of ,8155. The results of the item analysis can be found in Appendix E 1.

The scale, then, consists of ten items where respondents are requested to indicate how strongly they agree or disagree with each statement, according to a five point Likert scale.

3.3.4.1 Scoring

The alternative responses are credited 5, 4, 3, 2 or 1 respectively, from the unfavourable to the favourable. The sum of the item credits represents the subject's total score. Subjects were divided into low, medium and high groups, where the high group would be strongly against divorce.

CHAPTER 44. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

Quantitative data on marital adjustment, group commitment, religiosity and attitude to divorce was obtained from a sample of 63 Jewish couples.

Raw scores were converted to stanines by the computation of cumulative frequency cutpoints in order to divide the subjects into low, medium and high marital adjustment, religiosity, group commitment and attitude to divorce groups, and subjected to the following types of analyses :

- a) The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was used to test the hypotheses of the research in order to examine the interrelationships between marital adjustment, group commitment, religiosity and attitude to divorce.
- b) One way analyses of variance were computed on the marital adjustment, group commitment, religiosity, dimensions of religiosity and attitude to divorce scores in order to test for differences between means, in respect of the specific hypotheses.
- c) The influence of age, sex and education on marital adjustment, religiosity, dimensions of religiosity, attitude to divorce and group commitment was investigated individually by the analysis of variance technique.

d) t-tests were used to test for difference between the means of the low/ave, low/high and ave/high groups on the dimensions of religiosity.

The B.M.D.P. statistical software package was used.

4.1 THE RELEVANCE OF AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION ON MARITAL ADJUSTMENT, GROUP COMMITMENT, ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE, RELIGIOSITY AND THE IDEOLOGICAL, INTELLECTUAL, RITUALISTIC AND EXPERIMENTAL DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY

A three way analysis of variance was used to investigate the above.

Details of the three factors are :

Sex : Male (N=63) and Female (N=63).

Age : Three age groups were delineated, viz., 21-35 (N=31), 36-45 (N=66), 46-54 (N=29).

Education : Three educational levels were delineated, viz., Standard 10 and below (N=43), diplomas (N=32), degrees and higher degrees (N=50).

The following tables represent the analyses of variances of the marital adjustment, group commitment, attitude to divorce and dimensions of religiosity classified according to sex, age and education.

4.1.1 MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

TABLE 2
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES
BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F-RATIO	p<
SEX	1	36,458	36,458	0,18	NS
AGE	2	176,158	88,079	0,44	NS
EDUCATION	2	258,760	129,380	0,65	NS
SEX X AGE	2	77,528	38,764	0,19	NS
SEX X EDUCATION	2	542,235	271,117	1,36	NS
AGE X EDUCATION	4	1259,458	314,864	1,58	NS
SEX X AGE X EDUCATION	4	655,188	163,797	0,82	NS

4.1.1.1 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Table 2 indicates that neither the main effects of sex, age and education nor their interactions had an effect on marital adjustment.

With regard to the family life cycle, Spanier & Lewis (1980) report that research has been conflicting and appears to differ from population to population. Thus, the present finding suggests that the family life cycle has no effect on marital adjustment in the Jewish group.

4.1.2 GROUP COMMITMENT

TABLE 3
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES
BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F-RATIO	p<
SEX	1	186,501	186,501	0,74	NS
AGE	2	190,370	95,185	0,38	NS
EDUCATION	2	407,826	203,913	0,81	NS
SEX X AGE	2	141,755	70,877	0,28	NS
SEX X EDUCATION	2	675,588	337,794	1,35	NS
AGE X EDUCATION	4	923,246	230,811	0,92	NS
SEX X AGE X EDUCATION	4	460,130	115,032	0,46	NS

4.1.2.1 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Table 3 indicates that neither the main effects of sex, age and education nor their interactions had an effect on group commitment. While the finding that education has no effect on group commitment, supports Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) who found that education had no impact on group commitment, the finding that age has no effect on group commitment differs in that Brodbar-Nemzer found that older people were more committed to the group. This difference could be attributed to the South African situation where Saron & Hotz (1955) point out that South African Jewry have succeeded in maintaining a vigorous group existence due to the general cultural and political climate and which differs from Britain and the United States where there is a dominant national culture. Thus, South Africa Jews would assimilate less than their American counterparts.

4.1.3 ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE

TABLE 4
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCORES
BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F-RATIO	p<
SEX	1	24,371	24,371	0,55	NS
AGE	2	11,344	5,672	0,13	NS
EDUCATION	2	16,830	8,415	0,19	NS
SEX X AGE	2	27,743	13,871	0,31	NS
SEX X EDUCATION	2	13,044	6,522	0,15	NS
AGE X EDUCATION	4	76,399	19,099	0,43	NS
SEX X AGE X EDUCATION	4	51,980	12,995	0,29	NS

4.1.3.1 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Table 4 reveals that neither the main effect of sex, age or education had an effect on attitude to divorce. This finding differs from Thornton (1985) who found that age and education had an effect on attitude to divorce. Older women maintained a negative attitude to divorce over 18 years, while more educated women had a more positive attitude to divorce than other subjects and these attitudes became even more positive in 1977. As her sample consisted of only women, it is not possible to comment on sex differences. Since there were no significant findings pertaining to the attitude to divorce hypotheses, the fact that sex, age and education had no effect on attitude to divorce in the present research is to be expected.

4.1.4 DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITYTABLE 5ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE COMBINED RELIGIOSITY SCORES
BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F-RATIO	p<
SEX	1	5,486	5,486	0,29	NS
AGE	2	2,645	1,322	0,07	NS
EDUCATION	2	45,743	22,871	1,20	NS
SEX X AGE	2	19,934	9,967	0,52	NS
SEX X EDUCATION	2	5,926	2,963	0,16	NS
AGE X EDUCATION	4	40,979	10,244	0,54	NS
SEX X AGE X EDUCATION	4	5,533	1,383	0,07	NS

TABLE 6ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION
OF RELIGIOSITY BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F-RATIO	p<
SEX	1	790,348	790,348	0,86	NS
AGE	2	594,212	297,106	0,32	NS
EDUCATION	2	2237,344	1118,672	1,22	NS
SEX X AGE	2	2057,002	1028,501	1,12	NS
SEX X EDUCATION	2	749,997	374,998	0,41	NS
AGE X EDUCATION	4	3365,526	841,381	0,92	NS
SEX X AGE X EDUCATION	4	369,880	92,470	0,10	NS

TABLE 7

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE INTELLECTUAL DIMENSION
OF RELIGIOSITY BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F-RATIO	p<
SEX	1	340,568	340,568	0,35	NS
AGE	2	394,487	197,243	0,20	NS
EDUCATION	2	5915,016	2957,508	3,01	NS
SEX X AGE	2	3279,594	1639,797	1,67	NS
SEX X EDUCATION	2	575,156	287,578	0,29	NS
AGE X EDUCATION	4	3351,049	837,762	0,85	NS
SEX X AGE X EDUCATION	4	2641,262	660,315	0,67	NS

TABLE 8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE RITUALISTIC DIMENSION
OF RELIGIOSITY BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F-RATIO	p<
SEX	1	448,826	448,826	0,79	NS
AGE	2	753,100	376,550	0,67	NS
EDUCATION	2	1214,103	607,051	1,07	NS
SEX X AGE	2	174,864	87,432	0,15	NS
SEX X EDUCATION	2	698,725	349,362	0,62	NS
AGE X EDUCATION	4	1689,586	422,396	0,75	NS
SEX X AGE X EDUCATION	4	1935,926	483,981	0,86	NS

TABLE 9
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE EXPERIENTIAL DIMENSION
OF RELIGIOSITY BY SEX, AGE AND EDUCATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F-RATIO	p<
SEX	1	296,401	296,401	0,33	NS
AGE	2	364,663	182,331	0,20	NS
EDUCATION	2	32,658	16,329	0,02	NS
SEX X AGE	2	71,696	35,848	0,04	NS
SEX X EDUCATION	2	1665,937	832,968	0,92	NS
AGE X EDUCATION	4	1286,906	321,726	0,35	NS
SEX X AGE X EDUCATION	4	1445,762	361,440	0,40	NS

4.1.4.1 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Tables 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 reveal that neither the main effects of sex, age and education nor their interactions had an effect on religiosity and the ideological, intellectual, ritualistic and experiential dimensions of religiosity.

4.1.5 CONCLUSION

These results have revealed that neither the main effects of sex, age and education nor their interactions had an effect on marital adjustment, group commitment, attitude to divorce, religiosity and the dimensions of religiosity. It can, therefore, be said that the results which follow are not effected by sex, age and educational differences.

4.2 AN EXAMINATION OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MARITAL ADJUSTMENT, GROUP COMMITMENT, ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE AND RELIGIOSITY

In order to test the hypotheses a series of Pearson-product moment coefficients of correlation was computed on the marital adjustment, religiosity, group commitment and attitude to divorce scores. These are presented in Table 10.

TABLE 10
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MARITAL ADJUSTMENT, GROUP COMMITMENT, RELIGIOSITY AND ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE

	R	GC	MA	AD
R		,48***	,032	,200*
GC			,300**	,153
MA				,067

* P<0,05
** P<0,01
*** P<0,001

4.2.1 HYPOTHESIS 1

It was predicted that people who were more religious would have better adjusted marriages. This hypothesis was tested using the scores obtained on the De Jong-Faulkner Religiosity Scale and the Locke Marital Adjustment Test.

4.2.1.1 RESULTS

Table 11 represents the one way analyses of variance of the marital adjustment scores as a function of the dimensions of religiosity. Table 12 represents the means and standard deviations of marital adjustment scores as a function of the dimensions of religiosity.

TABLE 11

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF THE DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY

RELIGIOSITY DIMENSION	df	SS	MS	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
COMBINED	2	201,738	100,869	0,42711	NS
IDEOLOGICAL	2	475,8826	237,9413	1,1230	NS
INTELLECTUAL	2	507,7002	253,8501	1,1996	NS
RITUALISTIC	2	315,5845	157,7923	0,7402	NS
EXPERIENTIAL	2	329,8351	164,9175	0,7740	NS

TABLE 12

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES
AS FUNCTIONS OF THE DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY

VARIABLE	LEVEL	N	MEAN	SD
COMBINED	Low	28	111,643	14,763
	Average	68	113,044	13,634
	High	30	109,067	16,604
IDEOLOGICAL	Low	30	110,167	13,352
	Average	29	115,448	14,848
	High	67	111,328	14,938
INTELLECTUAL	Low	21	113,476	16,792
	Average	67	113,269	12,585
	High	38	108,947	16,387
RITUALISTIC	Low	39	111,282	15,709
	Average	46	110,609	15,080
	High	41	114,244	12,855
EXPERIENTIAL	Low	26	108,885	15,516
	Average	32	113,312	14,836
	High	68	112,574	14,123

4.2.1.2 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

From the insignificant correlation of ,032 that was found between marital adjustment and religiosity, it cannot be said that people

who are more religious have better adjusted marriages. Therefore, results in Table 11 reveal that there was no significant differences between the means of the groups, further supporting the insignificant correlation that was found between marital adjustment and religiosity.

4.2.1.3 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

While this finding, that religiosity is not related to marital adjustment, might appear paradoxical in the light of the other findings of this research, namely, that religiosity is related to group commitment and group commitment is related to marital adjustment, it highlights the distinctive nature of the Jewish group and demonstrates that it is commitment to the group as measured by variables such as closest friends Jewish, importance of living in a Jewish neighbourhood, belonging to Jewish organisations, synagogue membership, synagogue attendance and ritualistic practices, rather than religious doctrine or experiences, that is correlated to marital adjustment. This supports Dubb's (1977) findings that religious observances are means of identification with the group rather than expressions of religiosity and are in accordance with Arkin's (1989) view of the South African Jewish community today as one in which the majority of Jews can be classified as 'unobservant orthodox' who remain attached to traditional Judaism without adhering to the strictly religious requirements. Further, it lends support to Sklare & Greenblum's (1979) concept of 'associational Judaism' which Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) utilized in his study.

The present finding is contrary to Filsinger & Wilson (1984) and Wilson & Filsinger (1986) who found a relationship between relig-

iosity and marital adjustment in samples of Protestant church-going subjects which suggests that religiosity is a predictor of marital adjustment in Christian samples and not in Jewish samples. Further support of this difference is that the present research used a similar research design to the above authors. Religiosity was measured with the De Jong-Faulkner Warland Religiosity Scale which approximates the De Jong-Faulkner Religiosity Scale used in this research, the only difference being that the intellectual dimension is specific to Christianity. Marital adjustment was measured with Spanier's 32 item Dyadic Adjustment Scale.

4.2.1.4 CONCLUSION

The hypothesis that people who were more religious would have better adjusted marriages was not supported by the findings of the research.

4.2.2 HYPOTHESIS 2

It was predicted that people who were more religious would be more committed to the group. This hypothesis was tested using the scores obtained on the De Jong-Faulkner Religiosity Scale and the Group Commitment Test.

4.2.2.1 RESULTS

Table 13 represents the one way analyses of variance of the group commitment scores as a function of the dimensions of religiosity. Table 14 comprises the means and standard deviations of the group commitment scores as a function of the dimensions of religiosity. The means are graphically represented in Figures 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Tables 15, 16, 17 and 18 represent the t -tests for the differences

between the means of the low/ave, low/high and ave/high ideological, intellectual, ritualistic and experiential dimensions of religiosity according to the group commitment scores respectively.

TABLE 13

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF THE DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY

RELIGIOSITY DIMENSION	df	SS	MS	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
COMBINED	2	6250,324	3125,162	15,784	P<0,001
IDEOLOGICAL	2	4980,0942	2490,0471	11,9531	P<0,001
INTELLECTUAL	2	3990,0095	1995,0048	9,2204	P<0,01
RITUALISTIC	2	4419,4302	2209,7151	10,3802	P<0,001
EXPERIENTIAL	2	2788,7488	1394,3744	6,1661	P<0,05

TABLE 14

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES
AS FUNCTIONS OF THE DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY

VARIABLE	LEVEL	N	MEAN	SD
COMBINED	Low	28	80,035	16,965
	Average	68	90,338	13,765
	High	30	100,800	11,577
IDEOLOGICAL	Low	30	79,400	19,013
	Average	29	92,517	7,836
	High	67	94,672	14,260
INTELLECTUAL	Low	21	80,333	20,387
	Average	67	89,866	12,507
	High	38	97,368	14,683
RITUALISTIC	Low	39	83,615	16,581
	Average	46	89,457	14,357
	High	41	98,341	12,709
EXPERIENTIAL	Low	26	82,654	17,195
	Average	32	88,594	14,361
	High	68	94,471	14,470

FIGURE 5

MEANS OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF RELIGIOSITY

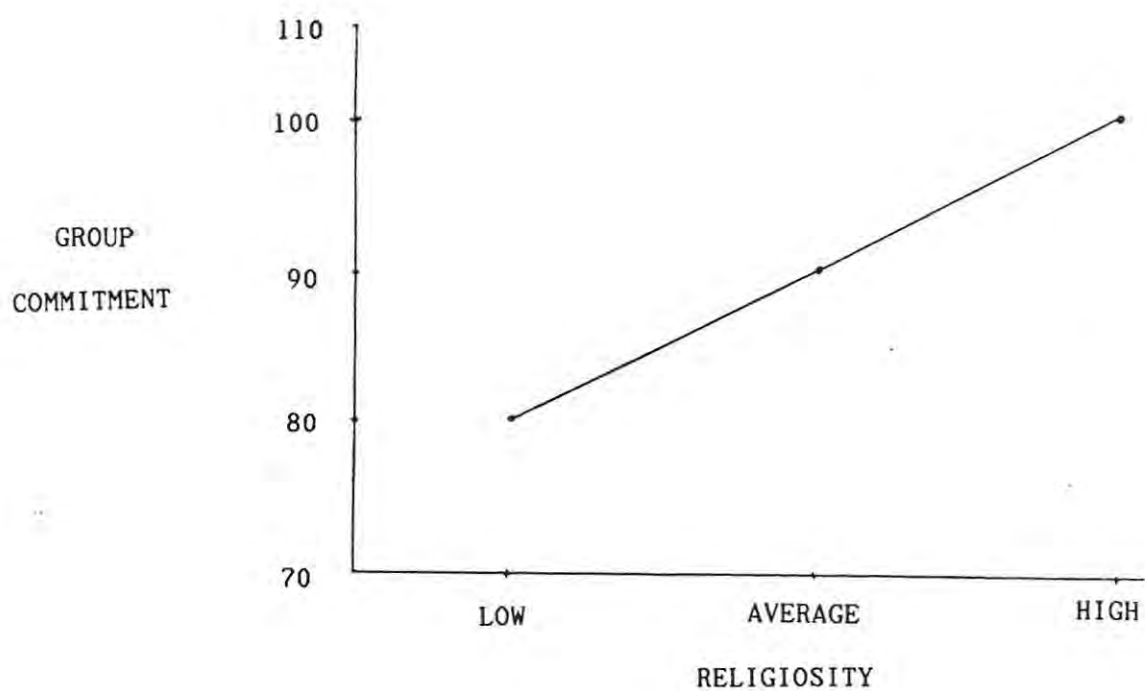


FIGURE 6

MEANS OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF RELIGIOSITY

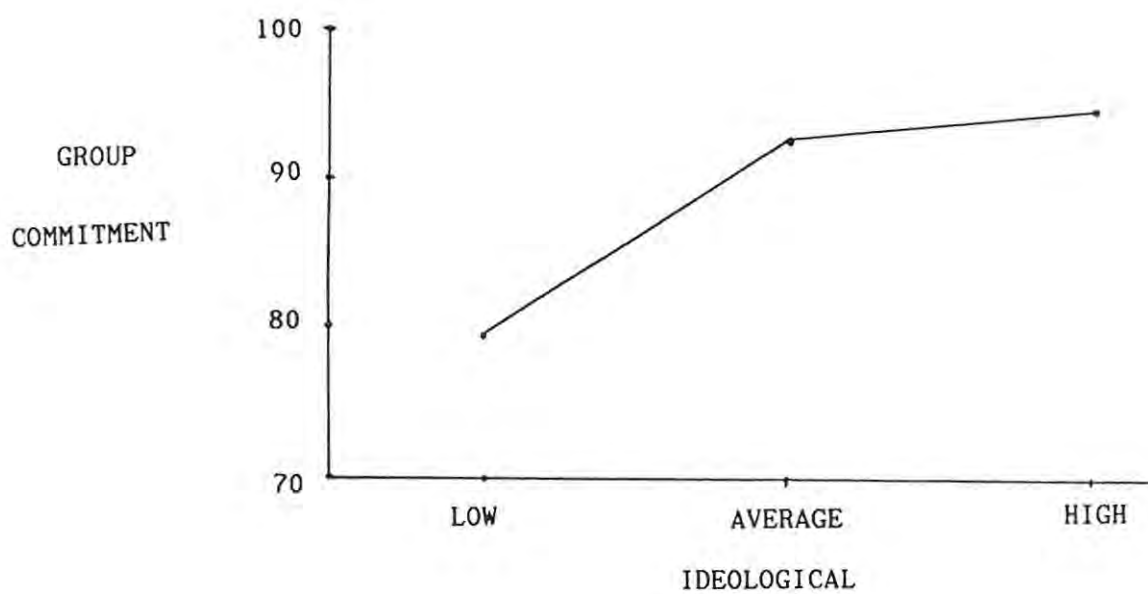


FIGURE 7

MEANS OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF THE INTELLECTUAL DIMENSION OF RELIGIOSITY

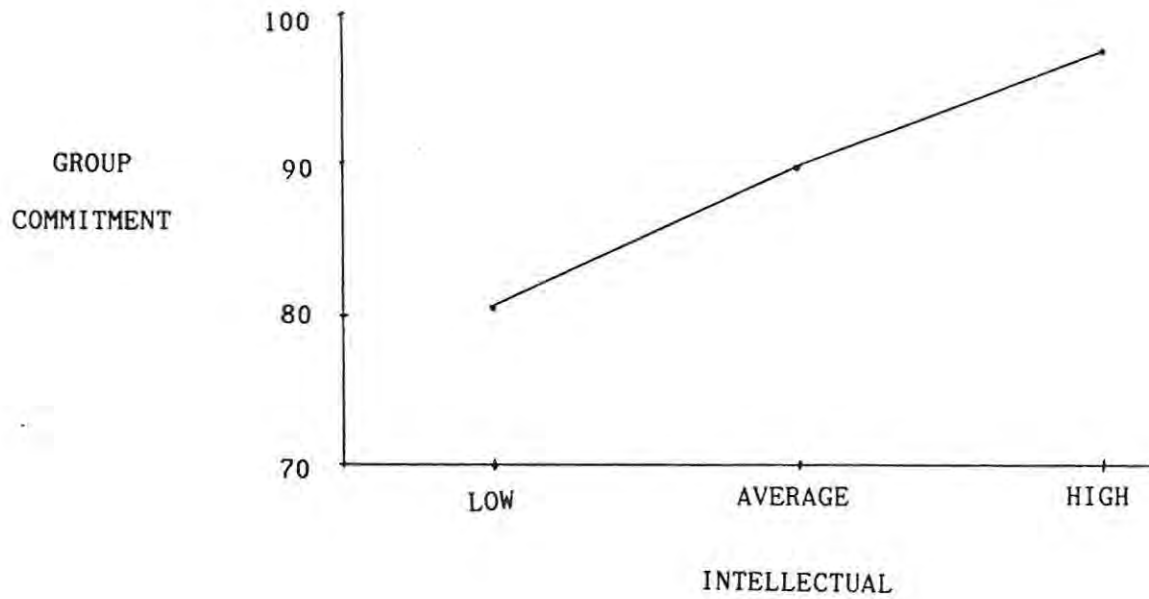


FIGURE 8

MEANS OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF THE RITUALISTIC DIMENSION OF RELIGIOSITY

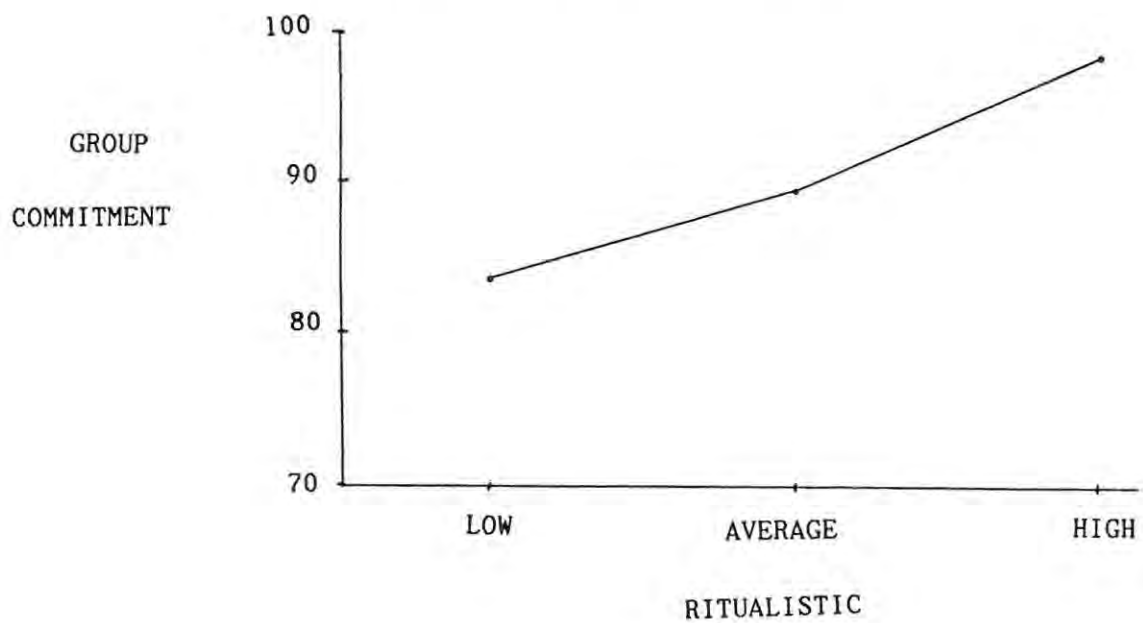


TABLE 9

MEANS OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF THE EXPERIENTIAL DIMENSION OF RELIGIOSITY

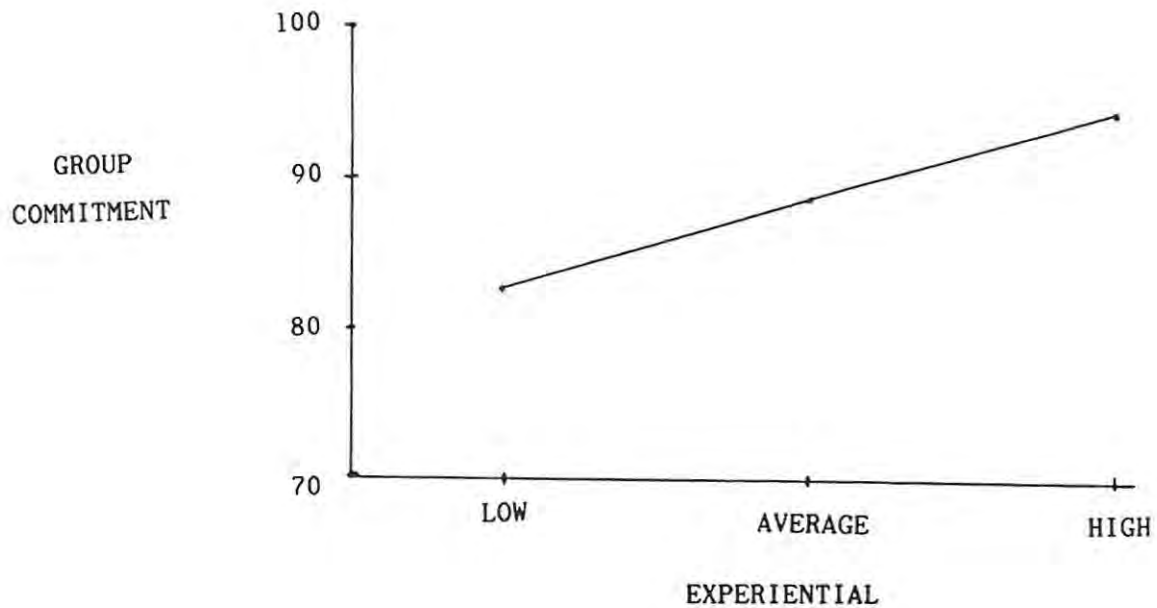


TABLE 15

t-TEST FOR THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEANS OF THE LOW/AVE, LOW/HIGH AND AVE/HIGH GROUPS ON THE IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF RELIGIOSITY ACCORDING TO THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES

GROUPS	df	t	P<
LOW/AVE	123	3,4898	0,001
LOW/HIGH	123	4,8165	0,001
AVE/HIGH	123	0,6715	NS

TABLE 16

t-TESTS FOR THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEANS OF THE LOW/AVE, LOW/HIGH AND AVE/HIGH GROUPS ON THE INTELLECTUAL DIMENSION OF RELIGIOSITY ACCORDING TO THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES

GROUPS	df	t	P<
LOW/AVE	123	2,5912	0,05
LOW/HIGH	123	4,2592	0,001
AVE/HIGH	123	2,5116	0,05

TABLE 17

t-TESTS FOR THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEANS OF THE LOW/AVE, LOW/HIGH AND AVE/HIGH GROUPS ON THE RITUALISTIC DIMENSION OF RELIGIOSITY ACCORDING TO THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES

GROUPS	df	t	P<
LOW/AVE	123	1,8392	NS
LOW/HIGH	123	4,5123	0,001
AVE/HIGH	123	2,8353	0,01

TABLE 18

t-TESTS FOR THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEANS OF THE LOW/AVE, LOW/HIGH AND AVE/HIGH GROUPS ON THE EXPERIENTIAL DIMENSION OF RELIGIOSITY ACCORDING TO THE GROUP COMMITMENT SCORES

GROUPS	df	t	P<
LOW/AVE	123	1,4960	NS
LOW/HIGH	123	3,4079	0,001
AVE/HIGH	123	1,8230	NS

4.2.2.2 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

From the highly significant correlation of ,47 ($P < 0,001$) that was found between group commitment and religiosity, it can be said that people who are more religious are more committed to the group. This is corroborated by the significant difference between the means of the groups that was found in Table 13.

The t-tests for the differences between the low/ave, low/high and ave/high groups on all dimensions of religiosity revealed the following significant differences :

Table 15 - ideological dimension low/ave and low/high

Table 16 - intellectual dimension low/ave, low/high and ave/high

Table 17 - ritualistic dimension low/high and ave/high

Table 18 - experiential dimension low/high

4.2.2.3 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

As was mentioned, this finding that religiosity is correlated to group commitment cannot be interpreted in isolation due to the interrelated nature of the findings where group commitment was correlated to marital adjustment while no correlation was found between religiosity and marital adjustment. Following Dubb's (1977) findings that religious observances were means of identifying with the group rather than expressions of religiosity and that apart from the mostly strictly orthodox sections of the community, there was little relationship between religious belief and practice where the majority of Jews make no distinction between being religious and being observant, it may be inferred that this accounts for the present finding. This is highlighted by the differential signifi-

cant differences that were found in the means of the low/ave, low/high and ave/high groups of the dimensions of religiosity. Of special note is the ideological dimension in relation to the ritualistic dimension where no significant difference was found between the average and high groups on the ideological dimension, indicating that the majority of the sample was similar in their beliefs but this similarity was not evident in the ritualistic dimension as indicated by the significant difference that was found between the average and high groups. This supports Dubb's (1977) findings.

4.2.2.4 CONCLUSION

1. The hypothesis that people who were more religious would be more committed to the group was supported by the present finding.
2. From the interrelated nature of the research findings, it appears that the dimensions of religiosity which the De Jong-Faulkner Religiosity Scale measures underscores aspects of identifying with the Jewish group rather than religiosity per se and highlights the ambivalent nature of Jewish religiosity.

4.2.3 HYPOTHESIS 3

It was predicted that people who were more committed to the group would have better adjusted marriages. This hypothesis was tested using the scores obtained on the Group Commitment Test and the Locke Marital Adjustment Test.

4.2.3.1 RESULTS

Table 19 represents the one way analysis of variance of the marital adjustment scores as a function of group commitment. Table 20 comprises the means and standard deviations of the marital adjustment scores as a function of group commitment. The means are graphically represented in Figure 10.

TABLE 19

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP COMMITMENT

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MARITAL ADJUSTMENT	2	2526,1904	1263,0952	6,4707	P<01

TABLE 20

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP COMMITMENT

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT	GROUP COMMITMENT		
	LOW N=26	AVE N=71	HIGH N=29
MEAN	105,346	111,633	118,862
SD	15,144	14,561	11,074

4.2.3.2 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

From the significant correlation of ,3 (P<001) that was found between group commitment and marital adjustment, it can be said that people who are more committed to the group have better adjusted marriages. This is supported by the significant differences between the means of the marital adjustment scores according to low, aver-

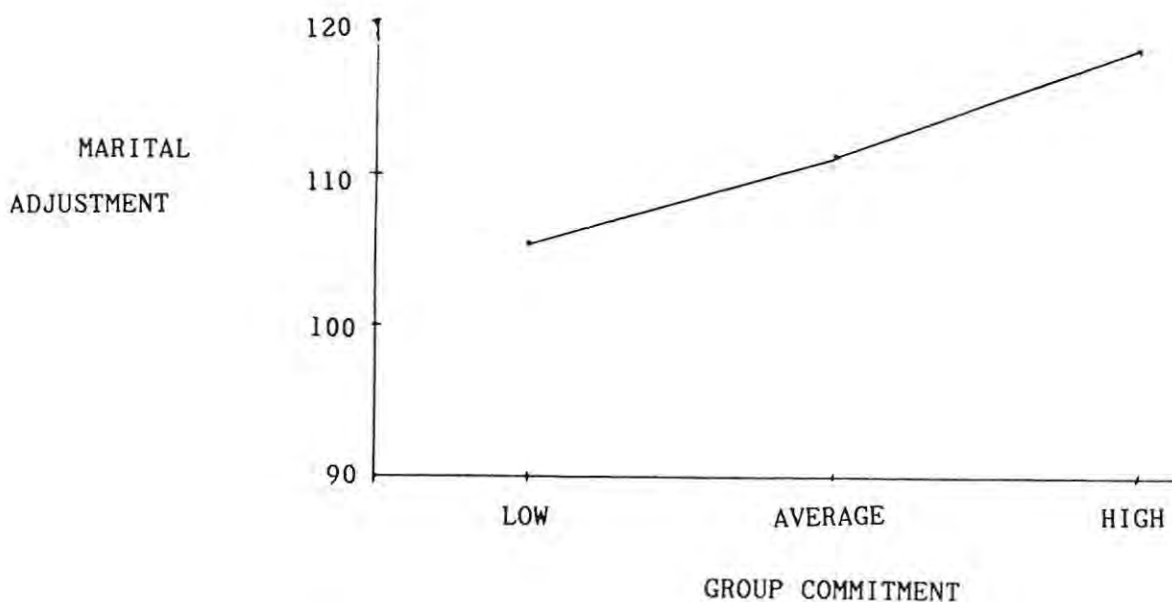
age and high group commitment groups that was found in the analysis of variance in Table 19.

4.2.3.3 DISCUSSION

It must be pointed out that this hypothesis was advanced as an exploratory research as there has been no previous research conducted in this area. It resulted from Brodbar-Nemzer's (1986) suggestion that studies should be carried out at the social-psychological level to explore the links between group commitment, which he argues is a measure of social integration, and various processes and outcomes of family life in the Jewish group. Brodbar-Nemzer's study, where he found that Jews who were more committed to the group were less likely to have ever been divorced, was used as a basis for the present research. It was hypothesized that marital adjustment would be a result of group commitment in the same way as divorce was. In this way, the psycho-social outcomes of group commitment could be assessed. The hypothesis was supported.

FIGURE 10

MEANS OF THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP COMMITMENT



The present finding indicates that group commitment not only has an impact on divorce as found by Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) but also on marital adjustment in the Jewish group. Following Glenn & Supancic (1984), Glenn & Shelton (1985) and Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) that Jewish communities have pre-existing high levels of social integration, and Brodbar-Nemzer's (1986) contention that group commitment is a measure of social integration, it can, therefore, be said that marital adjustment is the outcome of people being integrated into the Jewish group which has high levels of social integration. Social integration has been documented by researchers as providing individuals with benefits such as social support, social control and value and norm consensus as well as standing in opposite relation to forces of fragmentation and separation which are important in alleviating the disadvantages of individualism and thereby providing the climate for the support of the investment of the self in dyads and larger social units.

This demonstrates that a social structural framework, utilizing the concept of social integration, is an approach that can be used in explaining variations in marital adjustment.

This finding supports Scanzoni (1965) who saw marital adjustment as a result of a couple's mutual integration into groups which is highlighted by the fact that in the present sample, all spouses were Jewish.

Further, these findings shed light on the relationship between marital quality (marital adjustment) and marital stability in the Jewish group. As a result of these findings, it can be said that

Jews who are committed to the group have high quality as well as high stability marriages. However, following Thomas & Kleber (1981) who argue that quality does not predict stability when there are external pressures to remain married, it appears that Jewish couples who experience low quality marriages would not divorce. Thus, these findings have established that Jewish marriages are characterised by either high quality and high stability or low quality and high stability. Moreover, the barriers to divorce which subsist in the Jewish group have an important impact on preventing the development of individualism. This can be inferred from Lewis & Spanier (1979), who maintain that, since conditions in Western countries are moving towards more liberal attitudes to divorce, which trend Thornton (1985) found, it is possible that a greater number of married people who have relatively well-adjusted and conflict-free marriages may opt for divorce due to more attractive alternatives. This supports Durkheim's (1951) contention that divorce is a reflection of a group's attitude to marriage and highlights the use of a social structural approach in the study of marital relationships.

4.2.3.4 CONCLUSION

1. The hypothesis that people who were more committed to the group would have better adjusted marriages was supported by the present research.
2. It is apparent that the benefits that people obtain from integration into groups which have high levels of social integration have an effect on marital adjustment. These include norm and value consensus, social control and social support.

3. This finding demonstrates that a social structural framework using the concept of social integration can be used in explaining variations in marital adjustment.

4.2.4 HYPOTHESIS 4

It was predicted that people who had a higher group commitment would have a negative attitude towards divorce. This hypothesis was tested using the scores obtained from the Group Commitment Test and Attitude to Divorce Scale.

4.2.4.1 RESULTS

Table 21 represents the one way analysis of variance of the attitude to divorce scores as a function of group commitment. Table 22 represents the means and standard deviations of the attitude to divorce scores as a function of group commitment.

TABLE 21

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP COMMITMENT

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE	2	133,966	66,983	1,681	NS

TABLE 22

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP COMMITMENT

ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE	GROUP COMMITMENT		
	LOW N=26	AVE N=71	HIGH N=29
MEAN	24,500	24,254	26,759
SD	7,659	5,911	5,944

4.2.4.2 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

From the insignificant correlation of ,153 that was found between group commitment and a negative attitude to divorce, it cannot be said that people with a higher group commitment have a negative attitude to divorce. Therefore, the results in Table 21 reveal that there was no difference between the means of the groups.

4.2.4.3 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This hypothesis was advanced as an exploratory research as there has been no research conducted in this area. It was founded on the rationale that Jews tend to value the family in the light of its importance in group survival (Brodbar-Nemzer, 1984), and that Jews have a lower divorce rate than the general population (Cohen, 1982; Glenn & Supancic, 1984; Glenn & Shelton, 1985; Brodbar-Nemzer, 1986). Therefore, it was assumed that Jews would have a negative attitude to divorce, the result of which is the low divorce rate that has been widely observed and documented.

While the finding of this hypothesis is not what was expected, it supports Brodbar-Nemzer's (1986) contention that the Jews are in

the mainstream of various contemporary events, participating in trends such as egalitarianism and female participation in the workforce, while at the same time retaining links to a communal infrastructure and tradition. This demonstrates that Jews are willing to accept modern trends such as a more accepting attitude to divorce, which trend Thornton (1985) found in her research on changing attitudes to divorce. This, then, would account for the finding that group commitment is not correlated to a negative attitude to divorce.

The researcher is of the opinion that, following Morgan & Scanzoni's (1987) line of reasoning that values predict commitment to marriage where more traditionally held values will result in people tending towards the permanence end of the permanence/pragmatism continuum, that it would have been more pertinent to analyse the consequences of group commitment in the Jewish group in terms of commitment to marriage rather than attitudes to divorce, given the centrality of the importance of traditional family values within the Jewish culture. This could be achieved by the use of the permanence-pragmatism in close relationships (PPCR) measure which Morgan & Scanzoni devised. The use of an attitude to divorce scale would be more suitable with subjects who do not hold traditional values. In other words, commitment to marriage would tend to keep marriages intact with individuals who hold traditional values in much the same way as attitudes to divorce would with individuals who do not hold such values. This hypothesis could be tested in future research.

4.2.4.4 CONCLUSION

1. The hypothesis that people who had a higher group commitment would have a negative attitude to divorce was not supported by the present finding.
2. It was hypothesized that the PPCR measure of commitment to marriage would be more suitable with Jewish subjects.

4.2.5 HYPOTHESIS 5

It was predicted that people who were more religious would have a negative attitude towards divorce. This hypothesis was tested using the scores obtained on the De Jong and Faulkner Religiosity Test and the Attitude to Divorce Scale.

4.2.5.1 RESULTS

Table 23 represents the one way analyses of variance of the attitude to divorce scores as a function of the dimensions of religiosity. Table 24 represents the means and standard deviations of the attitude to divorce scores as a function of the dimensions of religiosity. The means are graphically represented in Figure 11.

TABLE 23

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF THE ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF THE DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY

RELIGIOSITY DIMENSION	df	SS	MS	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
COMBINED	2	108,232	54,116	1,351	NS
IDEOLOGICAL	2	47,0797	23,5398	0,5808	NS
INTELLECTUAL	2	82,0916	41,0458	1,0193	NS
RITUALISTIC	2	58,5577	29,2788	0,7236	NS
EXPERIENTIAL	2	53,4943	26,7472	0,6604	NS

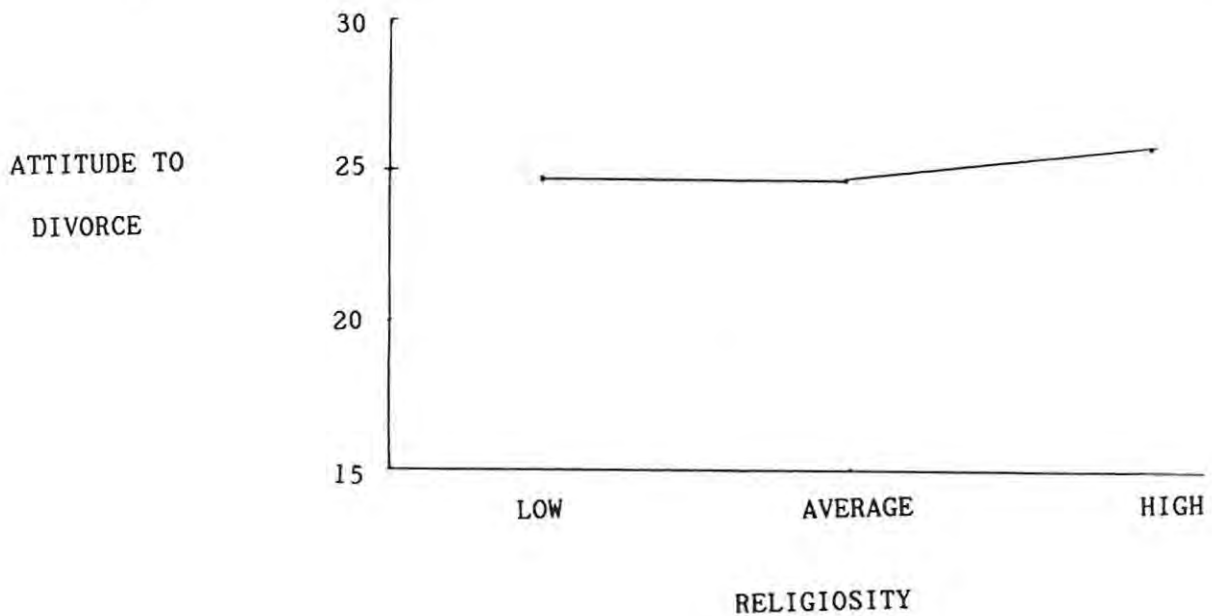
TABLE 24

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCORES
AS FUNCTIONS OF THE DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY

VARIABLE	LEVEL	N	MEAN	SD
COMBINED	Low	28	24,500	6,995
	Average	68	24,309	6,163
	High	30	26,533	6,050
IDEOLOGICAL	Low	30	23,800	7,265
	Average	29	25,379	6,800
	High	67	25,149	5,724
INTELLECTUAL	Low	21	23,857	7,958
	Average	67	24,537	6,170
	High	38	26,053	5,633
RITUALISTIC	Low	39	23,974	6,499
	Average	46	24,935	6,049
	High	41	25,683	6,567
EXPERIENTIAL	Low	26	23,615	6,934
	Average	32	25,063	6,021
	High	68	25,279	6,296

FIGURE 11

MEANS OF THE ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF RELIGIOSITY



4.2.5.2 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

From the low significant correlation of ,2 ($P < 0,05$) and the insignificant differences between the means that was found between a negative attitude to divorce and the dimensions of religiosity, it can be said that the hypothesis is not really supported.

4.2.5.3 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This hypothesis was assumed as the consequential dimension of religiosity and was not supported by the research findings. Although a very low correlation was found, this was not supported by the analyses of variance carried out on the attitude to divorce scores as functions of religiosity and the dimensions of religiosity, thus indicating that the hypothesis was not, in fact, supported.

This finding is contrary to Thornton (1985) who found that religious people held negative attitudes to divorce which remained so over the 18 year period of her research. As a result, this suggests that Jews, in general, are not religious. Therefore, this finding, in fact, support Dubb's (1977) findings that religious practices are a means of identification with the group rather than expressions of religiosity, and Arkin's (1989) contention that the majority of South African Jews are 'unobservant orthodox' and therefore lends support to the first three hypotheses.

4.2.5.4 CONCLUSION

1. The hypothesis that people who were more religious would have a negative attitude to divorce was not supported by the research findings.

2. Since there is no available research on this aspect with Jewish subjects, further comparative investigations are needed between the ultra-orthodox and general sectors of the Jewish population.

4.2.6 HYPOTHESIS 6

It was predicted that people who had a negative attitude to divorce would have better adjusted marriages. This hypothesis was tested using the scores obtained on the Attitude to Divorce Scale and the Locke Marital Adjustment Test.

4.2.6.1 RESULTS

Table 25 represents the one way analysis of variance of the marital adjustment scores as a function of a negative attitude to divorce. Table 26 represents the means and standard deviations of the marital adjustment scores as a function of a negative attitude to divorce.

TABLE 25

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS	MS	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MARITAL ADJUSTMENT	2	21,497	10,748	0,049	NS

TABLE 26

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT	ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE		
	LOW N=23	AVE N=71	HIGH N=32
MEAN	111,130	112,225	112,125
SD	15,499	13,953	15,659

4.2.6.2 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

From the insignificant correlation of ,067 that was found between marital adjustment and a negative attitude to divorce, it cannot be said that people who have a negative attitude to divorce have better adjusted marriages. This is supported by the results in Table 25 which reveal that there are no differences between the means of the groups.

4.2.6.3 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This hypothesis was assumed as a corollary to hypotheses 4 and 5 in order to assess whether the consequences of group commitment and religiosity in the form of a negative attitude to divorce, had an impact on marital adjustment. It was based on Glenn & Shelton's (1975) contention that the quality of marriage is defined by the prevailing values shared by both parties. Thus, if the prevailing value was a negative attitude to divorce, it was assumed that it would have an impact on marital adjustment. The hypothesis was not supported by the research findings.

Since hypotheses 4 and 5 were not supported, it would therefore follow that this hypothesis was not supported.

4.2.6.4 CONCLUSION

The hypothesis that people who had a negative attitude to divorce would have better adjusted marriages was not supported by the present finding.

CHAPTER 5

5. OVERVIEW OF RESULTS, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATION,
IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1 OVERVIEW OF RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to investigate the interrelationships between group commitment, religiosity, marital adjustment and attitude to divorce in the Jewish ethnic group. Six hypotheses were advanced in order to investigate these relationships.

Present findings supported the relationships between group commitment and marital adjustment, religiosity and group commitment. However, the following relationships were not supported : religiosity and marital adjustment; a negative attitude to divorce and group commitment, a negative attitude to divorce and marital adjustment and a negative attitude to divorce and religiosity.

More specifically, the purpose of the research was to investigate the relationship between group commitment and marital adjustment. This was undertaken as an empirical study following Brodbar-Nemzer's (1986) suggestion that studies be undertaken at the social-psychological level to explore the links between group commitment, which he conceptualizes as a measure social integration, and various processes and outcomes of family life. Brodbar-Nemzer's study, where he found that Jews who had a greater group commitment were less likely ever to have been divorced, was used as a basis for this research. The study approximated Brodbar-Nemzer's in that the same variables for group commitment were used to construct a group com-

mitment questionnaire. Marital adjustment was placed in the same relation as divorce in order to assess whether group commitment had an impact on marital adjustment. Results supported this hypothesis.

On a wider level, the purpose of this research was to investigate the possibility of utilizing a social structural perspective, using the concept of social integration, of which group commitment is a measure, (Brodbar-Nemzer) in order to explain variations in marital adjustment.

5.1.1 DISCUSSION

The findings of this research have highlighted the distinctive nature of the Jewish group in South Africa. They have, in effect, supported Dubb's (1977) findings in the Johannesburg Jewish community that religious observances are a means of identifying with the group rather than expressions of religiosity and that there is little relationship between religious belief and observance. They have demonstrated that it is group commitment as measured by variables such as closest friends Jewish, importance of living in a Jewish neighbourhood, etc., which has an impact on marital adjustment. Thus, it can be said that Jews who are committed to the group have marriages characterized by quality as well as stability. However, the relationship between marital quality and marital stability is not a simple one (Lewis & Spanier 1979, 1980; Thomas & Kleber 1981). While Lewis & Spanier argue that marital stability can be predicted from marital quality when there are high barriers to divorce, Thomas & Kleber disagree with this and say that when there are high pressures to remain married, marital quality would not be strongly related to marital stability. Schumm & Bugaighis (1985)

addressed this issue by illustrating both approaches graphically and pointing out how both models are accurate under different conditions. Further, Schumm & Bugaighis pointed out that since conditions in the Western world are shifting towards more liberal attitudes to divorce, a trend which Thornton (1985) found in her research on changing attitudes to divorce, there is more support for Spanier & Lewis' model with the exception of certain conservative subcultures such as Judaism, conservative adherents of Christianity etc. Thus, since Jews have strong barriers to divorce which is inferred from the value they place on the family in its importance in group survival (Brodbar-Nemzer 1986), Thomas & Kleber's model would be relevant to predicting marital stability from quality. Therefore, it can be said that Jews who are committed to the group are unlikely to get divorced even when the quality of their marriages is low. Thus, Jewish couples would have either marriages characterized by high stability and high quality or high stability and low quality.

Further, Spanier & Lewis' (1979, 1980) model illustrates that the higher divorce rate that is prevalent is due to increasing individualism for when there are less barriers to divorce there are an increasing number of couples who get divorced even when their marriages are of a high quality. This demonstrates that group commitment has the effect of preventing the development of individualism and that the prevailing culture provides the framework of human social aspiration which supports Landis (1970), who is of the opinion that marriage should be studied within a cultural context.

The present research findings support Landis (1960) who found that Jews rated low in religiosity but high in marital adjustment as opposed to Protestant and Catholic subjects who rated high in religiosity and high in marital adjustment.

More recently, Filsinger & Wilson (1984) and Wilson & Filsinger (1986) found that religiosity was predictive of marital adjustment. While these findings are contrary to the present findings it must be pointed out that their studies included only Protestant church-going subjects. Their findings suggest in the light of Landis (1960) and the present findings that religiosity is predictive of marital adjustment in subjects who are adherents of Christianity.

From the non-significant correlations that were found between attitude to divorce and marital adjustment, group commitment or religiosity, it can be concluded that attitude to divorce does not play a role in marital stability or marital quality in the Jewish ethnic group. This supports Brodbar-Nemzer's (1986) contention that Jews are in the mainstream of current events and trends, and since Thornton (1985) found that people had become more accepting of divorce over the past eighteen years, it can be said that Jews would not have a negative attitude to divorce.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

From the research findings it can be said that :

- i) Religiosity reflects identification with the group rather than expressions of religiosity.

- ii) Jews who are more committed to the group have better adjusted marriages.
- iii) There is no relationship between group commitment, marital adjustment, religiosity and a negative attitude to divorce.

5.3 EVALUATION OF THIS STUDY

This research was undertaken in order to assess whether group commitment had an impact on marital adjustment. Research findings supported this, thus achieving the objectives of the study.

It has been of relevance in that it has highlighted the distinctive nature of the Jewish ethnic group which supports Dubb's (1977) finding in the Johannesburg Jewish community (see section 2.4.4.3).

It has demonstrated that a social structural framework, using the concept of social integration, can be used to explain variations in marital adjustment. Presumably, social integration provides the climate for the investment of the self in marital relationships and larger social units which is an antidote to individualism as well as providing benefits for individuals such value consensus, social control and support and a code of conduct which has an impact on marital adjustment.

As Cape Town has the second largest Jewish community and is largely an urban population, it is felt that these results can be generalized to the South African Jewish community.

The findings that Jews who are committed to the group do not have a negative attitude to divorce, supports Brodbar-Nemzer's contention that the Jews are in the mainstream of various contemporary events while still maintaining links to a communal infrastructure.

5.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The use of a social structural framework using the concept of social integration has implications for researchers in that it provides a relevant and alternative theoretical perspective with which to examine marital relationships. Within this perspective assessment can be made of the differences between communities in their levels of social integration and how integration into such communities has an impact on marital adjustment. In effect, it is suggested that societal and cultural structures are taken into account when examining the variations in marital adjustment.

This study has added to the body of knowledge regarding marital adjustment in the Jewish ethnic group, an area which has hitherto not been researched. Furthermore, it has shed light on the relationship between marital quality and marital stability in the Jewish group.

It was hypothesised that commitment to marriage as measured by the PPCR would be more applicable to the Jewish group than attitude to divorce. This has implications for future researchers.

On the practical level, this research has implications for counsellors and therapists in the helping process with Jewish couples. Assessment can be made of their integration into the group as well as factors such as denominational differences and value consensus.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The present study offers several possibilities for further research:

- 1) The study was confined to a within group analysis of marital adjustment of the Jews in Cape Town. It is therefore suggested that comparative cross cultural research be undertaken using other cultural groups in order to assess:
 - i) The differences and similarities between the groups regarding structural and cultural variables and the relationship these variables have on marital adjustment.
 - ii) Whether integration into groups that have pre-existing levels of social integration does have an impact on marital adjustment in other groups.
- 2) The research has demonstrated that attitude to divorce is not relevant for use with Jewish subjects. It was suggested that the PPCR commitment to marriage questionnaire would be more useful with subjects who hold traditional values. This hypothesis can be tested using Jewish subjects in comparison to the general population.
- 3) The present research can be extended by examining ultra orthodox Jewish communities in order to assess whether they differ from the general Jewish community regarding marital adjustment. Thus, clarifying the role of religiosity and group commitment in the Jewish group in relation to marital adjustment.

5.6 IN CONCLUSION

There has been no research on the relationship between group commitment and marital adjustment in the Jewish ethnic group. This research was a small attempt to fill the gap. In effect it attempted to fill the gap between marital stability and marital quality in the Jewish ethnic group. The results are suggestive in their theoretical and practical implications as well as in suggesting further research possibilities.

APPENDIX ABIOGRAPHICAL INVENTORY

PLEASE FILL IN THE FOLLOWING :

1. SEX :

Male	Female
------	--------

2. AGE :

21 - 25
26 - 30
31 - 35
36 - 40
41 - 45
46 - 50
51 - 55
55 +

3. MARITAL STATUS :

Unmarried
Married
Divorced
Separated
Widowed

4. IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY MARRIED OR SEPARATED :

a) WERE YOU EVER DIVORCED?

Yes
No

b) WERE YOU EVER WIDOWED?

Yes
No

5. ARE OR WERE YOUR PARENTS EVER DIVORCED? :

Yes
No

6. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED :

Std 9 or lower
Matriculation
University Diploma
Technical Diploma
University Degree
Post graduate Degree
Post graduate Diploma
Masters degree
PhD degree

7. QUALIFICATIONS :

8. OCCUPATION :

9. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE? :

10. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU STILL HAVE LIVING AT HOME? :

APPENDIX BATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCALE

PLEASE FILL IN YOUR RESPONSES FOR EACH QUESTION AS FOLLOWS :

- 1 = You strongly agree / feel that way always.
 2 = You mildly agree / feel that way sometimes.
 3 = You don't know.
 4 = You mildly disagree / seldom feel that way.
 5 = You strongly disagree / never feel that way.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. DIVORCE LOWERS THE STANDARDS OF MORALITY. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. IF MARRIAGE IS TO BE BASED ON MUTUAL AFFECTION,
DIVORCE OUGHT TO BE EASILY OBTAINED. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. DIVORCE SHOULD BE ALLOWED AS LONG AS THE RIGHTS
OF ALL INVOLVED ARE ASSURED. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. CHILDREN ARE BETTER OFF LIVING WITH ONE PARENT
THAN WITH TWO WHO DON'T GET ON VERY WELL. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. THE BEST SOLUTION TO A MARRIAGE PROBLEM IS NEVER
TO GRANT A DIVORCE. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I COULD NEVER CONSIDER DIVORCE AS A POSSIBLE
OUTCOME OF MY OWN MARRIAGE. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. MARRIAGE IS ESSENTIALLY AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO
INTERESTED PARTIES AND IF THEY WISH TO CONCLUDE
IT, THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. MARRIAGE IS A SACRED TRUST WHICH SHOULD NEVER
BE BROKEN. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. I WANT THE RIGHT TO START AND END MY MARRIAGE AS
I WISH. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. THERE WOULD BE LESS UNHAPPINESS IN THE WORLD IF
COUPLES HAD TO STAY TOGETHER AND SOLVE PROBLEMS,
RATHER THAN SEPARATE. | <input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> |

APPENDIX B 1ITEM ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDE TO DIVORCE SCALE

OVERALL ALPHA SCORE ,8155

	CORRELATION
1. DIVORCE LOWERS THE STANDARDS OF MORALITY	,4998
2. IF MARRIAGE IS TO BE BASED ON MUTUAL AFFECTION, DIVORCE OUGHT TO BE EASILY OBTAINED	,5793
3. DIVORCE IS DESIRABLE FOR CORRECTING ERRORS IN MARRIAGE	,2458
4. DIVORCE IS JUST LEGALISED ADULTERY	,2581
5. DIVORCE SHOULD BE ALLOWED AS LONG AS THE RIGHTS OF ALL INVOLVED ARE ASSURED	,5195
6. CHILDREN ARE BETTER OFF LIVING WITH ONE PARENT THAN WITH TWO WHO DON'T GET ON VERY WELL	,2623
7. THE BEST SOLUTION TO A MARRIAGE PROBLEM IS NEVER TO GRANT A DIVORCE	,3693
8. I COULD NEVER CONSIDER DIVORCE AS A POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF MY OWN MARRIAGE	,4099
9. MARRIAGE IS ESSENTIALLY AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO INTERESTED PARTIES AND IF THEY WISH TO CONCLUDE IT THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM	,3838
10. CHILDREN FROM BROKEN HOMES PICK UP MORE BAD VALUES	,2178
11. MARRIAGE IS A SACRED TRUST WHICH SHOULD NEVER BE BROKEN	,4190
12. EASY DIVORCE WOULD DEVELOP AN INTELLIGENT UNDERSTANDING OF MARRIAGE	,1251
13. I WANT THE RIGHT TO START AND END MY MARRIAGE AS I WISH	,3081
14. THERE WOULD BE LESS UNHAPPINESS IN THE WORLD IF COUPLES HAD TO STAY TOGETHER AND SOLVE PROBLEMS RATHER THAN SEPARATE	,4365
15. CHILDREN WITH DIVORCED PARENTS FIND IT HARDER TO DEVELOP SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIPS OF THEIR OWN	,2877

THE SCALE INCLUDED ITEMS 1,2,5,6,7,8,9,11,13,14

APPENDIX CTHE MODIFIED FORM OF LOCKE'S MARITAL ADJUSTMENT QUESTIONNAIRE
AND SCORING KEY

ALL THE QUESTIONS CAN BE ANSWERED BY PLACING A TICK () NEXT TO THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER. PLEASE FILL OUT ALL ITEMS. IF YOU CANNOT GIVE THE EXACT ANSWER TO A QUESTION, ANSWER THE BEST YOU CAN. GIVE THE ANSWERS THAT BEST FIT YOUR MARRIAGE AT THE PRESENT TIME.

1. HAVE YOU EVER WISHED YOU HAD NOT MARRIED?
 - a) Frequently 2
 - b) Occasionally 2
 - c) Rarely 6

2. IF YOU HAD YOUR LIFE TO LIVE OVER AGAIN, WOULD YOU
 - a) Marry the same person 7
 - b) Marry a different person 1
 - c) Not marry at all 1

3. DO YOU AND YOUR SPOUSE ENGAGE IN OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES TOGETHER?
 - a) All of them 5
 - b) Some of them 4
 - c) Few of them 2
 - d) None of them 2

4. IN LEISURE TIME WHICH DO YOU PREFER?
 - a) Both you and your spouse to stay at home 6
 - b) Both to be on the go 3(4)
 - c) One to be on the go and other to stay at home 2

5. DO YOU AND YOUR SPOUSE GENERALLY TALK THINGS OVER TOGETHER?
 - a) Never 2
 - b) Now and then 2
 - c) Almost always 4
 - d) Always 5

6. HOW OFTEN DO YOU KISS YOUR SPOUSE?
 - a) Every day 5
 - b) Now and then 3
 - c) Almost never 3

9. WHEN DISAGREEMENTS ARISE THEY GENERALLY RESULT IN
- a) Husband giving in 2(3)
 - b) Wife giving in 3 (2)
 - c) Neither giving in 2
 - d) Agreement by mutual give and take 6
10. WHAT IS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES YOU LEFT YOUR SPOUSE OR YOUR SPOUSE LEFT YOU BECAUSE OF CONFLICT?
- a) No times 7
 - b) One or more times 1
11. HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU AND YOUR SPOUSE GET ON EACH OTHER'S NERVES AROUND THE HOUSE?
- a) Never 5
 - b) Occasionally 4(5)
 - c) Frequently 3
 - d) Almost always 3
 - e) Always 3
12. WHAT ARE YOUR FEELINGS ON SEX RELATIONS BETWEEN YOU AND YOUR SPOUSE?
- a) Very enjoyable 5
 - b) Enjoyable 4(5)
 - c) Tolerable 2
 - d) Disgusting 2
 - e) Very disgusting 2
13. WHAT ARE YOUR SPOUSE'S FEELINGS ON SEX RELATIONS WITH YOU?
- a) Very enjoyable 5
 - b) Enjoyable 4(3)
 - c) Tolerable 3
 - d) Disgusting 3
 - e) Very disgusting 3

TO INDICATE HOW MUCH YOU AND YOUR SPOUSE AGREE OR DISAGREE ON THE ITEMS NUMBERED 14 TO 22, PLACE A TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BLOCK.

Check One Column For Each Item Below	Always Agree	Almost Always Agree	Occa- sionally Disagree	Fre- quently Disagree	Almost Always Disagree	Always Disagree
14. Handling family finances (Example: instal- ment buying)	5	5	2	2	2	2
15. Matters of re- creation (Example: going to dances)	5 (4)	4	4 (3)	3	3	3
16. Demonstration of affection (Example: fre- quency of kiss- ing)	5	4	3	3	3	3
17. Friends (Example: Dislike of spouse's friends)	5	5	3 (2)	2	2	2
18. Intimate rela- tions (Example: sex relations)	5	5 (4)	2 (3)	2 (3)	2 (3)	2 (3)
19. Ways of dealing with in-laws	5	5	2 (3)	2 (3)	2 (3)	2 (3)
20. The amount of time that should be spent to- gether	5 (6)	4	2 (3)	2	2	2
21. Conventionality (Example: right, good or proper conduct)	5	5 (4)	2	2	2	2
22. Aims, goals, and things believed to be important in life	6	4	2	2	2	2

23. ON THE SCALE LINE BELOW, TICK () THE LETTER WHICH BEST DESCRIBES THE DEGREE OF HAPPINESS, EVERYTHING CONSIDERED, OF YOUR MARRIAGE.

0	1	3	7	10	13	18
a	b	c	d	e	f	g

Very		Fairly	Somewhat	Fairly		Very
Unhappy	Unhappy	Unhappy	Happy	Happy	Happy	Happy

Scoring follows procedures suggested by Locke (1951). Scores are given for the husband's form and are the same for the wife's form except where the wife's score is given in parenthesis.

APPENDIX DTHE GROUP COMMITMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS BY WRITING THE NUMBER OF THE RESPONSE MOST TRUE FOR YOU IN THE BOX CORRESPONDING TO THE QUESTION.

1. TO WHICH DENOMINATION DO YOU BELONG?

- 1 = Orthodox
- 2 = Reform
- 3 = No religion
- 4 = Other

2. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT FOR YOU TO BELONG TO A SYNAGOGUE?

- 1 = Unimportant
- 2 = Somewhat unimportant
- 3 = Indifferent
- 4 = Somewhat important
- 5 = Very important

3. HOW OFTEN DO YOU ATTEND SYNAGOGUE?

- 1 = Hardly ever
- 2 = Rarely
- 3 = Sometimes
- 4 = Often
- 5 = Very often

4. BELOW ARE SOME JEWISH RELIGIOUS PRACTICES. PLEASE INDICATE, USING THE FOLLOWING SCALE, HOW IMPORTANT EACH ONE IS TO YOU.

- 1 = Unimportant
- 2 = Somewhat unimportant
- 3 = Indifferent
- 4 = Somewhat important
- 5 = Very important

- a. Attend a Passover Seder (at home or elsewhere)
- b. Fast on Yom Kippur
- c. Light candles on Friday night
- d. Make Friday night special
- e. Have two sets of dishes for meat and milk
- f. Have a Mezzuzah on the front door
- g. Buy meat only from a Kosher butcher
- h. Handle no money on the Sabbath
- i. Light Chanukah candles
- j. No pork eaten at home

5. OF YOUR FOUR CLOSEST FRIENDS, HOW MANY ARE JEWISH?

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

--

6. HOW IMPORTANT IS EACH OF THE FOLLOWING FACTORS IN MAKING A NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTRACTIVE TO YOU. USING THE FOLLOWING GUIDE, PLEASE INDICATE.

- 1 = Unimportant
- 2 = Somewhat unimportant
- 3 = Indifferent
- 4 = Somewhat important
- 5 = Very important

- a. Near a Jewish Day School
- b. A sizeable number of Jews in the neighbourhood
- c. Near a Synagogue

7. BELOW IS A LIST OF TYPES OF AID THAT JEWS GIVE TO ISRAEL. USING THE FOLLOWING GUIDE, PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT YOU FEEL A PERSONAL OBLIGATION TO HELP ISRAEL IN THIS MANNER.

- 1 = No obligation
- 2 = Partial obligation
- 3 = Indifferent
- 4 = Often
- 5 = Always

- a. Give money for Israel
- b. Raise money for Israel
- c. Belong to Zionist Organization
- d. Give Israel's financial needs priority over local Jewish causes
- e. Encourage children to emigrate to Israel

8. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU TO VISIT ISRAEL?

- 1 = Unimportant
- 2 = Somewhat unimportant
- 3 = Indifferent
- 4 = Somewhat important
- 5 = Very important

9. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT FOR YOU TO BELONG TO JEWISH CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS?

- 1 = Unimportant
- 2 = Somewhat unimportant
- 3 = Indifferent
- 4 = Somewhat important
- 5 = Very important

10. WHAT PROPORTION OF LAST YEARS MEETINGS DID YOU ATTEND IN THE ONE JEWISH ORGANIZATION IN WHICH YOU WERE MOST ACTIVE?

- 1 = None
- 2 = Some
- 3 = Moderate amount
- 4 = Most
- 5 = All

11. OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS, HOW OFTEN DID YOU CONTRIBUTE TO A LOCAL JEWISH CHARITY APART FROM SYNAGOGUE FEES AND CHILDREN'S TUITION?

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Moderately often
- 4 = Often
- 5 = Very often



APPENDIX D 1ITEM ANALYSIS OF THE GROUP COMMITMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

OVERALL ALPHA SCORE ,8155

	CORRELATION
1. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT FOR YOU TO BELONG TO A SYNAGOGUE?	,4021
2. HOW OFTEN DO YOU ATTEND SYNAGOGUE?	,6732
3. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO ATTEND A PASSOVER SEDER?	,5572
4. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO FAST ON YOM KIPPUR?	,3860
5. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT LIGHT CANDLES ON FRIDAY NIGHT?	,4917
6. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO MAKE FRIDAY NIGHT SPECIAL?	,4164
7. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO HAVE TWO SETS OF DISHES FOR MILK AND MEAT?	,6208
8. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO HAVE A MEZZUZAH ON THE FRONT DOOR?	,4467
9. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO BUY MEAT ONLY FROM A KOSHER BUTCHER?	,7432
10. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO HANDLE NO MONEY ON THE SABBATH?	,5040
11. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO LIGHT CHANUKAH CANDLES?	,5692
12. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT NOT TO EAT PORK AT HOME?	,3078
13. HOW MANY OF YOUR FRIENDS OUT OF 4 ARE JEWISH?	,3953
14. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO LIVE NEAR A JEWISH DAY SCHOOL?	,2831
15. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO LIVE IN A NEIGHBOURHOOD WHERE THERE IS A SIZEABLE NUMBER OF JEWS?	,3981
16. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO LIVE NEAR A SYNAGOGUE?	,4870
17. DO YOU FEEL A PERSONAL OBLIGATION TO GIVE MONEY FOR ISRAEL?	,2978

18.	DO YOU FEEL A PERSONAL OBLIGATION TO RAISE MONEY FOR ISRAEL?	,4153
19.	DO YOU FEEL A PERSONAL OBLIGATION TO BELONG TO A ZIONIST ORGANIZATION?	,5441
20.	DO YOU FEEL A PERSONAL OBLIGATION TO FIVE ISRAEL'S FINANCIAL NEEDS PRIORITY OVER LOCAL CHARITIES?	,4253
21.	DO YOU FEEL A PERSONAL OBLIGATION TO ENCOURAGE CHILDREN TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL?	,2886
22.	HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU TO VISIT ISRAEL?	,4958
23.	HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU TO BELONG TO JEWISH CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS?	,7774
24.	WHAT PROPORTION OF LAST YEARS MEETINGS DID YOU ATTEND IN THE ONE JEWISH ORGANIZATION IN WHICH YOU WERE MOST ACTIVE?	,6470
25.	OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS, HOW OFTEN DID YOU CONTRIBUTE TO A LOCAL JEWISH CHARITY APART FROM SYNAGOGUE FEES AND CHILDRENS TUITION?	,2825

APPENDIX ETHE DE JONG-FAULKNER RELIGIOSITY QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS BY WRITING THE NUMBER OF THE RESPONSE MOST TRUE FOR YOU IN THE BOX CORRESPONDING TO THE QUESTION.

IDEOLOGICAL SCALE

1. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE WORLD WILL COME TO AN END ACCORDING TO THE WILL OF GOD?

- *1. Yes, I believe this.
- 2. I am uncertain about this.
- 3. No, I do not believe this.

2. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS MOST CLEARLY DESCRIBES YOUR IDEA ABOUT THE DEITY?

- *1. I believe in a Divine God, creator of the Universe, who knows my inner-most thoughts and feelings, and to whom one day I shall be accountable.
- 2. I believe in a power greater than myself, which some people call God and some people call Nature.
- 3. I believe in the worth of humanity but not in a God or a Supreme Being.
- 4. The so-called universal mysteries are ultimately knowable according to the scientific method based on natural laws.
- 5. I am not sure what I believe.
- 6. I am an athiest.

3. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR A PERSON TO REPENT BEFORE GOD WILL FORGIVE HIS SINS?

- *1. Yes, God's forgiveness comes only after repentance.
- 2. No, God does not demand repentance.
- 3. I am not in need of repentance.

4. WHICH ONE OF THE FOLLOWING BEST EXPRESSES YOUR OPINION OF GOD ACTING IN HISTORY?

- *1. God has and continues to act in the history of mankind.
- 2. God acted in previous periods but is not active at the present time.
- 3. God does not act in human history.

5. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST EXPRESSES YOUR VIEW OF THE BIBLE?

- *1. The Bible is God's Word and all it says is true.
- *2. The Bible was written by men inspired by God, and its basic moral and religious teachings are true, but because writers were men, it contains some human errors.
- 3. The Bible is a valuable book because it was written by wise and good men, but God had nothing to do with it.
- 4. The Bible was written by men who lived so long ago that it is of little value today.

INTELLECTUAL SCALE

6. HOW DO YOU PERSONALLY VIEW THE STORY OF CREATION AS RECORDED IN GENESIS?

- *1. Literally true history.
- 2. A symbolic account which is no better or worse than any other account of the beginning.
- 3. Not a valid account of creation.

7. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST EXPRESSES YOUR OPINION CONCERNING MIRACLES?

- *1. I believe the report of the miracles in the Bible; that is, they occurred through a setting aside of natural laws by a higher power.
- 2. I do not believe in the so-called miracles of the Bible. Either such events did not occur at all, or, if they did, the report is inaccurate, and they could be explained upon scientific grounds if we had the actual facts.
- 3. I neither believe nor disbelieve the so-called miracles of the Bible. No evidence which I have considered seems to prove conclusively that they did or did not happen as recorded.

8. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: RELIGIOUS TRUTH IS HIGHER THAN ANY OTHER FORM OF TRUTH.

- *1. Strongly agree.
- *2. Agree.
- 3. Disagree.
- 4. Strongly disagree.

9. WHAT ARE THE FIRST FIVE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT?

* Three or more books correctly identified

RITUALISTIC SCALE

10. DO YOU FEEL IT IS POSSIBLE FOR AN INDIVIDUAL TO DEVELOP A WELL-ROUNDED RELIGIOUS LIFE APART FROM THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH?

- *1. No.
- 2. Uncertain.
- 3. Yes.

11. HOW MUCH TIME DURING A WEEK WOULD YOU SAY YOU SPEND READING THE BIBLE AND OTHER RELIGIOUS LITERATURE?

- *1. One hour or more.
- *2. One-half hour.
- 3. None.

12. HOW MANY OF THE PAST FOUR SABBATH WORSHIP SERVICES HAVE YOU ATTENDED?

- *1. Three or more.
- *2. Two.
- 3. One.
- 4. None.

13. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE ACT OF PRAYER?

- *1. Prayer is a regular part of my behaviour.
- *2. I pray primarily in times of stress and/or need, but not much otherwise.
- 3. Prayer is restricted pretty much to formal worship services.
- 4. Prayer is only incidental to my life.
- 5. I never pray.

14. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT FOR YOUR MARRIAGE THE CEREMONY SHOULD BE PERFORMED BY:

- *1. A religious official.
- 2. Either a religious official or a civil authority.
- 3. A civil authority.

EXPERIMENTAL SCALE

15. WOULD YOU SAY THAT ONE'S RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT GIVES LIFE A CERTAIN PURPOSE WHICH IT COULD NOT OTHERWISE HAVE?

- *1. Strongly agree.
- 2. Agree.
- 3. Disagree.

16. ALL RELIGIONS STRESS THAT BELIEF NORMALLY INCLUDES SOME EXPERIENCE OF "UNION" WITH THE DIVINE. ARE THERE PARTICULAR MOMENTS WHEN YOU FEEL "CLOSE" TO THE DIVINE?

- *1. Frequently.
- *2. Occasionally.
- 3. Rarely.
- 4. Never.

17. WOULD YOU SAY THAT RELIGION OFFERS A SENSE OF SECURITY IN THE FACE OF DEATH WHICH IS NOT OTHERWISE POSSIBLE?

- *1. Agree.
- 2. Uncertain.
- 3. Disagree.

18. HOW WOULD YOU RESPOND TO THE STATEMENT: "RELIGION PROVIDES THE INDIVIDUAL WITH AN INTERPRETATION OF HIS EXISTENCE WHICH COULD NOT BE DISCOVERED BY REASON ALONE."

- *1. Strongly agree.
- *2. Agree.
- 3. Disagree.

19. FAITH, MEANING PUTTING FULL CONFIDENCE IN THE THINGS WE HOPE FOR AND BEING CERTAIN OF THINGS WE CANNOT SEE, IS ESSENTIAL TO ONE'S RELIGIOUS LIFE.

- *1. Agree.
- 2. Uncertain.
- 3. Disagree.

* marks the response defined as indicating a traditional religious response.

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