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YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE
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HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT

MASTERS THESIS

A STUDY ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF MARRIAGE IN BOTSWANA

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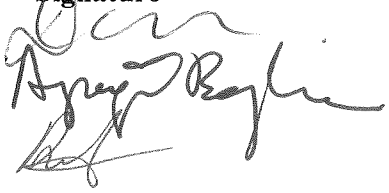
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ABSTRACT

A STUDY ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF MARRIAGE IN BOTSWANA

Tshepo Pam Mathafeni

July, 2019

Marriage is a social, cultural and legal institution that establishes a union between a man and a woman to start a family and raise children. Before Tswana society had contact with the European missionaries in the 19th century, practices like polygamy, *bogadi* (bride wealth) and *go batlela mosadi* (to choose a wife for the man) were highly respected and practiced. The introduction of Christian reforms by the missionaries altered these practices even though they are still practised today. Since the 20th century, the global society has become more interconnected, exchanged ideas and culture as a result of globalisation. Consequently, Botswana's economy, social institutions and cultural traditions have been affected. Some studies argue that cultural diversity and traditions have been under threat as a result of globalisation. The aim of this study is to explore the transformation of marriage in Botswana. A mixed secondary research method of data collection is employed to analyse the changes that the institution of marriage has gone through over the years; the narratives about marriage in modern day Botswana; the contemporary influences of globalisation on marriage and the trends in marriage. In this study, the results indicate that the labour migration in the 1940s-1970s had a significant impact on Botswana's social and economic structure. An increase in educational attainment and career opportunities for women meant more participation in the labour market in Botswana. As a result, people delayed getting married, the number of cohabiting couples increased as well as the divorce cases. The study highlights concerns regarding the effects globalisation is having on the traditions, practices and values of Tswana marriage.

Key Words: marriage, globalization, transformation, Africa, Botswana

ÖZ

EVLİLİK KURUMUNUN BOTSVANA'DAKİ DÖNÜŞÜMÜ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

Tshepo Pam Mathafeni

Temmuz, 2019

Evlilik, bir erkekle bir kadın arasında bir aile kurmak ve çocuk yetiştirmek için bir birlik kuran sosyal, kültürel ve yasal bir kurumdur. Botsvana'da, Tswana toplumunun 19. yüzyılda Avrupalı misyonerler ile temasa geçmesinden önce, çok eşlilik, bogadi (başlık parası) ve go batlela mosadi (erkek için bir eş seçmek) gibi uygulamalar uygulanırdı ve onlara çok saygı duyulurdu. Bugün hâlâ uygulanmakta olsalar bile, misyonerler tarafından başlatılan Hristiyan reformları, bu uygulamaları değiştirdi. 20. yüzyıldan bu yana, küresel toplum daha iç içe geçmiş bir hale geldi ve küreselleşme sonucunda fikir ve kültür alışverişinde bulundu. Sonuç olarak, Botswana'nın ekonomisi, sosyal kurumları ve kültürel gelenekleri bu süreçlerden etkilendi. Bazı araştırmalar, küreselleşme sonucunda kültürel çeşitliliğin ve geleneklerin tehdit altında olduğunu savunuyor. Bu çalışmanın amacı Botswana'da evliliğin dönüşümünü araştırmaktır. Evlilik kurumunun yıllar içinde geçirdiği değişiklikleri, günümüzde Botswana'da evlilikle ilgili anlatıları, küreselleşmenin evlilik üzerindeki etkilerini ve bu alandaki eğilimleri analiz etmek için karma bir ikincil veri toplama yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, sonuçlar 1940'lar ve 1970'ler arasındaki emek göçünün Botswana'nın sosyal ve ekonomik yapısı üzerinde önemli bir etkisi olduğunu göstermektedir. Daha fazla kadının eğitim almaya başlaması ve kadınların kariyer fırsatlarındaki artış, Botswana'da kadınlar için işgücü piyasasına daha fazla katılım anlamına geldi. Sonuç olarak, insanlar evlenmeyi geciktirdi, boşanma vakalarının yanı sıra birlikte yaşayan çiftlerin sayısı da arttı. Bu çalışma, küreselleşmenin Tswana evliliğinin gelenekleri, uygulamaları ve değerleri üzerindeki etkileriyle ilgili endişelerin altını çizmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: evlilik, küreselleşme, dönüşüm, Afrika, Botsvana

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İstanbul; July, 2019 Tshepo Pam Mathafeni

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1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents findings from a secondary mixed research study that explored and analysed the transformation of marriage in Botswana since the 19th century. It discusses how factors related to globalization such as Botswana's integration into the world economy has had an effect on traditional marriage in Botswana. This chapter will give a brief background information on Botswana, discuss the statement of the problem of this study. The aim of the study and the objectives are explained as well as the methodology and lastly the chapter will explain the significance and limitations of the study.

1.1. Background

Botswana is a landlocked country in Southern Africa bordered by Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Botswana was declared a British protectorate in 1885 (Leith, 2005), known as Bechuanaland but later changed the name upon independence in 1966. The country is sparsely populated with a population of a little over 2 million people. Though it was one of the world's poorest countries at independence in 1966, after independence it rapidly became one of the world's largest development success stories.

According to Fotter, (2013, p.3) "Botswana moved from being the second poorest country in the world at the time of its independence to its current status as a middle income country". With globalization came developments which affected communities and social institutions, the institution of marriage included. Some studies argue that the interconnectedness of the global communities, cultures and economies became a threat to cultural diversity. Botswana has slowly adopted global and western traditions and conformed to western influence. Marriage is a significant part of life in all African traditions as it bestows respect and is the context within which family lives are extended. Marriage in Botswana as indicated by Solway (2017), was a "total social phenomenon" entailing the intermingling of the economic, social and political

spheres and continual gift circulation, thereby fostering dense social networks. In Botswana, "marriage as a union between two families, regardless of any shortcomings brought with it assets" (Fotter, 2013:5). He further notes that unifying families creates a strong community and all the love and support that comes with that. And marriage as the original institution, unites men and women in genetic reproduction and household production (Adshade & Kaiser, 2008). Wimalasena (2016) asserts that "the fundamental basis of marriage is defined as a personal association between a man and a woman and a biological relationship for mating and reproduction". Furthermore, "as a social, legal and religious institution, marriage has undergone any number of modifications and changes, nevertheless, its basic realities remain the same" (p.166).

1.2. Statement of the problem

"We all wish to make progress, but that does not mean that sense of community and all traditional values must be tossed aside" (Fotter, 2013:1). Over the centuries, the African traditions that have been a foundation for most African societies have significantly changed as people adopt the western practices like cohabitation, white wedding celebrations, bridal parties, and wedding marches just to mention a few. It is argued that marriage was a significant part of life in African traditions, it bestowed respect and catered for the needs of the families and communities, not individuals. Some studies argue that when we begin to look at marriage as a way to support ourselves in an increasingly global world or as a way to acquire cash or goods, we are all losing something (Fotter, 2013).

With the 1966 post-independence and impact of wage employment and globalization, the cash economy permeated every aspect of urban and rural areas in Botswana (Raditloaneng and Molosi, 2014). The researchers further note that the love of materialism is a result of the impact of the cash economy. Fotter, in a study on *Perspectives in an Age of Modernisation and Globalisation: A Comparative Study of the United States and Botswana* indicates that women in Botswana are often left in sticky situations when it comes to marriage, without the means of support for themselves and often for their children, they sometimes end up in unhealthy

marriages, or marry young in order to acquire the 3Cs (cell, cash and car). The 3Cs however are a product of modernization (p.5).

Marriage in Botswana is on the decline and according to Solway (2017), not only is marriage on the decline, but there is a contraction in the scope of kin and generations involved in marital activities and a contraction in time, with rituals and exchanges that once occurred over decades now collapsed into a narrow time frame. She further notes that in the past, marriage proceeded slowly, often tentatively but by the 1990s the tentative process has been called into question. Solway calls this tentative process "slow marriage" which she believes has been replaced by what she terms "fast **bogadi*" meaning that prestations, events and rituals that occurred over a lifetime or more now take place within a few days" (p.311). She argues that "fast bogadi" and white weddings turn slow marriage upside down, at least at first glance. In her analysis, Solway asserts that "in 1998, and still in 2016, many elders from different regions of the country complained that fast bogadi has transformed what had been a "token of appreciation" to the wife's family for having raised her well into "a payment" for the wife (bogadi is "given" not "paid")" (p.312).

"Data from past censuses of Botswana show that 17.1% of male and 19.9% of females were reported married in 2001 as compared to 44.4% and 41.5% respectively, in 1981" (Kubanji, 2004). The statistics show that there has been a decline in marriage over the years and the rates continue to move downward. Kubanji also notes that the decline in the value of marriage in Botswana has also been noted as a worrisome development over the years. The marriage institution in "Botswana is not thriving due to demographic, socio-economic and globalization effects" (p.231).

1.3 Aims of the study

With such a background, the main aim of this study is to analyze the transformation of marriage in Botswana since the 19th century and how this has affected the Tswana society. The following research objectives aimed to discuss the transformation of marriage in Botswana:

- the changes that the institution of marriage has gone through over the years;

- the perceptions about marriage in modern day Botswana;
- the contemporary influences of globalization on marriage;
- the trends in marriage in Botswana.

1.3. Methodology

This study used a secondary mixed research method of data collection. The researcher analysed data from research articles, newspaper articles, websites, magazines and statistics reports. Elaborate explanation on the research methodology and limitations of the study are given on Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. There were certain limitations while doing the study and these include, firstly, reliance on non-academic sources to address some of the objectives, secondly resource unavailability. These limitations will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

1.4. Significance of the study

The results of the study will be of great benefit to researchers and scholars whose main interest is marriage globally, in Botswana and the African region. The findings will help them to understand the changes in marital dynamics as well as the implications these changes have on African traditional societies. Since the 1950s, just over half a century ago, neither the meaning nor the promise of marriage are particularly robust, or even well understood (West, 2007). West goes on to say, "it is no longer so clear, to participants, non-participants, advocates and critics alike, what we mean by marriage, what it means to be married, or what might be the point of this institution", (p.2). "Experts and the public alike, therefore, engaged in a constant negotiation between trying to hold on to "traditional" relationships and transforming marriage into a thoroughly modern institution that could survive in the face of prevalent and relatively accessible divorce" (Celello, 2009:3).

Tokuhiro (2010) states that, many people – including sociologists, anthropologists and economists have questioned the long-term future of marriage as an institution. He further notes that, "they point to phenomena, in the west in particular, "like the lingering elements of

inequality in the male/female power relationship within marriage, the increasing number of divorces and extra marital births, cohabitation as a substitute for marriage, postponement of marriage and lifelong singlehood" (p.7).

In Botswana, there is not enough literature on how marriage in Botswana has changed from traditional marriage to contemporary marriage, therefore the aim of this study is to use the findings to add on to the available literature as well as give the researchers an understanding of the changes that have occurred within the institution of marriage over the years in Botswana.

2. GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION OF MARRIAGE

2.1. Introduction

The reason why marriage exists is to bring a man and a woman together to become husband and wife and raise children within that union (Anderson, 2013). Anderson asserts that the institution of marriage has long existed even before governments came into existence and the government sees it as beneficial to society like no other. The purposes it serves publicly are viewed as far more than those it serves privately which means that it goes much further than just two people coming together. This highly regarded institution has been undergoing inevitable changes the last couple of decades and all societies are experiencing these changes to some degree. Whether positive or negative, there are several factors that have contributed to the transformation and this paper will outline some of them and how they have affected the institution of marriage.

Therefore, this chapter provides an analysis of previous research on the global transformation of marriage. It will further examine how globalization and modernization have played a role during this transformation. Marriage as a universal institution is such a crucial part of society, it has been for thousands of years but there is no denying that major changes have occurred within the institution over the centuries all around the world. Therefore this chapter will examine the changing dynamics of marriage. This is crucial in understanding the different perceptions about marriage. The chapter will start by examining the diverse definitions of marriage by different scholars and go on to review several studies that have been done on the transformation of marriage. Today's society defines marriage based on individuals' idea of what marriage might mean to them.

The institution of marriage exists in all societies and most adults are expected to marry but the marriage customs, practices and values vary across cultures. "The rights and responsibilities of marriage vary across national (and across state or provincial) boundaries, but typically include issues related to inheritance, taxation, pensions, social security, parenting, bereavement,

immigration, and the criminal law" (Kitzinger and Wilkinson, 2004). Marriage generally involves concrete practical and financial benefits.

Over time, marriage has become less of an obligation and people are now at liberty to choose when, to whom and how they get married and whether or not they are going to have children. Just as stated by Cox and Demmitt (2013), it is no longer disgraceful not to marry and as a result, the majority of Americans choose to stay single. Cox and Demmitt assert that most Americans marry, but they don't feel that they must. There is now freedom of choice, marrying out of one's will and with the understanding of why. A change in gender roles has also taken place; they are less stereotyped and rigid. The number of women that stay at home to take care of their families and perform house chores has gone down because they are now working jobs which has given them financial freedom and as a result no longer just marry because they need men to support them financially (Lichter, Qian and Mellott, 2006).

Gadova and Larson (2014) state that across the globe, the bar keeps getting raised on what needs a spouse should meet. The different expectations that individuals have are the complete opposite of what used to be before. Back then a wife or a husband was expected to rear children, nurture the husband and children and perform household duties, husband as the provider, protector and leader. But lately, spouses are expected to be soul mates, co-parents, romantic, financially stable and educated.

Gadova and Larson assert that the institution of marriage has not always been like it is today, it has twisted, turned and transformed and has been re-invented. The concept of love has come into the picture. According to Vaughn (2010) the role of romantic love has been debated historically and cross-culturally. The old generation did not marry because of love even though the concept existed, what was important was status, prestige, wealth and forming alliances. Romantic love was not considered an essential part of marriage therefore it was discouraged to marry on such basis. Whether love is involved or not, there is no denying that marriage rates have gone down over the last decades. Heard and Arunachalam (2015) assert that, for decades, marriage has been on the decline in Australia and across the secular west. The proportion of those getting married has declined and continues to decline.

Finkel, Hui, Carswell and Larson (2014) are of the view that, a successful marriage today can, on balance, foster a deeper emotional bond and stronger personal growth in relation to the marriages

of yesteryear. Nevertheless, to achieve a successful marriage today is much more difficult than it was in the past because almost half of the marriages are ending in divorce many of those that are still intact are failing to thrive. "In short, marriages today have more potential for greatness than ever before, but they frequently fall short of this potential" (p.1).

2.1.1. Defining marriage

It is important to set forth the meaning and purpose of marriage and at the same time explain what it entails in order to have a clear understanding of the subject of marriage. Below is a review of the different definitions by various authors, some with a description of some of the elements that are regarded as vital across societies. Marriage as an institution is part of all cultures around the world but it is the practices of every culture that makes it unique to that culture therefore no one definition of what marriage is can be applicable to every culture. But one common element is that it has always involved two people (a man and woman) coming together and allowing each of their families to form kinship relations.

Not only is marriage regarded as a private vow, but it is also a public act, a contract, taken in full public view, enforceable by law and in the equally powerful court of public opinion (Waite and Gollagher, 2000). According to Waite and Gollagher the public commitment made as people get married changes the way they think about themselves, the way they act, think and it completely transforms the way other people treat them and how they relate with other institutions. "Marriage changes not only the couple's relation to each other; it changes the couple's relationship to the outside world. By choosing to marry, couples are entering a social institution that changes the way they will be treated by others, including, in many cases, the government, business, and religious communities" (p.17).

In working toward a definition of marriage, scholars agree that no one definition of marriage applies to all cultures (Keefe, 2011). Over time, across different cultures worldwide marriage has been viewed differently and continues to evolve. Keefe broadly defines marriage as a means of forming kinship relations which involve social or legal unions between individuals and in, many

instances it has brought families together. Ubesekera and Luo (2008), state that marriage merely means a socially approved sexual and economic union between a woman and a man.

Lewellen (2002) asserts that, "there are at least four different meanings of the term, probably more: first, marriage can be an institution based on state recognition of a legal bond and on the legitimacy of children; second, it can refer to people routinely living together to comprise a household; third, it can be ceremonial, with the bond being formed mainly to create an alliance between groups, as was traditional for the marriage of children who might never see each other again among the Nyar of India; finally, it may be psychological and emotional bond between individuals, even without the recognition of the state, as would be the case with homosexual couples in many countries" (p.143).

Various scholars define marriage in different ways, they are unable to agree on a single meaning and it gets even more complex with changes that have occurred over time leading to marriage being redefined. A radical redefinition of marriage from the union of one man and one woman, to the union of two consenting adults is taking root in American public life (Sugrue, 2010). Monsma (2014) indicates that although some embrace broadening the definition of marriage to include same-sex marriage, others view such changes with a profound sense of loss and a significant concern that same sex marriage reflects the decline and destruction of marriage.

Goldberg (2006) asserts that advocates of "traditional marriage" are of the view that same-sex couples can be excluded from marriage today because marriage always has been reserved to male-female couples. Restrictions to different sex couples has since been considered vital in the sense that it helps control naturally procreation relationships. Procreation is amongst the important reasons why the institution of marriage exists. And (Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel, 1990) emphasizes that one of the primary roles and normative functions of marriage is childbearing. Goldberg further states that the institution has gone under so much transformation to an extent that what we call marriage today bears little resemblance of marriage in the past. Over the years, the institution of marriage has experienced change to elements of marriage that were once considered essential.

Even though the institution of marriage has experienced transformation over time, it is still a big part of society and still practiced but in slightly different ways as compared to the past decades. There has been a shift from just being an institution that involves a man and woman to but also

involves same sex couples. It's not all cultures that have embraced the changes, some are still holding on to the traditions and values that they consider essential to keep the traditional system of marriage alive. While some scholars see the transformations that have occurred as harmless to the institution of marriage, there are some that think that the institution in is danger and it is necessary to hold on to the essential elements that have always defined the nature of marriage across the world despite different practices across cultures.

2.2. Studies on the transformation of marriage

The studies below, conducted in various countries across the globe show how marriage has transformed, factors that have contributed to the transformation and dynamics within marriage. A study in Uganda on the impact of AIDS on marriage patterns, customs and practices found out that marriage as an institution was respected and it was almost everyone's desire to marry. But all of this is now different compared to the past, (Mukiza-Gapere and Ntozi, 1995).

Smock (2004) made a few observations, first and not surprisingly, the issue of changes in marriage and family were very much on the minds of social scientists and other commentators in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Secondly, whatever was happening to families was thought to be in some way related to changes in women's status and the gender division of labour. Thirdly, the specific theme of greater expectations for marriage was also present several decades ago. Concluding from their study conducted in Thailand on the transformation of marriage patterns, Guest and Tan (1994) indicate that the changes within the Thai society that have taken place as a result of women's access to higher levels of education and modern employment sector have contributed to the transformation in marriage. Therefore, the proportion of never-married has been high.

Concluding on their studies about education, wage work and marriage, Amin and Al-Bassusi (2004) state that young women in Egypt are now more likely to be in school, less likely to enter the workforce, and less likely to be married than women in the same age group 10 years ago. The authors further note that "these changes have taken place during a time of greater global integration of the economy but also a time during which high rates of return, migration led to considerable

social change, including a rising fundamentalist political movement opposed to the emancipation of women" (p.1296).

In a study conducted by Trost, (1978) on non-marital cohabitation, the data reveals that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the rate of children born out of wedlock in urban areas (Sweden) was about four or five times higher than in rural areas, while at the end of the century it was only about double. In 1960, in the United States of America, 95% of all children were born to married women; by the early 2000s, in contrast, the figure had dropped to 59% (Cherlin, 2014). The number of children born out of wedlock is increasing as a result of emerging non marital unions like cohabitation; people no longer see the need to get married in order to have children. Thornton (1988) concluded in his study that a large proportion of men and women go through cohabitation which is later dissolved or can lead to marriage. Regardless of the non-marital unions that have emerged, marriage is here to stay as a social institution and as an aspired status marker (Manning, Longmore and Giordano, 2007).

Shapiro and Gebreselassie's (2014) study on marriage in Sub-Saharan Africa analyses factors associated with trends in marriage, "most notably woman's education and economic well-being". Their analysis shows that "as women spend more time in school (and particularly secondary) this tends to lead to delays in marriage that ultimately also contribute to family transition", (Shapiro and Gebreselassie (2014:232). Shapiro and Gebreselassie indicate that "attendance at school takes girls out of the domestic environment and offers literacy and exposure to ideas and values that may compete with traditional customs leading to early marriage". The authors state that, "Southern Africa typically has low proportions married, while countries in the Sahel ("the Sahel region of Africa is a 3,860-kilometre arc-like land mass lying to the immediate south of the Sahara Desert and stretching east-west across the breadth of the African continent) have the highest proportions in union", (p.243).

Chen (2009) concludes that there has been a delay in marriage but it is more prevalent amongst the highly educated Taiwanese women as a result of the increase in levels of education. Furthermore, these increases in educational attainment and labour force participation have played a crucial role in promoting individualism which clashes with the traditional family system. Early marriage that is associated with the traditional system has been replaced by late marriage. However, in his study, Isiugo-Abanihe (2000) show that age at first marriage is Nigeria continues

to be early with a median age of 17. Not only is there a delay in marriage but people have found new ways of finding partners outside of traditional systems. Technology has created possibilities for people to find ways that do not limit them to traditional way of finding a life partner. Seth and Pathyakuni's (2009) study reveal that in India, arranged marriages have changed and people now make use matrimonial sites to find partners and families use the websites to find suitable partners for their son or daughter as they go through the traditional process. The online dating sites as well as matrimonial sites all around the world have altered the way that relationships are formed and maintained.

The studies above, even though they were all conducted in different regions of the world (Africa, America, Asia etc.), they all show that transformation has occurred within the institution of marriage and what it was decades ago is not what is seen today. There are several similar factors that the authors identified as causes to the changes that have occurred – the education attainment of women and their exposure to the labour force (which means they can no longer perform their household tasks as before) and this has led to the high rates of never-married couples as well as delaying marriage. The studies also reveal that non marital unions like cohabitation have also emerged and have completely altered the traditional system of marriage. These dynamics will be discussed further in the next sections as the paper reviews more on the transformations that have occurred in marriage and how they have altered the traditional system.

2.3. Transformation of marriage (in the global era)

The marriage process has recently been altered dramatically leading to marriage becoming more optional amongst most adults. Sassler and Goldscheider (2004) assert that, men's and women's expectations with regards to the benefits and costs of marriage have been affected by the gender revolution. This revolution occurred among the first generation of the 18th century in western societies (Trumbach, 1998). Women became less involved in their traditionally defined activities within the home and got exposed to positions that were previously limited to men.

In family studies, one of the most complicated and controversial topics today is marriage (Trask and Koivunen, 2007). Trask and Koivunen further state that, there is little general agreement in family studies about who should be permitted to marry (heterosexuals versus homosexuals), the

steps leading up to marriage (sexuality, cohabitation and out of wedlock births) and expectations once married (children, gender roles, work versus family, and divorce). It is clear that the social role and mutual relationship of marriage, divorce, and singlehood in the contemporary world is qualitatively different from anything to be found in the past century (Coontz, 2004).

During the 19th century after the Industrial Revolution, the basis of marriage in the United States began shifting toward love and personal fulfilment and social and political leaders feared that the institution of marriage was in jeopardy (Campbell and Wright, 2010). Marriage itself has become something almost dubious (Trost, 1978) because traditional marriage is becoming an option, the number of married people has dropped as people resort to alternative partnership such as cohabitation and single parenthood.

According to Stevenson and Wolfers (2007), we have recently experienced a decline in marriage rates, a rise in divorce rates and the defining characteristics of marriage have changed. The rise in marital formation at older ages as well as remarriage means that many families form with no intention of procreation. At the same time there has been an increase in female labour force participation which suggests that either household specialization has declined or taken on a different meaning. The emergence of labour saving technology has altered what is produced at home by developing service industries meaning we no longer have specialized homemakers like in the past. Therefore, the traditional roles of men and women in the home have been affected.

The age when men and women form marital unions is influenced by social norms and expectations regarding their roles as globalization, urbanization, and rising educational attainment (Mensch, Singh, Casterline 2005). Their review of previous studies indicates that increased schooling is thought to be a likely explanation for the increase in age at first marriage among women in the developing world. As age at first marriage rises, a larger population of those in developing countries has moved to the cities and a delay in marriage is inevitable because of exposure to urban lifestyle. According to Davis (1950), individuals make their marital reproductive decisions deliberately, taking into account their personal situations of the moment as they see it. He goes on to state that since the personal outlook of masses of individuals is affected in a similar way by the general economic and political conditions of the moment, the result is that whole populations tend to make the same kind of decision at the same time. If conditions are not favourable, marriage and childbearing is postponed but if later conditions are favourable, they decide to marry. More women

are delaying childbearing and having fewer children when they do reproduce (Abbey and Den, 2001).

Furthermore, "women as a group are no longer as economically dependent on men as they once were and so one of the traditionally important aspects of marriage – the idea of the man as breadwinner – has been challenged", (Abbey and Den, 2001:37). As a result there have been ongoing changes in marital roles. These changes were influenced by economic growth and the shift from manufacturing to service industries, which increased the demand for labour in female occupations. Between 1900 and 1970 the percentage of women in the labour force increased from 20% to 50% (Ross, Mirowsky and Huber, 1983). Furthermore, married women worked for pay only if their husbands were unable or unwilling to support them.

There was an increase of married women who participated in the labour market in the twentieth century in the United States and this was counted amongst the important changes that occurred during that time. According to a study by (Roberts, 2004), in 1990 just 5.6% of married women were in the labour market and by 1998 61.8% of all married women were working or looking for work. The change is all the more notable because the labour force participation rates of single women have grown not twelve fold, but just by half in the same century (from 43.5% to 68.1%).

In the past few decades, a shift has occurred within the process of union formation in Netherlands. It has become less common to form a union by marriage and more standard to enter it by cohabitation (Manting, 1996). Over time, then practices that were once reserved for marriage, such as sex, cohabitation, and childbearing, have become more common and culturally acceptable out-of-wedlock (Campell and Wright, 2010). In the mid twentieth century, marriage was the first step into adulthood; couples did not live together until after weddings (Cherlin, 2014). Cherlin asserts that currently, marriage is often the last step into adulthood – something that one does after moving in with a partner, getting a job, renting an apartment, and even having a child.

The decline of marriage and the growth of living together before or outside marriage were two of the major social changes at the turn of the twenty-first century (Browne, 2006). Some scholars argue that the decline of marriage has created problems for society more generally (Amato, 2005). The specific indicators of such decline include fewer people ever getting married (declining propensity to marry), postponement of marriage to a latter age, a smaller portion of one's life spent in wedlock, a shorter duration of marriage, and a rising preference for competing types of social

unions (Popenoe, 1988). Popene asserts that the decline also represents a further stage in the evolution of personal freedom of choice in selecting sexual partners, an extension of the global family trend, in which first the extended kin group and then parents lose authority over the choice of marital partners. Parents no longer help to identify and select potential partners for their children (Mukiza-Gapere and Ntozi, 1995).

While marriage rates have declined overall, they have done so more notably among African Americans since the mid-twentieth century (Peters and Dush, 2009). Making reference to (Goldstein and Kenney, 2001), Peters and Dush state that eighty five percent of African Americans born in the late 1940s are estimated to have married by age 65 (versus 95 percent of whites), while 64 percent of those born in the 1960s are married (versus 93 percent whites). However, the empirical evidence of a general decline in marital quality is inconclusive (Ting, 2014).

2.3.1. Post-World War II

According to Gadova and Larson (2014), the Post-World War II years brought a new appreciation for home and family, and for new technology. Before World War II, there was no model for people to follow that shaped what a typical family or marriage is supposed to look like except for the traditions, customs and values that existed. It was after World War II that television was invented and as Gadova and Larson mention, it played a role in transforming people's concept of marriage through shows like "Father knows best". People began to use that as a model to idealise what a typical "normal" family/marriage is supposed to look like. The authors also discuss a timeline of events over the years (from 1940s) and how that caused a transformation within the institution of marriage.

Gadova and Larson (2014) state that the **1940s** were significant years for women with regards to marriage and their role as women at home. Because of the war, men were sent to battle while women were left to take their places in the job market but they were expected to go back to their traditional roles when men return back from war. They had proved that they were capable of performing the same responsibility that was assigned to the male gender and the women's liberation movement was birthed which greatly influenced the institution of marriage and divorce.

As we get to the **1960s**, the changes in the kind of marriage people were getting into changed. According to Gadova and Larson (2014), marriage became more individualized and put emphasis on personal fulfilment and self-actualization. Furthermore, it became less about kinship ties and forming alliances. It was in the 1960s that a countercultural revolution emerged and completely transforming the way marriage was before. "The countercultural revolution consisted of many interconnected movements oriented towards challenging the staid social order of the 1950s and empowering women and underprivileged minorities. For example, the sexual revolution, which was catalyzed in the early 1960s by the advent and widespread availability of the birth control pill, greatly increased the distinction between sexual reproductive activity, fostered women's sexual empowerment and yielded a marked revolution in social sanctions for promiscuous sexuality" (Finkel, Hui, Carswell and Larson, 2014:p.5).

It is this same countercultural revolution that stirred up men and women to do away with traditional obligations in favour of liberation, authenticity, and self-expression. Furthermore, it allowed women and men to treat each other like equals and women became less and less subordinate to the opposite sex. The relationship that both sexes became more interactive as compared to before.

Then the **1970s** brought about freedom which gave way to altered social patterns that had an impact on marriage. According to Gadova and Larson, the non-fault divorce was passed into law and it made it easier for couples to divorce. Husbands and wives could easily exit the marriage without having to prove any wrongdoing and whoever wanted out of the marriage could so. There was a shift from marriage as an obligation with relatively low expectations to one with heightened expectations. People wanted more out of marriage and the person they were committed to. As a result aggregate measure of marriage such as the annual rate of marriage among unmarried women 15 to 44 years of age began to fall dramatically in the United States (Goldstein and Kenney, 2001). Pollak (2015) asserts that a "quiet revolution" in American women's careers, education, and family arrangements began and fertility rates fell and women's intermittent employment turned into lifetime commitments to market work and careers, therefore the terms of the marital agreement changed.

The **1980s**, as termed by Gadova and Larson is called the era of divorce. There was an increase in the number of never married people. The birth of the women's liberation movement in the 1940s

began to prove its fruitfulness as more women began to work outside the home and their careers became less and less subordinate to men's.

2.3.1.1. Divorce

"Most people who marry think it will last forever. They say their vows sincerely, feel immense hope for the future, and feel love for their new spouse. Despite their best intentions, however, almost half of couples fail to stay together" (Howe, 2012:405).

Today, in most countries around the world marriage rates are decreasing and divorce rates are increasing causing a change in the way marriage is characterised. According to Brinig and Carbone (1988):

> "divorce is no longer the unilateral release of a spouse from his or her marital obligations justified by the breach of the other spouse. It is a determination – precipitated perhaps by the actions of one spouse, but nonetheless applicable to both – that marital differences have become irreconcilable" (p.867).

There has been a shift from death-to-divorce as the most common end point of marriage in the 20th century and Pinsof (2002) has identified three major factors that have contributed to this shift, namely: the increased lifespan in western civilization; the shift in the bio-psychosocial roles of women; and legal and social value changes. Death as the most common end point to marriage would mean that the longer people live the longer they stay married. But the changes that occurred during the 20th century seem to indicate that there is no increase in marriages regardless of the increased lifespan.

Pinsof points out that it is vital to consider the rise of feminism during the last half of the 20th century to be able to understand the transition from death-to-divorce. The role of women changed both economically and reproductively.

As the divorce rate soared after 1960, three major trends started to emerge that were part of the 20th century's transformation in pair-bonding in the western world: the rate of marriage decreases, while the rates of cohabitation without marriage and non-marital births increased.

Divorce trends in Asia have been associated with several factors and Dommaraju and Jone (2011) state that:

> "changes in divorce rates have been linked to ideational changes, increasing education and changing labour force participation of women, changing nature of spouse selection, changes in age at marriage, extent of social support for divorced women, changes in religious and civil laws regulating divorce and changes in life expectancy" (p.725).

Divorce has become an individual choice and individuals no longer feel obligated to stay in marriages where they are not happy or satisfied. In the past, divorce had a stigma attached to it and one had to stay married to avoid shame and to also to keep the children in a "happy" home. "As the role of marriage and the family has changed, eventually the rules governing the union and its dissolution had to catch up. In the period of rapid social change in which we live, the traditional provisions for marriage and divorce have long ceased to conform to the emerging social conventions governing these most intimate of relationships" (Brinig and Carbone, 1988:855).

Howe (2012) asserts that divorce does not happen over night, it follows years of marital dissatisfaction. According to McCarroll (1995), "the attitude of consumption has been transferred to the marriage relationship: if I am not getting satisfaction from this marriage and this spouse, then I will dispose of her/him and get another" (p.577).

2.3.1.2 Cohabitation

It is evident that the institution of marriage has continued to experience some changes as societies and cultures evolve. It is as a result of the evolving society that new relationships begin to emerge; in some cases they become more acceptable. Cohabitation, as commonly known and referred to by cultures and scholars is an intimate relationship of two unmarried people (male and female) living together and enjoying privileges that married couples enjoy. Strong and Cohen (2013) state that in 1970, cohabitation was uncommon and unacceptable therefore those who cohabited did it without the knowledge of friends and family. But today, cohabitation has become a commonly practiced lifestyle among young adults as well as adults and it has caused a great change in the values about what is unique to marriage.

Furthermore, cohabitation has recently become popular in the United States and the rest of the world and it is rapidly becoming a life cycle experience of the majority of the younger generation as compared to the older generation (Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel, 1990). This is a lifestyle that used to be morally reprehensible. Now it is openly practiced across cultures by heterosexual, same-sex couples, people of all races. Bumpass (1990) indicates that the proportion of first marriages that were preceded by cohabitation increased from 8% for marriages in the late 1960s to 49% among those in 1985-1986. There has been an increase in marriages that are preceded by cohabitation. People are now in control of how they want to form their relationships without the involvement of family, society and friends. Strong and Cohen (2013) assert that the expectations people bring, kinds of relationships, the roles and levels of satisfaction they express have all changed.

According to Heard and Arunachalam (2015), "the growth of cohabitation in the late twentieth century prompted a key question: whether cohabitation should be viewed as an alternative to marriage, a trial marriage or a stepping-stone to marriage"?

A debate arose during the 1960s concerning couples that wanted to live together but society required them to marry before they can start living together (Korian, 2010). The tradition faced opposition with some couples openly living together without marrying. Korian takes a look into what happened to marriage in the western world during the 1960s. According to the study, it was only until the middle of the 1960s that marriage as a social institution was preferred by couples who wanted to live together and it was just opposite gender couples. A decade later non-marital cohabitation emerged and it was recognised as a social institution.

Though cohabitation is prevalent in today's societies compared to before, it is a practice that has always existed. Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel (1990) assert that in many societies, the roots of contemporary cohabitation patterns can be traced back to the nineteenth century or even earlier than that. Cohabitation goes against the values and traditions held by the traditional system of marriage. When we look at the traditional system of marriage compared to the modern system, it is clear that traditionally, the institution of marriage governed who had sexual intercourse with. Unlike today, people have the freedom to do as they will outside the confines of marriage. Exceptions existed within this traditional way of doing things but the expectation was that married individuals had to have intercourse with their partners and those individuals who were not yet

married did not engage in intercourse. However, the twentieth century has witnessed substantial change in the extent to which unmarried individuals have sexual relations (Rindfuss and VandenHeuvel, 1990).

2.3.2. Trends in marriage in the United States and Europe

Extraordinary changes in American family law have affected every institution (Weyrauch, 1980) and the institution of marriage is no exception. The institution has arrived at a unique place. Greenwood and Guner (2008) state that two hundred years ago when the US was largely a rural economy most marriages were as a result of parents choosing spouses for their children and they considered whether the potential groom would be a good provider and the bride a good housekeeper. In the late 1700s American communities began to experience some changes, market economies were strengthening, and this gave young Americans opportunities to work for wages outside their home and to settle at greater distances from their families of origin. This, among other things transformed the traditional roles that married couples were expected to perform in the home. Household goods and services could now be purchased outside and brought into the home reducing the time needed to maintain a household ultimately taking away the benefits of the traditional specialization of both men and women. Furthermore, the changes have reduced the economic incentives to get married because the majority of the adults now devote more time to market activities than household activities.

The authors observe that the fraction of the population that is married did not show monotonic decline through the 20th century, it increased during the baby boom years. "The baby boom years were characterised by younger and more universal marriage that occurred during the rest of the century. Indeed, cohorts born in the 1930s married at one of the highest levels seen in any western society, with more than 95% of women marrying" (Goldstein and Kenney, 2001:507). These are today's oldest Americans who grew up in the Great Depression and fought in World War II (Cherlin, 2009). They turned inward toward home and family after the war hence the high rates of women marrying and babies being born. According to Cherlin, it is their early and nearly universal marriages and their large families that produced the famous baby boom which is often referred to

as the "greatest generation" because of their distinctiveness. Cherlin further notes that neither their own parents before them nor their children after them married as young or had as many children.

When the boomer babies reached adulthood in the 1970s, they changed the nature of family life in ways that puzzled their parents (Cherlin, 2009). A new lifestyle emerged and they began to live more openly without any restrictions. According to Cherlin, sex, living together, and marriage, which had been a package deal in the 1950s was no longer considered as such. Living together, which is now referred to as cohabitation became something commonly practiced and young adults no longer needed to get married in order to live openly with a sexual partner. It was during the same period that people delayed marriage at high rates because they preferred to attend college before starting a family. Most couples married after leaving school. At the same time, divorce rates increasingly got high. As a result, marriage as a social institution appeared to be endangered.

Cherlin's (2004) article argues that marriage has undergone a process of deinstitutionalization – a weakening of the social norms that define partners' behaviour. Cherlin states that, there has been an "increasing number and complexity of cohabiting unions and the emergence of same sex marriage" (p.848). Cherlin mentions that there are two transitions in the meaning of marriage that have occurred in the United States during the 20th century and have created the social context for deinstitutionalization. The first transition (United States) noted by Ernerst Burgess, was from the institutional marriage to the companionate marriage. Amato (2004) states that, "companionate marriage is held together not by bonds of social obligation, but by ties of love, friendship, and common interest whereas institutional marriage emphasizes conformity to social norms" (p.848). Amato says that "the second transition was to the individualized marriage in which the emphasis on personal choice and self-development expanded" (p.848). There is an ample degree of self-expression.

In recent decades, the social and legal significance of marriage has eroded (Pollak, 2015). "Social scientists examining the general decline in the prevalence and stability of legal marriage have focused on two forces: decreasing economic opportunities for many men and increasing economic opportunities for women" (p.34). And as women attained education and entered the labour in large numbers, men were left behind, creating a gap between women and men's educational attainment and the ratio of men's to women's wages fell. Consequently, gender specialization and division of labour weakened.

A smaller proportion of the adult population in the United States is now married compared with 50 years ago. In 1950, 82% of the female population were married (out of non-widows between the ages of 18 and 64) and by 2000 this had declined to 62% (Greenwood and Guner, 2008). The demarcations between marriage and cohabitation have become obscure and the legal consequences less distinct (p.415). While marriage rates have fallen rapidly, cohabitation without marriage has emerged to become an important new lifestyle. Cohabitation is clearly symptomatic of our changing values about what is unique to marriage (Bumpass, 1990).

Dynamics in family formation and dissolution were static over the decades but due to substantial booms and bursts in marriage, divorce, and childbearing, family formation patterns today differ from those of centuries before (Axinn and Thornton, 2000). Axinn and Thornton indicate that the marriage rates are lower, age at marriage is higher, divorce is more widespread, marital fertility is lower, and non-marital childbearing is more extensive today than at the beginning of the century. Furthermore, "beginning in the early 20th century Americans began to add to the expectation of romanticized love a desire for deep intimacy, excitement, and sexual fulfilment. The emphasis on chastity and restraint weakened, and the focus on intimacy and connection strengthened" (Finkel, Hui, Carswell and Larson, 2014:4).

The latter half of the 20th century brought about a few changes, timing of first marriage was extended, an increase in the rate of new living arrangements such as pre-marital cohabitation and independent non-family living. "An explosion of public commercial space, including dance halls, carnivals, theaters, and restaurants, allowed courtship to become more freewheeling than before, fostering more sexual exploration outside of marriage and bolstering the incipient emphasis on excitement, romantic intrigue, and sexual desire in youths' marital choices" (Finkel, Hui, Carswell and Larson, 2014:5). And at the same time, the so called protestant churches that had great influence and control over young adults' marital choices began to experience a decline. "These changes dovetailed with an enlightenment era world view that valued the so called natural passions, including love and romantic desire" (p.4). According to Axinn and Thornton, the view that premarital sex constitutes inappropriate behaviour declined from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. There has been a substantial change in the values, attitudes and values about heterosexual non-marital cohabitation.Manning, Longmore and Giordano (2007) explain that most young adults are cohabiting first and marrying later.

Since the 1980s, the decline in marriage rates continued in most European countries but at a slower pace (Kiernan, 2000). He further states that, "one of the important engines behind the decline in marriage rates and a movement to a later age at marriage is the rise in cohabitation that has occurred, particularly since the beginning of the 1980s, in many European countries" (p.42).

2.3.3. Trends in marriage in Asia

Almost all regions of the world have experienced social change in one way or another but since the industrial revolution there was a rapid change across the world and the effect has been seen within the Asian traditional system of marriage. Marriage traditions, values, and practices that are vital in Asian society have been influenced by the developments that have occurred since the industrial revolution.

Tolerance of sex prior to marriage, openness to cohabitation, rising unmarried rates, late-marriage tendencies, the popularity of dual-career marriages, the dominance of nuclear families and shrinking family sizes are among the latest trends in China (Ting, 2014). According to Yang and Neal (2006), traditional Chinese values, which placed an emphasis on emblematic relationships and social obligations, have increasingly confronted the pressures of individualism, personal freedom and rational choice. The institution of marriage and family in China are no exception to the changes that have occurred as a result of the external forces such as globalization, modernisation and westernization.

In his study about Chinese marriage tradition, Qiu (2013) states that, "due to structural modernization, cultural westernization, and government pressure, arranged marriages are giving way to freedom of choice or love matches" (p.15). People now have the liberty to choose their life partners without involving their family or friends and the concept of romantic love has come into the picture.

This concept of romantic love has not always existed in pre-modern China (Nault et. al, 2013). According to the authors, like most of the then traditional societies, Confucian society did not allow women to choose a person to fall in love with and men were not able to meet well educated women because of the gender segregation rules. "During the May Fourth Movement, Chinese intellectuals who had studied abroad called for an end to the practice, and promoted romantic love

as the basis for marriage" (p.166). But marriages based on romantic only became prevalent during the mid-twentieth century. But china is not the only country in Asia that has been experiencing changes within the institution of marriage.

The institution of marriage is important to Taiwanese men and women (Cheng, 2014). "As economic transformations reshaped the lives of people in the last century, rapid and profound demographic transitions in family behaviours also ensued" (p.1008). Taiwanese society went through a delay in marriage with more individuals deciding not to get married at all. On the other hand, Taiwan has experienced modernization and Nault et. al (2013) states that modernity in Taiwan is associated with Japanese colonization. Having been influenced by westernization, Japan in turn greatly influenced its colonies.

On the other hand "marriage patterns in Thailand have traditionally been intermediate between those of the west and those of other developing countries" Guest and Tan, 1994:3). Guest and Tan note that there are reasons that have contributed to this including choice of spouse which has now been left in the hands of the one getting married with little or no involvement of next of kin or family.

Thai society has also seen women's high involvement in the labour force in Thailand has been highly associated with female autonomy and most likely an outcome of being autonomous. Consequently, gaps in educational attainment between males and females have diminished as educational levels have risen (Guest and Tan, 1994).

2.3.4. Trends in marriage in Africa

African marriage like that of Europe and the west is an association between two persons for mutual support and the procreation and rearing of children. But it usually has also the wider aspect of an alliance between groups of kin (Mair, 1971).

In African societies marriage signified a union of families, the essential elements for a valid marriage included consent of the parties, consent of the guardians, and payment of lobola (Simon and Altstein, 2003). Simon and Altstenin define lobola as the transfer of cattle from the husband's group to the wife's guardian and this payment conferred rights on the husband over the wife.

Indeed, as African societies have become more urbanised over time, and getting an education has become more widespread and a declining proportion of women first marry in their teenage years (Gage-Brandon, 1993). Research evidence from the 80s and 90s in South Africa indicated that for an increasing proportion of women, staying single was a way of avoiding inadequate providers, heavy drinkers and wife beaters, and all this in a society in which marriage was no longer regarded as a prerequisite for having children (Moore and Govender, 2013).

"Twenty five years ago, Evans-Pritenard in Bledsoe described marriage in so called simple African societies as a given; there was no such thing as an unmarried adult woman" (Bledsoe, 2000:117). The gradual erosion of traditional marriage customs in favour of more informal types of unions has been observed in many African societies especially among the better educated and urban segments of the population (Meekers, 1993).

When Christian missionaries came to Africa, they devoted much of their time and effort to promoting modern education, especially between 1930 and 1960. Their efforts had a great influence on leaders of the various African nations and later through the establishment of new states; the missionaries' work began to flourish. And by the time of independence (around 1960 for most countries), nearly all countries had a national system of primary and secondary schools, often working side by side with missionary schools (Garenne, 2004). Garenne further states that "Sub-Saharan African societies went through major social changes in the 20th century, with great diversity between countries. European colonization affected the whole continent, brought some economic development and initiated economic growth in a number of countries" (p.60).

In Nigeria, although marriage is still very much regarded as a relationship that creates obligations between kin groups as well as between individuals, courtship as least has been transformed into a moment for young men and women to demonstrate their modern individuality (Hirsch and Wardlow, 2006). According to Smith (2001), young Igbo men and women in Nigeria are more likely to choose their own marriage partners as compared to their parents who did not have the freedom to do so. Furthermore, criteria for selecting a spouse is increasingly different from their parents' time, men sought good wives that can create a safe haven for the family, nurture and perform traditional female activities in the home and on the other hand women sought man that will provide for their family. But with the notions of romantic love and emotional intimacy more

prevalent, young men and women consider romance and intimacy as more important when selecting a spouse.

Both polygyny and the importance of bride wealth have declined substantially in recent years, particularly in the cities and so traditional barriers to entry in the marriage market are less relevant today (Luke and Munshi, 2006).

In sub-Saharan Africa, early marriage (at age 15-19 years) is usually associated with higher fertility, large families, lower numbers of sexual partners, and fewer STDs (Garenne, 2004). "Early marriage was most common in traditional societies of Africa and Asia prior to 1950, and is still the dominant pattern in many countries in those continents" (p.60). Garenne (2004) further notes that late marriage (above age 25) seems to be a common feature of modern western societies, as well as some atypical southern African societies like South Africa, Namibia and Botswana.

The 20th century brought about major social changes to Sub-Saharan Africa and with the colonization of these Sub-Saharan African societies by Europe came (Garenne, 2004). As a result most of these countries experienced rapid economic growth. This meant improvements in people's educational and social status as well as more labour opportunities in the modern labour force. People's attitudes and perceptions about marital partnership and marriage as an institution shifted. Many chose to postpone marriage and married at a later age, cohabitation became commonly practiced and people lived together just as husband and wife and all that was meant to be done within the confines of marriage took place within these non-marital unions (that is sexual intercourse, childbearing etc.).

In her study Palamuleni (2010) looks into recent marriage trends in South Africa and according to the author, South Africa just like most countries around the world has gone through very rapid socioeconomic development in recent years. The status of women has been positively affected by the socioeconomic development. As a result, there has been an improvement in their status as they are exposed education attainment opportunities and more participation in the modernized sectors of the labour force. "Such changes have affected attitudes towards marriage and divorce, patterns of marriage, marital dissolution and remarriage, and the roles and status of women in the family" (p.). Palamuleni further notes that the increase in age at first marriage in South Africa has led to the postponement of marriage and instead of people getting married at a young age like before they choose to wait until at a later stage. Cohabitation has also become commonly practiced among

South Africans. Garenne (2004) asserts that in most countries throughout Africa, first cohabitation is usually synonymous with first marriage, and this is widespread in rural areas. "However, in large cities many young women now cohabit with a partner before their first marriage and this became more prevalent in the recent years" (p.62).

The above is a reflection of a change in social attitudes and breach of social sanctions that helped define the nature of traditional marriage within South Africa and Africa as a continent. The traditional system has been weakened as well as gender specialization and division of labour in the household and there have been changes in gender roles. This is a reflection of a changing society that is influenced by economic growth and development, colonization, urbanization, industrialization, modernization as well as globalization.

2.4. Marriage in the modern era

In concrete terms, modernity means increased economic insecurity, divorce, non-marital births, paternal absence, and poverty (Rubio, 2004). And all these have affected how marriage in now being viewed, it is being redefined and its purposes being revisited because the current perceptions that people have about marriage are different as compared to before. Marriages today, based on the current dynamics mentioned so far throughout this chapter, have now caused individuals to define marriage by the kinds of work husbands and wives do every day. Both partners now perform interdependent but different tasks. There has been a shift from the traditional marriage, where by the husband is the breadwinner and the wife does the domestic work, to the modern one, where both spouses are employed and both are responsible for the needs of the family and the housework.

The last four decades witnessed a tremendous and wide-ranging change in family patterns in western societies (Vorster, 2008). Browning (2003), asserts that all western and many non-western societies are becoming what Goode call "high-divorce societies". Furthermore, cohabitation and out of wedlock births have increased dramatically in western societies and throughout the world (p.9).

With an increase in modernity all around the world, cohabitation is becoming institutionalized and more accepted as an alternative to marriage. According to Cherlin (2004), in the United States,

states and municipalities are moving toward granting cohabiting couples some of the rights and responsibilities that married couples have. "Canada has gone further: under the Modernisation of Benefits and Obligations Act of 2000, legal distinctions between married and unmarried same-sex and opposite sex couples" (p.850).

2.4.1. Modernisation and Globalisation

There are powerful trends affecting both advanced and underdeveloped countries that are changing families and undermining their ability to perform customary tasks and these trends are often called the forces of modernization (Browning, 2003). "Modernization and marriage cannot coexist unless modernity is in some ways curtailed and marriage is in many ways redefined" (p.366). Rubio goes on to say that because the forces of modernization make maintaining strong marriages more difficult and because marriage is so strongly linked to human wellbeing, all spheres of society must work together to save marriage.

Of course, theories of modernization are now being extended by theories of globalization. However one refers to them – and they are distinguishable – these processes are having disruptive consequences on families in all corners of the earth (Browning, 2003). He further asserts that the phenomena of modernization and globalization have powerful implications for families.

Globalization is a term that is often used to explain the society we live in today (Osterhammel and Peterson, 2005), a more contemporary and interconnected society. This growing interconnectedness is between the economic, cultural and political processes of globalization (Eisenstadt, 2013). Eisenstadt says that "in the cultural arena the processes of globalization were closely connected with the expansion especially through the major media that were often conceived in many parts of the world as uniform, hegemonic and Western, above all American, cultural programs or visions, giving rise to strong tendencies for global cultural homogenization and, what has been referred to as 'de-traditionalization" (p.112).

Globalization is an inherently complex concept (Mills and Blossfeld, 2003). The authors define globalization as the internationalization of markets and subsequent decline of national borders. It is connected with changes in laws, institutions, or practices which make various transactions (in

terms of commodities, labour, services and capital) easier or less expensive across national borders.

On the other hand Held and McGrew (2007), state that "globalization can be understood as a historical process characterized" by the following:

> "a stretching of social, political and economic activities across political frontiers so that events, decisions and activities in one region of the world come to have significance for individuals and communities in distant regions of the globe; the intensification, or the growing magnitude of interconnectedness, in almost every sphere of social existence from the economic to the ecological...; the accelerating pace of trans border interactions and process as the evolution of worldwide systems of transport and communication increases the rapidity or velocity with which ideas, news, goods, information, capital and technology move around the world" (p.2-3).

As noted from above, it is evident that globalization has brought the world together and it has become a shared space (Held and McGrew 2007). As the forces of globalization render national boundaries increasingly permeable, traditional lifestyles have become vulnerable (Yang and Neal, 2006). "A tide of globalization and the movement of capital and people around the world have changed marriage-related norms, values and attitudes through effects on economic restructuring, job opportunities, the spread of the internet and transnational mass media, and improvement in the status of women" (Yang and Lu, 2010). Furthermore, "this resultant atmosphere of globalization has been responsible for the tendency of the younger generation to postpone or avoid initial family formation as well as to get married to a foreign spouse" (p.131).

Globalization has also brought about technological advances and international migration amongst other factors and these opened up more opportunities for people from different cultures to interact. Vaughn (2010) asserts that, as a result of these changes marriage and family institutions were affected and caused a change in their structure and function. It is important to note that marriage is still highly regarded as important regardless of the fact that it is undergoing transformation. Even though the processes of getting married are not as before, people still desire and do get married. Because of the technological advances, the internet has become a platform people use to meet their life partners/spouses or potential partners and marriages have come out of that. Emphasis on education and self-fulfillment is now at the core of who should get married to whom, when and

why. As a result, the age at first marriage is rising and has been for the last couple of centuries and not only as a result of globalization but modernization as well.

Browning, Green and Witte Jr (2006) state that there have been ongoing debates across the world in the last couple of decades and these debates are about the current health and future prospects of marriage and families. The authors indicate that there are trends that are affecting all countries around the world which have affected marriage as an institution and these are often referred to as the forces of modernization. The emergence of modernization has been viewed in a positive light and people have embraced the changes that have occurred as a result. Many view the processes as necessary to shift from traditional systems into more enhanced modern systems influenced by technology, high levels of education, better paying jobs, advanced health care and equality. "However, the same processes also threaten to undermine the power of religious traditions to shape and support family and marital solidarity" (Browning, Green and Witte Jr, 2006: xxi).

These processes have undermined the systems that were put in place to govern societies and guide or control how, when marriage would take place. Grossbord-Shechtman in Davis (1985) states that, "in the later stages of modernization, controls over sexual and reproductive behaviour have become ineffective" (p.11). The author goes on to state a few factors that have rendered the institution of marriage less advantageous like the employment of women outside the home, the rise of bureaucratic authority over children, and the increase in divorce. These changes have completely undermined the role of the extended family and have given rise to nuclear families.

The growth of cities and industrialism brought about a sense of liberation as people became more individualistic as they got rid of old, traditional systems and resorted to modern or contemporary way of living. The industrial nations began to experience postponement of marriage. According to Grossbord-Shechtman (1985) there was a decline in age at marriage in the 20th century but it has recently been rising. There has also been a decline in marriage of the "loss of functions that society expects families to perform as industrialization and economic growth advance" (Espenshade, 1985:80).

Colonizing states imposed western notions of marriage, patriarchal land ownership and inheritance upon indigenous people without necessarily having obtained their consent to be governed in the first place (McGrath, 2005). From above it is evident that American and European ideas about marriage have rapidly influenced most if not all of the non-western nations. They historically

esteemed marriage as prestigious and people's status in society but today the institution of marriage is regarded as less important, not mandatory and its traditions and patterns have been altered to accommodate the changes occurring across the world.

The 19th century is characterized by modernization and there is a transition from a small scale, traditional agricultural society to a centralized, mechanized and large scale industrial economy (Matthijs, 2003). Matthijs asserts that this was a result of mutual reinforcement of scientific knowledge and this has been viewed as what propelled the socio-demographic and cultural changes including marriage and the marriage ceremony. According to Eaklor (2008), the 19th century marriage can be considered an economic and social institution as well as a spiritual and legal one. The context would be determined by the different reasons and expectations from each individual. By the middle nineteenth century, the institution of marriage had changed considerably (Goldberg, 2006). One hundred and fifty years ago, when a woman got married she lost virtually all of her independent legal identity but since the mid-19th century the institution is no longer seen as the absolute legal subordination of women to their husbands. According to Goldberg, New York became one of the first states (in USA) in 1948 to authorize married women to own property as independent individuals.

During the 20th century, human life was transformed in a number of substantial ways and these transformations pertained primarily to human life in the west, but also at certain industrially developed parts of Asia, South America, and Africa (Pinsof, 2002). These transformations also affected the institution of marriage and Pinsof indicates that prior to the 20th century, the most common endpoint of marriage became divorce. Industrialization and urbanization in the 20th century caused people to consider a wage earning job as an increasingly important prerequisite for marriage (Sassler and Goldscheider 2004). There was also an increase in cohabitation and sexual revolution occurred, affecting the context in which union decisions were made. The family began to lose its influence as these changes took place. Their involvement in decisions that concerned marital unions became less important because globalization and modernization brought about a sense of individualism hence people felt entitled to individual choices.

Furthermore the mainstream media painted a picture of what the ideal relationship, marriage, family looked like and the benefits that came with that. Unlike in the past, men's income is no longer considered as a prerequisite for marriage because women were now exposed to the modern

labour force, they attained education hence the ability to be able to provide and become equal partners with their husbands.

As a result of the globalization and modernization era, the world society is a different place compared to the past. The values and norms that people live by are being challenged as local societies get integrated into the larger global network. Globalization has conveyed new ideas about gender, identity, relationships, and women's and children's rights, even to very distant places (Trask, 2011). Trask asserts that "the global influx of women into the formal and informal labor force and their rising educational levels, have had profound implications for family life" (p.4). "The world over, we are witnessing an increase in two income households and the ability of women to decrease their dependence on the men in their households and communities" (Trask, 2011:4). There has also been rise in divorce rates, later ages of marriage, and the increased ability of women to limit childbearing (Trask, 2011). Traditions have become increasingly weakened. According to Stark (2006), "local leaders may insist on even stricter adherence to local customs, especially those related to marriage, divorce, and children, as their authority is challenged by international norms" (p.1555).

"What is undeniable is that globalization in one form or another, is impacting on the lives of everyone on the planet, whatever their age, class, ethnicity, gender or wherever they live" (Beynon and Kerley, 2000). The new technologies that have emerged during the globalization era have accelerated the effects of globalization. These technologies have created images that have become influential, images portraying the "good life and good things" that make life good and it is through various technological means that these images are circulated worldwide creating globalized desires of the good life and good things that make the good life. As a result, the social, cultural and traditional aspects of society has been affected.

3. MARRIAGE IN BOTSWANA

"Just like in many African nations, marriage in Botswana is recognized as a very important phenomenon and it is believed that it creates a platform where the societal norms are imparted and learnt. Thus, people are prepared for marriage before they could enter into it", (Moeti and Mokgolodi, 2017:67)

The main purpose of this chapter is to give the reader an overview history about Botswana, how it was established as well as the history of marriage and how the institution of marriage has transformed over the years. The researcher will show how Botswana has transformed from pre-independence, independence and post- independence and how marriage has transformed within each period. It important to note that Botswana is located in the southern part of Africa and it forms part of the Southern African region therefore the researcher will give a brief history about the region and how marriage transformed during pre-colonial Southern Africa. The reason for this approach is because what is now a region made of 10 nations after colonialism was once made up of two societies, the Ngunis and Sotho-Tswana. Understanding how the two societies later became ten nations will help understand how Botswana was established. What binds the region is the shared culture, languages, marriage traditions, socialization processes and the people.

3.1. Southern Africa

It almost impossible to talk about the history of Botswana without talking about the history of Southern Africa. In order to understand how Botswana was established one needs to understand how Southern Africa came to be. The countries that make up the region include: Botswana, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi. All the nations that make up the region have a shared history, shared culture, traditions and languages

that bring them together. McKenna (2011) further notes that the region is a vibrant mix of people and cultures with a rich history.

Kuper (2016), in his study about traditions of kinship, marriage and bride wealth in southern Africa talks about the pre-colonial southern Bantu speaking societies which he divides into two, the "Nguni" and "Sotho-Tswana". The Ngunis were concentrated in the South East which became Ciskei, Transkei, Kwazulu-Natal and Swaziland whereas the Sotho-Tswana settled in the North West which extended from present day Lesotho to eastern Botswana.

Kuper indicates that Isaac Schapera's anthropolical research in the 1930s revealed that Tswana nobles and commoners had very different patterns of kin-marriage. The nobles married from their father's side of the family, mostly with their father's brother's daughter. The Sotho-Tswana brides were cousins to the groom and often times betrothed at childhood and was only made official when the girl has grown into a woman. Marriage was not just an important social aspect of societies, it also played an important role when it came to political and economic issues. In fact, it was of enormous political importance especially among the powerful families. "Politically, marriages established, sustained and restructured allegiances" (Kuper, 2016:14).

The marriage ceremonies and processes were also an important aspect of the Sotho-Tswana society. These include the wedding ceremony, bride wealth transfers and socialization of the bride or wife on how to conduct themselves once they are married. Kuper states that these made symbolic statements about the nature of men, women, leaders, followers, cattle and grain, and the living and the ancestors (p.15).

According to Kuper, ineluctably and at a gradually increasing tempo the traditional structures were destabilized and as a result change began to occur. Christian missionaries came to the region with the main aim of abolishing some of the marriage processes and traditions that they considered to be wrong. They wanted to abolish polygamy and bride wealth because they saw it as the sale of women. Bride wealth was an important part of the traditional marriage because the rights in a woman and her children were transferred in exchange for the payment of cattle. But as the influence of the missionaries increased it caused a decrease in the value placed on these traditions, though not at an alarming rate. Polygamy began to decrease.

McKenna (2011) states that the introduction of Christianity by the missionaries brought about Victorian notions of progress and civilization into the region (the Cape). This played a crucial role

in the transformation of these societies, they began to export their agricultural produce and entered into the labour market.

The Sotho-Tswana communities were also affected by the missionary activities. The famous Scottish missionaries from the 19th century, Robert Moffat and David Livingstone worked among the Tswana. They highly influenced the Ngwato tribe among the Tswana society and their first convert was the King of the Ngwato, King Khama III (reigned 1875-1923).

3.2. Botswana

The territory of modern day Botswana lies landlocked (Robinson, 2009) in Southern Africa and it is roughly the size of France (Sidler, 2010; Mberengwa, 2007), or slightly smaller than the state of Texas (Orenstein, 2009; Dobson, 2011). The capital is Gaborone and it is situated in the south eastern part of the country less than 20 miles from the South African border, it was built from scratch at independence in 1966 (Thebe, 2006). Located in Southern Africa, Botswana shares borders with South Africa on the south and east, Zimbabwe on the east, Zambia along a small strip on the north, and Namibia on the north and west (Seidler, 2010; Dobson, 2011). With a population of approximately 2 million (Population Housing Census, 2011) Botswana is one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world and she is made up of two main ethnic groups Tswana (79%) and Kalanga people (11%) then Basarwa (3%) and other ethnic groups in Botswana (Moeti and Mokgolodi 2017). Botswana's official languages are English and Setswana.

Seidler indicates that during the 18th century, the dominant ethnic group, the Tswana had migrated into the territory from the south east. From the mid-nineteenth century, Botswana was sandwiched between the expanding Boer states of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, the British Empire, the expansionism of Cecil Rhodes and the British South African company, and the Germans in south-west Namibia (Robinson, 2009). Even after becoming a British protectorate in 1885, it was severely neglected because Britain saw it as a barren land with no resources or minerals worthy of investment. British investments in the country's infrastructure and human capital were similarly marginal.

Mining is at the heart of Botswana's economy, making Botswana the world's largest producer of gem diamonds in the world (Mberengwa, 2007).

3.2.1. Marriage in Botswana

Marriage brings people together, it unites families and it becomes more than just about the two individuals getting married, communities come together. Therefore, in Setswana, marriage is a communal affair (Moeti and Mokgolodi, 2017). In the past, it was more common compared to now for the groom's parents go seek the girls hand in marriage from her parents. But now things are different even though most Batswana still embrace the old traditions, some as a result of contact with the missionaries and the changes that have occurred as a result of modernization and globalisation do not engage their families. Consequently, Batswana couples can marry without parental consent when they are of age. When proper procedure is followed according to culture then parents from both parties meet to begin the process of marriage and it is only after the parents have met that a series of activities take place until the marriage day.

Botswana's marriages fall under two parallel legal systems: customary law and common law (Ellece, 2011). Ellece's paper on "gender in the marriage advice ceremony in Botswana highlights that rituals associated with customary law (such as 'go laya') are very important, and will continue to influence gender relations in marriage, regardless of whether such a marriage is under common law or customary law" (p.51).

Traditionally, marriage is the social institution that permitted procreation to take place in Botswana (Mberengwa, 2007). In his study about "Family Strengths Perspectives from Botswana", Mberengwa states that all interviewers "acknowledged that today's marriages do not survive" (p.41). The study concludes that this is due to the fact that there is no more preparation for marriage. Boys and girls used to go to initiation schools which aimed at training them and preparing them for marriage and their respective roles in society as men and women. But all that has changed, it is no longer practiced by the current generation.

According to Mberengwa, marriage was a milestone that one had to strive to achieve, unlike today, when some individuals just find themselves in different forms of unions. On the other hand,

marriage is viewed as one's entrance to adult society; therefore through marriage a man and a woman acquire their new status as husband and wife respectively (Nlhekisana, 2007).

3.2.2. Marriage statistics in Botswana

Labour migration had a great impact on the institution of marriage to the extent that marriage patterns were greatly changing by the 1970s (Gaisie, 1995). According to a report by Statistics Botswana on selected statistical indictors between 1966 and 2016, 47.1% males and 42.9 females were married in 1971 and the percentage dropped to 18.8% and 17.9% in 2011 respectively. The report indicates that there were no living together persons between 1971 and 1981. In 1991, 12.2% males and 12.0 females was recorded and it increased to 20.6% and 20.8% in 2011 respectively. Botswana demographic survey report 2017 indicates that 54.4% of the population from 12 years and over were never married and this shows a decrease from 64.2% in 2006. Those who are living together have increased from 11.4% in 2006 to 21.8% in 2017. And those who were reported to be married show a slight increase from 18.2% in 2006 to 18.4% in 2017. The statistics show that the number of people getting married has declined over the years but there has been an increase of the living together category.

3.2.3. Types of marriage in Botswana

According to Molokomme (1990) there are two types of marriage officially recognized in Botswana and the first one is marriage under customary law which is governed by the traditional laws and practices of the different tribes and second is marriage under statute which is regulated by the Roman-dutch law and statutory provisions. Jobeta and Nwauche (2015) in their article about double marriages in Botswana identifies three types of marriage officially recognized in Botswana, two of which were identified by the author Molokomme.

"The first is a civil marriage which is conducted before the district commissioner or any other marriage officer appointed in accordance with the marriage act including those conducted before a minister of religion in a Christian church in terms of part 1 of the marriage act. The second type

of marriage is a customary marriage contracted in accordance with customary law defined as consisting of rules of law which by custom are applicable to any particular tribe or tribal community in Botswana, not being rules which are inconsistent with the provision of any enactment or contrary to morality, humanity, or natural justice. Religious marriages contracted according to other religions which are non-Christian, such as Muslim, Hindu, etc. is the third type of marriage" (Jobeta and Nwauche, 2015:2).

Jobeta and Nwauche note that the same parties can move between different marriage systems. The parties getting married under customary law can also get contracted under civil marriage and it is also acceptable for the ones marrying under civil law to contract a marriage under customary law as well. "The majority of the population apparently marry in accordance with their own customary law, although there is an increasing tendency for couples to undergo ceremonies under the statute law" (Molokomme, 1990:309). Customary law still plays a major role within the Tswana culture and even though most people might end up conducting ceremonies under statute law, they still highly acknowledge, respect and adhere to the traditions and values under customary law hence the reason for the flexibility to move between the marriage systems.

3.3. Pre-Independence

Declared by a Proclamation on September 30, 1885 (Brownlie and Burns, 1979) Botswana became a British Protectorate named the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Seidler, 2010). Brownlie and Burns note that the Protectorate was administered as a High Commission Territory from 1891 to 1964 (p.1091). When the protectorate was estabiliahed, it consisted of the following main tribes: the "Kgatla, Kwena, Lete, Ngwaketse, Ngwato, Tshidi-Rolong, Tawana, and Tlokwa" (Maylam, 2005). It was "until independence, in 1966 that the empire restrained its involvement and purely administered the protectorate by using indirect rule that did not exert too much political influence", (Maylam, 2005:3). British interest and effective presence in Botswana was fairly minimal (Fombad, 1991).

It was during the 18th century that the Tswanas started migrating into the area which is now modern day Botswana. Seidler asserts that "by 1800, several related Tswana tribes had been established and the followed cultural norms to organize their social, political and economic life". According

to Shilington (2005) "precolonial Botswana was populated by several ethnic groups scattered throughout the country" (p.277). The Basarwa (Khoisan) which are often referred to as the first people of Botswana had then occupied the southern part of Botswana together with the Bakgalagadi and the Batswana.

3.3.1. Missionaries in the 19th century

When the missionaries came to Botswana just like they did other African nations they introduced concepts that were contrary to African traditions, culture and beliefs. Through the establishment of schools they introduced formal education, Christianity and other ways of living that was new to the traditional chiefs in Tswana community. As some people got exposed to their teachings, the more they accustomed to the new culture and began to slowly do away with some of the cultural norms and values.

During the 1800s, the mission societies from Europe began to preach in the southern region of Africa at the Cape and it was by the 1820s that the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society started working near to the Orange River among the Thlaping and Rolong (Shilington and Erlank, 2005). By the 1850s, the LMS had expanded their territory and settled among the Ngwato, the Kwena, the Ngwaketse, and the Kgatla and these missionaries were invited by chiefs to live with them with the intention of using the missionaries to negotiate for guns with the Cape and the Boer republics.

Before the missionaries left in the 1850s, they came in contact with Khama and Kgamane his brother – sons of the ngwato royal family and that is when they were exposed to Christianity and as a result Khama got baptized in 1860 and in 1862 he and Gobitsamang Tshukudu were joined in first Christian ceremony among the Ngwato. Christianity became widespread and more people converted consequently rejecting Tswana customs and practices, causing rifts within the chiefdoms.

It was in the 1940s that labour migration became a major force in Tswana society (Brown, 1983). There was an influx of labour migrants into South Africa to work in the mines and most of the migrants were man. This had an impact on the family and the institution of marriage because

women/wives were left to be the caregivers and even the young men who went seeking for jobs were beginning to delay marriage. This is also seen to have been caused by colonial disruptions. Premarital sexual relations were highly discouraged and one was punished if they were caught.

3.4. Independence

The territory was declared an independent nation, Botswana, on September 30, 1966 (Brownlie and Burns, 1979) after nearly 80 years as a protectorate state of Great Britain (Orenstein, 2009). Seidler asserts that "the Protectorate's path to independence evolved around the central figure of Seretse Khama, heir to the chieftainship of the Ngwato tribe" (Seidler, 2010). Seidler further notes that, "parallel to the political events that led to independence, institutions underwent an important phase of transition and development". The introduction of several informal European institutions had already begun to infiltrate into the Tswana society during the colonial period. The society began to witness an introduction of the English language as well as Christian values.

Botswana has been a stable democratic state since independence, has never experienced war or political instability, therefore it is often seen as a great example of sustainable democracy in Africa. Botswana has experienced rapid economic growth during the decades following independence in 1966 and this was as a result of the discovery of diamonds in 1967. Taylor (2005) points out that Botswana is famed for its diamond resources and it is true that the revenues from diamond extraction have powered the country's growth.

At independence in 1966 there were practically no surfaced roads and only two secondary schools in the entire country which dated only from the 1940s (Robinson, 2009). "Yet as is well-known, in a continent where many countries are poorer now than at independence, Botswana stands out for its extraordinary economic record, and has experienced very rapid economic growth and living standards since 1966" (p.1).

It was the discovery of diamonds in 1967 that reduced labour migration into South Africa. Majority of the population came back home to work in the mines but this did not solve the already existing challenges within the family and marriage institutions which emerged before independence due to labour migration into South Africa. Labour migration into urban areas within the nation was

becoming evident. The majority of the Batswana (the people of Botswana) who went to South Africa were young people. Labour migration, coupled with missionary activities and contacts with European traders engendered many changes in the Tswana family.

Gaisie notes that, "though labour migration contributed to the general welfare of the people, it undoubtedly weakened the family structure and further separated husbands and wives for long periods of time, leading to the breakdown of domestic control thus affecting the roles men and women play in the home, the man as the provider and the women as home caretaker" (p.279).

3.5. Post-Independence

"Botswana has often been portrayed as an oasis of peace and harmony, admired for its continuous parliamentarian democracy, esteemed for the sustainable strength of its post-colonial state and widely recognized for its tremendous economic growth" (Gulbrandsen, 2012:1). At independence in 1966, Botswana was rated to be one of Africa's poorest countries with a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of about US$70. And five decades later it is one of the world's most interesting economic development success stories. The economic growth has surpassed that of other African countries and other low income countries and the world average. All this has occurred over the past 40 years (Orenstein, 2009). She indicates that the impact of the Protectorate (Pre-Independence) history of Botswana on its state development and regime type is evident when compared to the histories of many other African countries. Furthermore, Botswana was not a "colony" in the true sense of the word but rather a Protectorate state.

The decades since Botswana's independence have seen an urbanization trend from Botswana's villages to cities, and in particular, to Gaborone (Dobson, 2011). In 2013, Gwebu's (2013) analysis on urbanization in Botswana indicate that urbanisation "has increased from 54 percent in 2001 to 64 percent and about 66 percent of the urban population resides in urban villages who constitute 42.3 percent of the national population" (p.176).

According to Brown (1983) and Gaisie (1998), by the 1970s marriage patterns had altered dramatically, due primarily to the impact of high levels of outmigration. There is now a delay in marriage until a later age. Brown notes that while migrant workers might come home between jobs

or vacation, they generally do not settle down until they reach their thirties. She further asserts that even though marriage may be delayed, courting relations and love affairs between men and woman flourish.

Botswana has also witnessed a decline in polygyny. In her study, "The passing of polygyny in Botswana", Solway (1990) argues that among the Bakgalagadi (one of the tribes situated in the central region) of Botswana, the passing of polygyny not only reflects past socio-economic change but also must itself be considered a force of change. Her study also indicates that polygyny's decline, in turn, is leading to structural change by altering the general configuration of kin ties. Furthermore, it has passed in Botswana, though it may still be practiced by a small minority, but its vitality as an institution through which social and economic life is played out has withered. Monogamy is now highly preferred by most people.

Parents or extended family members used to choose partners or potential spouses for their children, something that has faded away in modern Botswana. The selection of the mate was based on some culturally attractive attributes such as coming from a respectable family (Letamo and Bainame, 1997). The authors note that, nowadays most young people select their own mates with little or no contribution from parents. While marriage is clearly a sound institution in terms of the role it plays in ensuring social cohesion, it is increasingly clear that it may not be the celebrated safe haven it is traditionally believed to be (Ellece, 2011). In her study, "Gender construction in the marriage advice ceremony in Botswana", Ellece indicates that in Botswana, the media reports show an increase in the incidence of marital rape and domestic violence, as well as a high incidence of HIV infection.

Dijk (2010) in his research, "marriage, commodification and the romantic ethic in Botswana", says that the promotion of marriage in Botswana as the social panacea against AIDS has run into a new difficulty: the increased commodification of weddings. His study reveals that even though marriage is seen as a road to healing the social order and rescuing society, the trajectory of social health has become a highly commoditized market with all the splendour a 'white wedding' involves. He concludes that marriage is not only becoming an impoverishing institution but also one that increasingly fewer people can afford.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF MARRIAGE IN BOTSWANA

This chapter will start by briefly explaining the methodology that was employed to collect and analyse the data in order to address the research topic. The findings and analysis of the study also included in this chapter as well as the discussion of the findings. The first part will outline the research method used, and data analysis approach and the second part will include the findings of the study.

4.1 Methodology

The main aim of this research study was to analyse the transformation of marriage in Botswana. The following research objectives were set to guide the researcher to explore the transformation of marriage in Botswana:

- the changes that the institution of marriage has gone through over the years;
- the contemporary influences of globalisation on marriage in Botswana;
- the trends in marriage in Botswana;

This study employed a mixed secondary research method of data collection. The analysis is based on qualitative secondary sources. The purpose of qualitative analysis is to interpret the data and the resulting themes, to facilitate understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Sargeant, 2012). A qualitative analysis of secondary data obtained from previous studies, newspapers, social media, magazines and dating sites was used to explore how marriage has transformed in Botswana over the years. Statistical data from Central Statistics Office (Botswana) and Botswana Demographic Survey are used to explore the trends in marriages in Botswana between 1971 and 2017.

Secondary analysis is a research strategy which makes use of preexisting quantitative or qualitative research data for the purposes of investigating new questions or verifying previous studies.

The data obtained was then coded and categorized into themes in order to answer each research question. The research questions were used as a framework to identify salient aspects of the data collected that are relevant to the topic. This section will highlight and analyze key elements that emerged during data collection and they are organized into themes.

4.2. Trends in marriages in Botswana (1971-2017)

Gaisie's (1995) study on the determinants of fertility decline in Botswana indicate that the labour migration that took place between 1940s-1970s in Botswana had an impact on marriage and it is in the 1970s that marriage patterns changed. Most of the men migrated to South Africa to work in the mines. Marriage was delayed until a later age. Political, social and economic changes arising out of the capitalist penetration of the Tswana society over the past four or five decades gradually transformed the traditional nuptiality patterns of early and universal marriage into different types of sexual unions and relationships (Gaisie, 1995). The statistics below from the secondary data findings indicate trends in marriage over the last couple of decades in Botswana.

There are two types of marriages in Botswana, those announced through court banns (the usual practice of proclaiming the names of the candidates for a period of 21 days before formalizing the marriage) and those done through a special license that expedites the marriage process (Vital Statistics Report, 2015:16). In 2015, 98% of marriages were registered through court banns and 2% were through a special license. The marriages registered in 2015 excludes customary and cultural marriages. There were 7,766 marriages registered in 2015, an increase of 2,175 from the 5,591 registered in 2014. This was after the 'Re a Nyalana' initiative was established and since its establishment in 2010, 2,191 marriages were registered from 2011-2015 through the initiative. Mean age at first marriage for men was 37.3% and 31% for women in 2005, 41.1 and 35.3 in 2015 respectively. The mean age at first marriage increased between 2005-2015 for both bachelors and spinsters.

Bachelors and spinsters are getting married a later age as statistics indicate that age at first marriage is increasing. The report states that the proportions of males and females marrying differ across different occupations. In 2015, the highest proportion (20.1%) of males marrying fell within the category of technicians and associate professionals. This could be as a result of the fact the males in the above mentioned category have a stable, high quality paying job which enables them to afford the weddings costs that some may be failing to overcome in contemporary Botswana. Marriage for females was highest (35.1%) for those who were not employed (vital stats report 2015, 18). The Vital Statistics report of 2015 also shows an increase in age of husband and wife at marriage time. Most marriages occurred between the ages of 30 to 44 years among the males and 25 to 39 years among the females.

The 1998 Botswana Demographic Survey recorded the never married at 63.6%, currently married 20.3 and formerly married 16.1. The 2006 report had the more categories added to the ones (living together, separated, widowed) mentioned above. The never married made up 64.2 % of the population, married 18.1%, living together 11.6%, separated 0.3%, divorced 1.0%, widowed 4.8%. The Botswana Demographic Survey report of 2017 recorded 54.4% of the population as never married, 21.8% living together, 18.4% married, 3.9% widowed, 1.1% divorced and 0.2% as separated. The rate of those living together has increased by 10.2% between 2006 and 2017. People could possibly be preferring to live together and not legalise their union or to delay getting married.

It was only after the 1991 census that the "living together" category was included. It could be that prior to that, they were included in the never married category. 'Today, living together unions are common among most groups. In urban areas, little stigma is attached to the living together unions although the churches strongly disapprove of them' (Meekers and Ahmed, 1997:4).

In 2016, the assistant district commissioner of Botswana, Mr Onalenna Daniel spoke against living together or cohabitation and discouraged people from living together without been married. People are prioritizing cohabitation over marriage and this is highly practiced among the youth. Online platforms like Botswana Youth online have written pieces for their readers such as '10 crucial things to consider before cohabiting' (March 24, 2017). According to the World Bank Group, (2010) "reasons for cohabitation include labour migration, decline in polygyny, better educated women, and enhanced legal rights of unmarried women" (p.14).

4.3. Changes in Tswana marriage

When the missionaries came to Botswana in the 19th century they introduced Christianity and as a result changes began to take place within the Tswana society. The institution of marriage was no exception to these changes. Traditionally, Tswana society was a polygamous society but Christianity brought about monogamy. Today, 79.1% of Batswana (the people of Botswana) are Christians (Index Mundi [24.06.2019]).

Christianity had a big impact on many traditional customs such as *go batlela mosadi* (to choose a wife for the man), *bogadi* (bride wealth) and polygyny. "Originally, many Christian missions tried to develop a European type of Christianity, which prohibited aspects of traditional culture such as polygyny and the payment of bride wealth" (Meekers and Ahmed, 1997:3).

The Tswana society also went through a transition from a rural agricultural base to a cash based society. Maundeni (2000) asserts that "in traditional African communities (prior to industrialisation and urbanisation), societies were based on a subsistence economy, characterised by self-sufficient joint family organisation" (p.19). And "the traditional system has been transformed by changes such as the money economy, Christianity and colonialism, which brought with them different patterns of life" (Maundeni, 2000:20).

Being in contact with the missionaries affected the Tswana practices and process within traditional marriage including the tradition of *bogadi* (bride wealth). The missionaries discouraged the practice of paying *bogadi* because they saw it as the same thing as selling a daughter. Even though the tradition of *bogadi* has persisted over the years it seems to have developed negative features in the sense that it has become so commercialized which is hindering most couples from getting married. What was once seen as a "gesture of appreciation" and a way of "uniting families" through marriage has now been reflected as a "money making venture".

Payment of *bogadi* was paid in the form of cattle but this has been on the decline over the years because the proportion of families that own cattle has declined since the Tswana society has moved from a rural agricultural society to a cash economy. Bachelors or young man who want to get married must raise money to pay *bogadi* because fathers are asking for high amounts of money as

bride wealth. "Modern *lobola* payments include cash, cattle, clothes, shoes and groceries" (Chiweshe, 2016:235). *Bogadi* is currently at the center of human rights discussions on its relevance or lack of.

Research underlines that in Botswana, the proportion of married adults has been on the decline over the last decades and as a result majority of the children in Tswana society are born out of wedlock. There has been concerns in the media over the declining marriage rate and the increasing rate of divorce cases in Botswana.

To many, especially the man, finances have become an issue and it is one of the many reasons why they don't marry. As indicated by a young man on an interview with Sunday Standard 2 February 2015, "getting married is appearing to be costly". The young man admits that although he would like to experience marriage, he cannot afford the whole shebang that preludes this "till death do us part" event.

At the same time there is a growing concern among the political leaders about divorce rates in Botswana. During a media brief as reported by Botswana Daily Newspaper:

> "Minister of Nationality, Immigration and Gender Affairs Mr Edwin Batshu has expressed concern that Botswana was experiencing a high number of divorce cases. He said the statistics were alarming and solutions must be found to address the issue since marriages are foundations of strong families" (Botswana Daily News, [22.06.2019]).

Media reports indicate that there is a high number of divorce cases and the statistics are alarming. Botswana High Court records on divorce rates indicate that 1,088 divorce cases were registered and the number increased to 1,190 in 2015 which shows an increase by 102 cases. Some people argue that the divorce rates could be an indication that people no longer respect marriage and the marital vows are no longer sacred as they used to be in the past. Some are of the view that there is also societal pressure to get married and young people cave in but fail to stay married once they encounter a problem because their decision was influenced by external influences.

Customs such as "*go batlela mosadi*" (to choose a wife for the man) have been discarded. "Traditionally, parents or senior relatives arranged marriages in Botswana – mutual attraction between young people was given little consideration, and there was little scope for young sexually

mature people to associate" (Pitso, 2003:189). Parents or elders are no longer responsible for finding a wife for their son. Due to the cultural changes that have taken place over the last decades, men, without the consent of their parents find their wives on their own. Platforms such as dating Botswana and Let's get Personal Column (LGP) in The Voice newspaper, Ask Gase have been created to give single Batswana bachelors and spinsters, divorced, widowed, cohabiting to meet their specific needs. Whether they are looking for love, a life partner, a potential husband/wife on LGP/datingbotswana.com or seeking for advice and guidance from Ask Gase, most of Batswana especially young people have advantage of these platforms.

Young people now have the freedom to choose their desired partner and parents no longer arrange marriages for them. In the past, arranged marriages left most girls in dire situations because their parents also gave them away to older men who were in most instances considered rich and financially capable of taking care of the whole family. Just as stated below, both civil and customary law do not permit arranged marriages anymore:

> "In most cases in Botswana under both Customary and Common Laws the choice of a spouse is voluntary. It is only in isolated instances where forced marriages occur. In such cases there has been some condemnation of the parents of involved young women, especially if they are still in school. The traditional practice of arranged marriages through betrothal (*peeletso*), is no longer permissible as it adversely affected women usually involved with elderly men. In such cases the girl-child has no say as the matter would have been concluded with her parents. If she is a minor, the law allows the parents to consent on her behalf" (Botswana report on the implementation of the convention of the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, article 16, section 223).

Some young couples in Botswana, while in the process of getting married and needing counselling before they tie the knot reach out to the column in the Voice newspaper called 'Ask Gase' on how to go about seeking pre-marital counseling. Pre-marital counseling was not a common phenomenon in the past but the bride and groom went through a process called *"go laya"* (the advice ritual) (Ellece, 2011). "The duty of counselling the bride lies with her aunts and other married female relatives and the groom is counselled by his uncles and other married male relatives" (p.45). Even though this process still takes place within the Tswana marriage, young people in contemporary Botswana seem to recognize the need to seek pre-marital counselling

either from a certified marriage counsellor or a pastor. Unlike *"go laya"* which does not cost any money, pre-marital counselling in most cases costs money, hence becoming a financial challenge in addition to other marriage or wedding costs.

With less to almost no parents' intervention with regards to choosing a husband or wife for them, young people have not limited themselves to one way of searching for a partner. Searching for a partner through online dating, columns such as LGP may seem unconventional to the elders or parents but there are some success stories such as the one below:

> "As she paged through the paper, her eyes were caught by the newspaper's 'Lets Get Personal (LGP) dating column. As she read through the page, she came across an advert that made her heart skip a bit, which read... "a tall Zimbabwean man looking for a lady aged 23-25 who does not smoke or drink." As she paged through the paper, her eyes were caught by the newspaper's 'Lets Get Personal (LGP) dating column. With love clearly written all over their faces, the couple spoke of how they were happy to have found each other, revealing that they will be having their white wedding next year. *Lobola* was paid for the bride to-be in April and the couple is already living together. "The future is looking bright for us, we are just happy and very grateful to The Voice newspaper for their LGP column and we hope other people will find the same joy through this column,'' said Kamuruko, (The Voice News Paper [12.05.2019]).

With all the changes that have occurred in Botswana over the last decades posing a couple of challenges to the Tswana traditional marriage along the way such as rise in divorce cases and commercialization of *bogadi* (bride wealth), there are some positive changes that have taken place in pursuit of restoring the institution of marriage back to what it used to be. Non-governmental organizations like the Family Institute Trust was established in 2011 with the aim of providing family and marriage counselling and the vision is to create an acceptance and understanding of co-existence within the society, demonstrating the character of marriage and restore the family fabric Botswana. The establishment of organisations or platforms to tackle challenges within the institution of marriage in Botswana is a contemporary phenomenon, in the past when things were not going right, the family would step in to resolve the issue or the elders of the village and the tribal chief.

'Re A Nyalana' (meaning 'We are Getting Married') is also an initiative established in 2012 in Botswana with an objective to encourage cohabiting couples to legally marry. As a result this will bring back stability within the family. The Re A Nyalana society exists "to address the ills that have plagued Botswana society" and their intention is to create harmony. Re A Nyalana indicates that most if not all the couples that have had the privilege of benefiting from this initiative have been cohabiting or living together because they could not afford to go through the process of marriage. The Re A Nyalana society views that economic hardship should never be a reason for failure to marry. Most couples who are benefiting from the initiative are elderly couples who have been cohabiting for more than 15 years.

> "Minister Batshu said Re A Nyalana was established after investigations carried out in the past had pointed out that there was a lot of cohabitation in the country, which was found to be undesirable. For the period they have been in existence a total of 3 713 couples have benefitted from the initiative. He noted that the country has recorded 173, 534 marriages since 1885" (Botswana Daily News, [28.06.2019]).

There are possible reasons why cohabitation has been found to be undesirable. Cohabitation could be one of the reasons why marriage rates have been decreasing. Statistics have recorded that the number of people cohabiting has been on the rise since the early 2000s in Botswana causing most people to delay getting married or never marrying at all. Some argue that the number of children born in homes where couples are not legally married has been on the rise. The children are disadvantaged in the sense that when the parent separate, there is nothing that legitimizes their existence. The children's legitimacy was one of the reasons why *bogadi* (bride wealth) was given in the past.

4.4. Contemporary influences of globalization

The findings indicated a number of factors like high literacy and education level, digital age and the western culture as contemporary influences to the institution of marriage in Botswana. These factors have significantly contributed to the current trends in marriage in contemporary Botswana.

4.4.1. High literacy and education level

"Botswana is one of the few countries where more females are educated than males" (World Bank Group, 2010).

According to the Botswana report on the implementation of the convention of the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women:

> "The Government of Botswana has made tremendous efforts in ensuring that education opportunities are available and accessible to all people. The National Commission on Education Report of (1993) underscored the importance of education as a lifelong process of improving the quality of life of people and in particular the empowerment of women and the girl child" (Article 10, section 159).

It is often argued that a rapid rise in educational attainment of women, an increase in the age at which they have their first child are key features of demographic transition in any country (Gangadharan and Maitra, 2001:1). Botswana has seen a rise in educated, independent, working women because of the increase in educational attainment of women in the country over the last decades. With the growing availability of education and birth control and a general expansion of the formal sector, women have become able to envision their lives in new ways where polygyny and even marriage, would place them in restrictive and undesirable situations (Solway, 1990:53).

This has possibly presented women with the freedom to make decisions about their lives independent of men and marriage appearing to not be the only option for them compared to the past when marriage appeared to be the only option for women to attain security, class and status and be solely dependent on men for their wellbeing. "And the 2001 Marriage Act gave unmarried women land and business rights not available to married women, making marriage less attractive" (World Bank Group, 2010:15). This means that women are in less need of marriage in order for them to acquire certain things like property, land and security.

High literacy and educational level could potentially be one of the reasons for delay in age at marriage, duration between marriage and first birth as well as women never married. "Although

some societies continue to frown upon women over 30 who are still single, accusing them of prolonging single-hood, this new trend reflects attempts to adapt to secular changes in educational status, employment and occupational mobility, and some cases, the decline of marriageable men" (Bigombe and Khadiagala, 1990:8).

People are now focusing on getting an education first before they can consider settling down. Education is one of the things considered by bachelors and spinsters when they are looking for a partner to spend the rest of their life with. And families of the bride are now taking education status into consideration when deciding on the amount of *bogadi* that the man is supposed to pay. 'Socio-economic variables such as level of education of the bride, social status of bride's family etc have become deciding factors in determining the price' (Sambe, Avanger and Agba, 2013:65). According to Mangena and Ndlovu (2013), "an educated girl attracts more money for two reasons; it's a compensation for the money invested in her education and it is believed that she would be of more value to the husband than an uneducated one" (p.476).

As women in Botswana are getting educated, it also means that they have greater chances of finding jobs and participate in the job market. Hence the ability to provide for their families and it does not have to be the responsibility of the husband alone anymore. Husbands and wives can now co-partner for the welfare of their families. Botswana report on the implementation of the convention of the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women indicates below that:

> "Traditionally under Customary Law, a family consisted of people related through marriage, and by blood. In such a setup, each person owed obligations to all the members of the family. The head was the man, with overall responsibility for his wife, children, and members of his extended family. This situation is changing and women are assuming more family welfare related responsibilities" (article 16, section 225).

It is evident that women are no longer subordinate to the men, they can equally lead and provide. Access to education has paved a way for women to be independent, step into roles and positions that were only assigned to men before.

4.4.2. Social media

Some people argue that social media (Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, Pinterest and other related platforms) have dominated the cultural setting of societies. The use of social media, the internet, phones, laptops and other telecommunication tools has affected the way we relate and socialize globally. The digital age has brought a lot of changes through the introduction of smart phones, social media, internet to enhance our way of living and interaction, it is also seen as among the negative influences as far as marriage is concerned in Botswana.

> "Picture for a moment the commotion that breaks out at a local Internet cafe in Gaborone. An elderly man, who appears to be in his 60s, loudly demands that the nubile young woman in the corner seat next to him should not use the computer. Asked to explain his outburst, the elderly man protests that the woman is engaged in a sexually explicit conversation with a white man on the Internet" (Sunday Standard, [10.06.2019]).

The extract above from a local newspaper in Botswana shows that the elderly man is from a time and generation when online dating or cyberspace relationships were not available let alone a relationship with someone of a different race. Regardless of the contemporary times where young people now have the freedom to choose who they will date and how they do that, some elderly people still exercise their authority to speak against some of the 'unconventional' ways that young people area approaching marriage and relationships in contemporary Botswana.

Social media platforms and several websites such as Facebook, Botswana Youth Online, Lenyalo Magazine, Kutlwano Magazine have now been developed in such a way that young people are able to access content about marriage, love, cohabitation and dating. Young people look up to celebrity couples or famous couples like musicians, politicians in both Botswana and internationally to draw inspiration from them about marriage and finding the right partner to marry. Their ideal partner is likely to be based on what the couples portray in the media.

4.4.3. Commercialization of marriage

The neo-liberal market and capitalism has penetrated into society to the extent that everything has been turned into business ventures. According to Blakely (2008, p.639), 'over the last half century, the commodity frontier has expanded, particularly into the domestic realm'. Normal things like laundry, housework, nurturing children, just to mention a few have been turned into businesses, giving people the option of hiring a service provider to meet all the required needs.

With people going into the job market, there is no time left to devote time within the family and community to deal with the daily preparations necessary before the wedding day. As a result there has been a growing number of wedding business that offer marriage counselling, wedding planners, invitation cards designs, photography, weddings expos, advice on how to style as well decor for the venue. Blakely (2008) says, 'I discovered that books, magazines, websites, and television shows are in abundant supply to offer brides to be advice on everything from dress selection and honeymoon destinations to trends in centrepieces and writing thank you cards' (p. 642). These are common trends in most of the countries in the west which have penetrated into African societies.

These emerging trends have penetrated into Tswana society and have greatly influenced people's approach towards traditional marriage and how they celebrate marriage. Marriage and wedding celebrations have been highly commercialised in Botswana, what used to be a community and family centered activities has become an intimate matter between the couple getting married and wedding planners. 'Perhaps as no other social institution, marriage in Botswana can be seen as being constantly subjected to innovation and as adapting to changing socio-economic, cultural and generational conditions' (van Dijk, 2012:194). According to Colman (2013) 'young people of both sexes aspire to an idealised model of marriage and family life, and the wedding is an important signifier of this' (p.77).

There has been an introduction of white bridal gowns, bridal parties and modern wedding marches and dances. Some people hire choreographers for their marches and dances. In his study on *The tent versus lobola: marriage, monetary intimacies and new face of responsibility in Botswana*, Dijik (2017) says that "weddings have not only become costlier than before and much more crucial in the working of class, status, prestige, they have also given way to reformulations in the

responsibilities concerning marital arrangement, in the provisioning of resources and in the taking charge of the glamorous styling of these events and the aesthetic notions these require" (p.29). The simple process of a Setswana wedding without the big celebrations and the glamour is a thing of the past. It has become more than celebrating the bringing together of two families, couples are now concerned about how prestigious their celebration needs to be.

A contemporary way of celebrating a wedding in Botswana would be having a big white tent with decorated tables and chairs, the bride in her white dress, the groom wearing a suit, bridesmaids and grooms men, contemporary music, a photo shoot for the bride and groom with their wedding crew. "A white wedding is very much a woman's dream, and desire for such is driven by the bride in particular" (p.89). It is not every woman who can afford to incorporate all these elements that a 'dream white wedding' would entail therefore some refrain from tying the knot. Van Dijk (2012) notes that, "while the tent is one of the most visible elements in the 'middle-classification' of weddings, other elements of the globalization of weddings are just as much a part of the modern outlook of these events" (p.197).

> "There is a growing trend in urban areas to celebrate a wedding in one neutral location on which guests are invited through an invitation system. This transforms the underlying meaning of the Tswana marriage, not only the physical sense of a woman leaving her natal family, home to take her place within the husband's family, but also the open participation of the whole community, the communal giving of advice through singing traditional wedding songs, and the social relations, and feeling of belonging to that community" (Colman, 2013:86).

This raises concerns as to what is happening to the traditions and rituals of Tswana marriage and responses to it such as Re A Nyalana.

4.5. Discussion

The study explored how marriage has transformed in Botswana by looking at the changes that have occurred over the years, perceptions about marriage, contemporary influences as well as trends using secondary data obtained from qualitative and quantitative data sources. The study found out

that the institution of marriage in Botswana has gone through rapid changes thereby altering traditions and processes that defined Setswana marriage. These changes could be associated with globalization, development and modernization of Botswana's social and economic structures. As a result, Botswana was integrated into the global economy propelling the nation into a cash and business centered economy from a rural agricultural one. There has been an increase in educational attainment, career opportunities for women which meant they could participate more in the labour force market.

The labour migration that took place in the 1940s-1970s also marked a significant change in Botswana's social and economic structure. 'Male labour migration to industrial and farming areas in both Botswana and South Africa is common, and the resulting prolonged absence of males had an important impact on many families' (Meekers and Ahmed, 1997:3).

All these significant changes have played a major role in the way the institution of marriage has transformed over the years as indicated by the findings. Even though the statistics indicate that Batswana are increasingly getting married, it also shows that divorce cases are on the rise – a possible threat to the institution. Cohabitation, marriage delay or increase in age at first marriage and never getting married are factors that have affected the institution of marriage in Botswana. Influences from the western culture, brought about by globalisation and modernisation have undermined the traditional values and practices of Tswana marriage, therefore weakening the cultural foundations that have been in existence for decades.

Bogadi is still common even with debates about its relevance ongoing, Batswana consider it a part of their culture. And while most marriages may still be negotiated by the parents or elders of the couple, the process of finding a spouse for the couple is in the hands of the one getting married unlike before. Mutual attraction was something that was never considered when parents arranged marriages between young people. What was more important was finding a groom that was capable of taking care of the woman and her children, building social, political or economic alliances between two families.

Nowadays young people believe that there has to be an attraction between people before they can end up together, and the couple, not the relatives, must take full responsibility of their coming together and not relatives. It appears that the more couples are required to assume responsibilities

for financing the wedding arrangements, the more they seem to turn their decisions into an intimate matter between themselves, to the exclusion of their elders and families (Dijk, 2017:30).

The institution of marriage has evolved to an extent that it is no longer looked at in one way, the traditional way. Ngundu (2011) describes the current African marriages in three ways:

> "**the world of the traditional culture** to which most parents of marrying-age children belong and it is in this world that upon initiating *lobolo* (bridewealth) transactions, the woman is led to and handed over to the man in the presence of key family members and relatives; **the world of the civil or legal system** under which the couple, like other citizens live and a magistrate or other marriage officer signs a marriage certificate in the presence of a stipulated number of witnesses as required by the state law; and **the world of the predominantly westernised culture** that prevails in the church, especially in urban areas were at the end of a church service a bride dressed in white, and a man dressed in a suit are pronounced by a church minister, pastor or priest to be married" (p.35).

"Nowadays it would seem that most weddings are a version of the 'proper' white one and that if a couple cannot afford the cost of it, or are unable to take out a loan, they usually defer getting married" (van Dijk, 2012:78). Marriage has also become highly commercialized. In Botswana, we have seen the introduction of wedding planners, parlours, venues, florists, bridal parties, wedding expos just to mention a few. As a result of the spread of the global culture to most of the traditional societies, there has been a shift in the way things are done contrary to the old traditional ways and practices. Botswana, as an African society whose foundation and traditional roots have been a significant part of society found herself being influenced by the global, modern and western culture. Today, Batswana have access to wedding planners and any wedding service provider they need. The responsibility that used to be performed by the couple's aunts and uncles is now done by wedding planners at a cost.

Domestic roles have been turned into business ventures. All the wedding activities or processes leading up to the wedding day were meant to build and strengthen relationships between families and family members but the capitalist market has taken away all of that by turning the traditional way of getting things done into business opportunities. Another reason that could possibly make

couples not to want to go the traditional route is their career lifestyle which does not afford them time to plan and prepare for the wedding.

It is argued by some that through globalisation, the African culture has been "corrupted" by what we can refer to as foreign culture (normally referring to the western culture). The values and norms that were at the foundation of the African social structure have been modified. The way of living in African societies had always been different but today young people and even the old have adopted a new lifestyle highly influenced by the global culture.

It is evident that marriage as we used to know it is completely different today, the value and importance of marriage is reducing with time and the strong pillars and principles that govern the institution are not as strong as they used to be. The foundation built upon traditional and Setswana cultural values and practices has been shaken by outside influences such as labour migration, western culture, new forms of relationships outside of marriage. Yet "marriage, as contrasted with temporary and unstable free unions, remains an important concept in Botswana" (van de Walle, 1993:126). Despite the fact that the institution of marriage has evolved from traditional to contemporary marriage, some people still esteem marriage and choose to get married, build families and raise children.

5. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to give a final discussion of the research problem and outline the limitations of the study as well as the recommendations of the study. The first part will give a summary of the study and what it was set to achieve. The chapter will further explain what research limitations the researcher has identified and the recommendations for future research.

This study aimed to analyse and discuss factors that have contributed to the transformation of marriage in Botswana. Based on secondary quantitative and qualitative analysis of statistical reports, academic and non-academic articles and documents, the study concludes that Botswana's integration into the world economy has caused many structural changes within the Tswana society as far as marriage is concerned. To explore the research topic as mentioned above, the study was set out to understand and discuss:

- The changes that the institution of marriage has gone through over the years;
- The contemporary influences on marriage;
- The trends in marriage in Botswana;

Evidence from the literature shows that societies all around the world have been subjected to change one way or the other. These changes have affected the social, political, traditional, religious way of socializing and connecting as people. Most if not all nations around the world have evolved from a traditional way of living into a contemporary way of living. The contemporary lifestyle in Botswana has been highly influenced by labour migration, urban growth, capitalism, neoliberal market and globalisation.

The institution of marriage, just like other social institutions has been affected by these changes. Yodanis (2010) notes that "although the pace of change differs from country to country, sociologists point to a broad-based shift in the values that underpin the marital institution – that is,

in the fundamental principles that motivate people to marry and that contribute to the success of marital relations" (p.175). This study has shown that the change is not just happening in one specific region but all in all; Africa, America, Asia, and Europe. Research shows that the institution of marriage in African societies including Botswana, used be highly respected, gave people status and prestige in the family and community. It brought families together and strengthened their relationships. It was more of a family and community affair.

But all of this has changed drastically. Today marriage is portrayed as love, intimacy and romance. These are some of the factors taken into consideration when couples want to get married. There are expectations that every individual must meet in order to find their life partner or be considered as the 'one'. Parents or family members used to choose whom their son or daughter will get married to. The children had little or no say at all, they had to be obedient and accept their parents' decision.

It is argued in Botswana that parents have lost the right to choose life partners for their children. Young people make the individual choices without any interference from the family, they can choose who to marry, when to marry and if at all they want to get married or stay single. All the decisions that have to do with all the preparations or processes prior to the wedding celebration have mostly become individual responsibilities.

Therefore, marriage is not as highly respected as it was in the past. The labour force market, access to education (mostly for the women), and career pursuits have fostered a spirit of independence in women who used to dependent on men for security, provision while they were expected to take care of the household. With the access and availability of opportunities for women to perform the roles that used to be played by men, women have delayed getting married hence the increase of age at first marriage. According to Garenne (2004), "late marriage (above age 25) seems to be a common feature of modern western societies and Japan at the end of the 20th century, as well as some atypical Southern African societies (South Africa, Namibia, Botswana)" (p.60).

Some people have raised concerns about the future of traditional marriage because the foundation it is built upon is being shaken. The traditions, values and practices around traditional marriage are weakening as contemporary lifestyle takes over. The African societies has been mostly affected by this more than the societies in the west because the institution of marriage was built on African traditional values, norms and beliefs. As a result of colonization of most countries by the west and

contact with the missionaries, Christian teachings and beliefs were introduced contrary to the African culture.

Practices such as polygamy, bride wealth were discouraged by the missionaries in the 19th century and monogamy began to thrive. The west interpreted bride wealth to mean buying a wife and they undermined the significance it had. Bride wealth was given and still is most places as a token of appreciation to the family of the bride. Despite the changes marriage has gone through, people desire to get married and still do get married with a mix of both traditional and contemporary ways of celebrating in contemporary Botswana.

Marriage in Botswana, just like in other African societies, changed. The changes can be traced as far back as the 19th century when the missionaries first came to Botswana. The introduction of their Christian values and principles which were against polygamy and payment of bride wealth caused a significant change in practice and process of the two. Bride wealth, regardless of controversies around its relevancy, it is still a significant part of Tswana marriage and it is highly practiced though in different ways as compared to before.

Labour migration of Batswana men to South African mines in the 70s caused a significant change in the structure of Tswana families and marriages. As men went away for work, marriage was delayed as women waited for the men to return home. And as women got opportunities to go to school, marriage stopped being their first priority. According to statistical reports, even though Batswana are still getting married, the marital rates have declined, divorce rates are high and the number of cohabiting couples are increasing. More children are being born out of wedlock.

The traditional norms, beliefs, practices and processes about marriage and wedding celebration in Botswana have been challenged by globalisation. With globalisation came global culture, neo-liberal market, commercialisation of domestic roles, mass education, and mass media. These have all changed the concept of traditional marriage all together and have led to the introduction of modern rituals such as wedding reception, bridal parties, wedding marches and wedding photoshoots in Botswana.

Some people have argued that societies are now treating marriage as a private institution, to serve their individual purposes as opposed to the communal purposes it was intended for. Traditional cultural practices in Botswana have been replaced by what people see on TV, in films, magazines

and the internet. It is important to note that change is inevitable and marriage as an institution will continue to evolve.

5.1. Limitations and Recommendations

The study came across a number of limitations and will be briefly explained below, each coupled with a recommendation. An important limitation of the study was reliance on non-academic sources on the changes that the institution of marriage in Botswana has gone through. The conclusions drawn may not necessarily reflect the whole truth about what has happened to marriage in Botswana over the last years. A primary qualitative study may help to explore temporary marriage versus traditional marriage through in-depth interviewing.

Another limitation was resource unavailability. Most of the literature pertaining to the case study (Botswana) with regards to the history of the place and marriage have not been made available online. They are only available in Botswana libraries and government records. Anthropological studies Tswana traditional done by Isaac Schapera in 1930s/40s that can give a background of how Tswana marriage practices were before the global impact on Tswana societies cannot be accessed in library databases in Turkey. An anthropological research is recommended to further explore the transformation of the institution of marriage in Botswana over the last 30 years. Further research needs to explore the implications of the global culture on traditions and norms in Tswana marriage as well as the future of the institution.

The contemporary marriage rituals, commercialisation of marriage and the emergence of non-marital unions have redefined marriage in Botswana. Debates have also stirred up about the relevance of *bogadi* (bride wealth) in modern day Botswana. Therefore an in-depth research study is highly recommended to find out if some customs, practices and processes are still relevant and applicable today.

Lastly, it will be ideal to do a study on the role of the law in non-marital unions like cohabitation because more people are opting to live together, acquire property together and raise children together without having legalised the union. The legitimacy of the children is not secured like it would in a marital union. What are the implications of such unions on children and the couple

when the relationship comes to an end? Who is legally entitled to the property that has been acquired? Whose interests should the law protect? These are all vital questions that should be further explored in order to find effective remedies to best deal with contemporary non marital unions that we see today. This thesis intends to enrich current debates on changing marital practices and processes as well as the changing dynamics of *bogadi* (bride wealth) in Botswana and the African region and further engage the relevant stakeholders to explore trends, factors and patterns of the decline in marriage.

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CV

MISS TSHEPO PAM MATHAFENI

PERSONAL PROFILE

A Master's in Humanities and Social Sciences student with a Bachelor of Social Work and a Diploma in Social Work.

WORK EXPERIENCE

ORGANISATION	POSITION HELD	DUTY DESCRIPTION	PERIOD
UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA SOCIAL WORK SOCIETY	PROJECT COORDINATOR	• Planning of the annual outreach trip • Coordinating the society's activities	April 2014 – April 2015
AIESEC UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA	1. EP MANAGER	• Managing Exchange Participants • Tracking outgoing trainees	April – June 2014
	2. PROJECT MANAGER	• Drawing up project proposals and implementation • Supervising Interns • Writing reports	August 2014 – August 2015

AIESEC IN BOTSWANA	Organizing Committee Vice President Finance for AIESEC National Induction Seminar 2014	• Drawing up a budget for the conference • Execution of the budget for the conference • Writing sponsorship proposals	July – September 2014
PRINCESS MARINA HOSPITAL	SOCIAL WORK STUDENT	• Assessment • Provision of psychosocial support • Prepare monthly statistics • Provision of counseling	May – July 2014
SOCIAL & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (NORTH EAST DISTRICT COUNCIL, MASUNGA)	SOCIAL WORK STUDENT	• Prepare monthly reports • Register orphans for food basket and toiletry • Provision of Psychosocial support.	May – July 2013
SOCIAL & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (NORTH EAST DISTRICT COUNCIL, MASUNGA)	SOCIAL WORK STUDENT	• Assessment for clients to see if they are eligible to be registered as destitute persons • Monitoring and evaluation on already existing community projects. • Provision of counseling.	May – July 2011
ALMA'S ANGELS COMPUTER TRAINING CENTER	PART-TIME IT INSTRUCTOR	• Facilitated workshops for employees from different companies to teach them basic computer skills • Offering basic computer skills to children • Computer training to individuals	May – July 2010

		• Offered free computer training on special days like June 16 commemoration	
AVIDRAMO NGO (Mozambique)	INTERN	• Conducting seminars about HIV/AIDS • Home visits to HIV/AIDS patients • Fundraising	9th December, 2013 – 20th January, 2014
DIACORE GABORONE MARATHON (BOTSWANA)	VOLUNTEER	• Route marshal	22nd March 2015

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

INSTITUTION	QUALIFICATION	YEAR	GRADE
Eastern Gate Academy	IGCSE (O Level)	2008	39 points
Solusi Adventist High School (Zimbabwe)	IGCSE (O Level)	2004-2007	33 points
Our Lady of the Desert Primary School	PSLE	1997-2003	B

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Institution: Yildiz Technical University (2015-present)

Course: Masters in Humanities and Social Sciences

Institution: University of Botswana (2012-2015)

Course: Bachelor Social Work

Institution: University of Botswana (2010 – 2012)

Course: Diploma in Social work

INSTITUTION	COURSE	YEAR	GRADE
University of Botswana	**Information Technology** ✓ Introduction to information technology ✓ Microsoft word ✓ Microsoft Excel ✓ Microsoft Access	January- April 2008	Completed (4.0 GPA)
University of Botswana	Diploma in Social Work	2010 – 2012	Completed (4.3 GPA)
Confucius Institute at the University of Botswana (CIUB)	Chinese (Level 3)	September 2013 to 2015	Completed
	Portuguese (Module 1)	March 2014 to 2015	Completed

PUBLICATIONS

Mathafeni, T. P., Osupile, O., and Maripe, K. (2015). Hazard early warning systems in Botswana: a social work perspective. International Journal of Health and Medical Information, Vol.4, No.1, pp.9-22.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

My primary research interest is in social work, particularly on how the profession can help to improve the lives of individuals, groups and communities on a constantly evolving society.

COMPETENCIES

- Attention to detail
- Teamwork
- Communication skills
- Commitment to results
- Action oriented
- Purposeful
- Collaborative