

**COMPARING MARRIAGE SYSTEMS WITH SUCCESS IN
MARRIAGES IN
UPPER-INCOME GROUP AND EDUCATED CLASS OF
KARACHI**

Zainab F. Zadeh
Institute of Professional Psychology – Karachi
Bahria University
And
Farrukh Z .Ahamad
Institute of Professional Psychology – Karachi
Bahria University

ABSTRACT

The current research was conducted to compare the marriage systems with success in marriages in upper income group and educated class of Karachi. To explore the relationship scientifically the marriage systems were divided into three categories i.e. “Totally Arranged marriages” “Partially Arranged and Partially Love marriages” and “Totally Love Marriages”. It was predicted that “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages” in Upper Income Group and Educated Class of Karachi will be successful as compared to “Totally love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages.

The success of marriage was determined by the outcome of marriage. The fates of “Totally Love Marriages” and “Totally Arranged Marriages” were compared with the fate of “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages”. A standardized interview form was constructed in order to find out the results of the marriages in Karachi and to collect some biographical information from the individuals. Divorce and Separation were taken as the criteria for unsuccessful marriages and length (individuals who were currently living together and have been happily married for more than five years) of marriages was taken as a criterion for successful marriages. The individuals who completed 14 years or more than 14 years of formal education were considered to be the educated class of Karachi. The individuals whose monthly gross family income is more than 30,000 rupees were taken as the upper income group of Karachi.

A chi-square test was computed for the statistical analysis of the data. The research findings provide the evidence that “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages” are successful in Upper-Income Group (N = 173) of Karachi as compared to “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages”. The hypothesis was significant at $P < 0.001$ level. It was also found that “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages” are successful in Educated Class (N = 120) of Karachi as compared to “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages” and hypothesis was significant at $P < 0.05$ level.

INTRODUCTION

Love and marriages have always been a favourite subject of Movies, Television and Novels. The image of love presented by Media is mostly based on fantasy and not on reality. The charming images presented by media consequently make people believe in number of myths about love. This influence of Media often leads to misconceptions and unrealistic expectations about marital life and love.

Moreover, societies vary in their norms for spouse selection. Some societies favour “Totally Arranged Marriages” where the selection is usually made by parents. Whereas some favour “Totally Love Marriages” where individuals are given free choice to select a mate and at times parents are not consulted or informed of the impending marriage. These two are extreme forms of marriages and between these two extremes are “Partially Arranged And Partially Love Marriages” in which parents make their selection and then give the option to their son or daughter to reject or accept their choice. In some cases the bride and bridegroom make their choice and give their parents the power to accept or reject their choice. In this form of marriage views of both family and individuals supposed to get married are considered and given due importance.

In Pakistani society most of the marriages are arranged by parents and elders of the family. In most of the cases, boys and girls see each other for the first time after the marriage. The Upper class of rural areas in Pakistan follows an even more rigid value system. Females strictly observe purdah (veil). If they go out they are adequately covered and accompanied by a male member of their family. It is highly unlikely that any stranger can approach them and talk to them. This cultural

BAHRIA JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

pattern is entirely different from pattern prevalent in western and advanced countries, where interaction between the sexes is relatively more permissive and marriages are primarily a result of understanding between girls and boys(Ahmad & Raees, 1993). However, on the other hand this fact could not be ignored that with the influx of Western culture through media the concept of dating has become common in Pakistan. Although it is still an issue not freely talked about and is brushed under the carpet.

Furthermore, demographic variables such as age, income, and occupation also play an important role in romantic relationship. The study conducted by Tucker and Taylor, (1989) provide the evidence that 40 percent of men but only 9 percent of the women over age 54 were involved in romantic relationship. In the same study almost 90 percent of the African American women aged 55 and older said that they were not married or romantically involved. This is an age group in which relationships may simply be more costly for women than they are for men. An elderly man may expect housekeeping as well as care taking if he becomes ill. An elderly woman especially if she is financially secure may be unwilling to be burdened with more housework because she is looking forward to a more relaxed life style.

A comparison of intimate relationships in individualistic and collectivist societies suggests that the individualistic societies consider romantic love to be the most important basis for marriage and psychological intimacy as an important determinant of marital satisfaction. A built in conflict between independence and intimacy often leads to relationship failure.

Blood, (1967) concluded that in Japan marriages are often based on a family decision concerning the most appropriate mate. Love rarely is considered to be the basis for marriage. In his research he compared Japanese marriages based on romantic love with Japanese arranged marriages. He was particularly interested in comparing the fate of marriages based on love with fate of marriages that had been arranged by couple's families. Couples in the study were interviewed about their feelings of well

ZADEH & AHMAD

being the extent of their self revelation, their sexual interaction and so forth. His findings were that no important difference exists between two groups in the first 2 years of marriages. Between second and fourth year of marriage, however the amount of affection expressed by the husbands is approximately a third of what it had been during the initial phase of marriage. Expression of love declines more rapidly in arranged marriages than in marriage based on love but after 10 years the difference disappears.

Asia society's Video Letter from Japan, (1988) declared that some Japanese feel that romantic love is not the most important ingredient in successful marriages, perhaps this belief is based on the fact that the divorce rate in Japan generally is lower than that in the United States. The divorce rate for arranged marriages in Japan is lower than for love marriages. In one more study conducted by Gupta and Singh, (1982) asked 50 couples in Jaipur, India to complete Rubin's love Scale. They found that those who married for love reported diminishing feelings of love if they had been married more than five years. By contrast, those in arranged marriages reported more love if they were not newlyweds.

In the case of marriage relations if any problem arises between husband and wife, the society has evolved certain procedures of breakup in marriage. They are allowed to divorce or separate from each other and live an independent life. The union and break of ties depends much upon the social customs and relation evolved by the society to solve such problems. It is assumed that the divorce rate in some cultures is very high as compared to Pakistani culture where marriages are mostly arranged. The love marriages are not based on realities as the spouses expect too much from each other before the marriage, which generally does not materialize.

A sociologist Glenn, (1991) analyzed national opinion data gathered on thousands of Americans from 1972 to 1988. He followed the course of marriages that began in the early 1970's. By the late 1980's, only a third of the starry-eyed newlyweds were still married and claimed to be happily married. Moreover, in a survey conducted by Colasanto and Shiver, (1989) showed that two out of three 35 to 54 years old had divorced, separated or been close to separation.

BAHRIA JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Triandis, (1994) reported that divorce rate vary widely by country, ranging from .01 percent of the population annually in Bolivia, the Philippines, and Spain, 4.7 percent in the world's most divorce prone country, the United State. To predict culture's divorce rates it helps to know its values. Individualistic cultures have more divorces than do communal cultures.

Fergusson, et.al. (1984) Myers, (1995) suggest that risk of divorce also depends on who marries who. People usually stay married if they,

- Married after age 20.
- Both grew up in stable, two parent homes.
- Are well and similarly educated.
- Enjoy a stable income from a good job.
- Live in a small town or on a farm.
- Are religiously committed.
- Are of similar age, faith, and education.

Stone, (1997) further explained that none of these predictors by itself is essential to a stable marriage. If all are true they are likely to stay together until death. Thus it shows that the temporary intoxication of passionate love was a foolish basis for permanent marital decision. Choice of mate preferably should be based on stable friendship and compatible backgrounds, interests, habits and values.

Ahmad and Cochinwala, (1990) reported that the number of marriages and divorces taking place in Britain are on the rise. This report was based on figures presented during the international seminar held on the subject. According to the figure presented 1,40,000 divorces took place in Britain during the year 1980 alone. The seminar concluded that number of divorces was high because the women are day by day becoming more independent (economically) and so even little or unimportant matters lead to breakup of marriages.

U.S Bureau of the Census, (1975) reports that increase in the divorce rate has also accompanied urbanization, industrialization, and the shift to a conjugal family unit. Approximately 900,000 children are involved in divorce cases each year. Leslie, (1976) estimated that in 1940 before World War II there was one divorce for every six marriages. By 1946 there was one divorce for every 3-8 marriages, and in 1970 one out of every 3 marriages ended in divorce.

ZADEH & AHMAD

Unfortunately in Pakistan there is very little statistical data available about issues like divorce. Perhaps one survey in this connection was made in 1976 by Maternity and Child Welfare Association of Pakistan. It covered the urban population of Lahore and revealed that out of the married women falling in the age group of fourteen and fifty, 2.62 percent were divorced and 0.55 percent had been separated. The term separation here means that husbands and wives had ceased to have matrimonial life without formal divorce. There also existed a considerable possibility of a majority of these 0.55 percent women having got formal divorce in due course of time.

Another survey in this regard was conducted by an official agency known as Labour Force Survey, (1974-75) this survey was not conducted to exclusively find out number of divorces in the country, still it revealed that out of the total population of all ages 38.33 percent were married and 0.22 percent were divorced; of persons between the age group of 25 and 29, 78.75 percent were married, 0.45 percent were divorced and of individuals between the age group of 35 and 39, 93.32 percent were married and 0.52 percent were divorced.

Yet another survey worth mentioning here is the one titled Pakistan Fertility Survey, (1981) which was undertaken by the Population Planning Council of Pakistan. On the basis of the data collected the survey concluded that marriages in Pakistan were very stable, and only 2.1 percent of the marriages ended in a divorce and 1.7 percent, husbands and wives were separated.

The above mentioned surveys conducted at different time periods prove that the graph of the occurrence of divorces definitely shows an upward trend. However, divorce rate in Pakistan is low as compared to advanced countries. The main reason for a low rate of divorce in Pakistan is obviously the adherence to the tenets of Islam. Moreover, Patel (1981), prominent practicing lawyer states that " husband and wife cohesion, subservient status of the wife, tradition, customs, social norms

BAHRIA JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

and pressures, religion, economic circumstances, obligation for payment of deferred dower on divorce, dependence of the children on their mother and the attachment of the father to the children, the deterrent for the wife to seek legal redress and at times the economic dependence of wife with little alternative but to submit to the will of her husband all combine to limit divorce.”

Until the mid-1960s, social scientists proposed fairly simple descriptions of marriage. A happy marriage was one that did not end in divorce and in which the husband and wife fulfilled the traditional instrumental expressive roles. Cuber and Haroff, (1965) challenged these superficial portrayals of married life. These researchers studied 400 “normal”, upper middle class marriages in which the partners ranged in age from 35 to 55 and identified five types of marriage: Conflict habituate, devitalized, passive congenial, vital, and total. Some were happy and some were not but all endured. These researchers characterized the first three categories as "Utilitarian Marriage" because they appeared to be based on convenience. The researchers called the last two types "Intrinsic Marriages" because the relationships seemed to be inherently rewarding. In their sample vital marriages made up 15 percent of the population and total marriages accounted for only 5 percent. Another type of marriage might be characterized by what is called “married singles”. Married singles are married partners who, by choice or necessity, live under the same roof, may be good friends, and may or may not have sexual intercourse but who have in many ways drifted apart because of conflicting work schedules, interests, personality differences or other reasons.

Furthermore, on the basis of the research findings of Dawood, and Farooqi, (1997, 2000) it could be inferred that socio-economic status and education level of females are the significant factors in the marital adjustment of Pakistani females; these researchers also suggest that Pakistani non-working females’ education could enhance their marital adjustment. Marital adjustment is a broad term. According to Burgess et al, (1963) a successful marriage may be defined as a “Union in which the attitudes and acts of husband and wife are in agreement of the chief issues of family, such as handling family finances and dealing with in-laws where they have come to an agreement upon interests, objectives and values where they have few or no more complaints about their marriage”.

ZADEH & AHMAD

Romantic love is more likely to be considered as an important base for marriages in various cultures, where the individuals meet each other, exchange their views, and then decide for marriage independently. On the other hand, in some other cultures including Pakistan the spouses due to the religious obligations have to consult with their parents/elders before the marriage. Status and occupation are given greater priority in comparison to personal choice. Boys and girls who grow up in societies like Pakistan often welcome the parent's help in selecting a mate. In many countries, psychological intimacy between couples is considered essential for marital satisfaction. While in Pakistan understanding between the individuals and the family of the spouses is considered more important. In some cases families decide to divorce just because the girl is not getting along with the boy's family. Despite of some recent changes in the socio economic setup the individuals belonging to collectivistic societies like Pakistan are still expected to follow the traditional norms and marry a person of their parent's choice without getting involved in the decision making process of the mate selection. It is high time to accept that education, awareness and exposure demands the trends to be changed which is actually not happening. However, on the other hand this fact cannot be ignored that the other extreme form of mate selection i.e "Totally Love Marriages" system is also not a very successful system of marriage in collectivistic societies as this form of marriage is not approved of and the families does not support or motivate the couple in the marital adjustment because they were not involved in the decision making process of the marriages. Thus, with the complex pattern of interpersonal relationship involved in marriage, the growing percentage of Totally Love Marriages, and the changing socio economic set up in Pakistan the institution of marriage is made all the more complicated. Therefore, it is essential to accept that both parent and couple supposed to get married should be involved in the decision making process of marriage even in collectivistic societies. The increased literacy rate, exposure and social advancement demands the traditional norms to be changed in favour of protection of the institution of marriage in collectivistic societies like Pakistan.

BAHRIA JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Considering the above mentioned research literature and arguments based on observation it was predicted that “Partially Love And Partially Arranged Marriages” in Educated Class will be successful as compared to “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages”. It was also hypothesized that “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages” will be successful in the Upper Income Group as compared to “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS:

The sample consisted of 120 participants from educated class and 173 participants from upper income group residing in different areas of Karachi. The purposive sampling technique was used as the “Totally Love Marriages” group was hard to find target group.

Out of 120 educated participants, 38 participants were taken from “Totally Love Marriages” group, 38 participants were taken from “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages” group and 44 participants were from “Totally Arranged Marriages” group. Out of 173 participants from upper income group 65 participants were taken from “Totally Love Marriages” group, 59 participants were taken from “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages” group and 49 participants were from “Totally Arranged Marriages” group.

MEASURES:

Standardized Interview Form:

A standardized interview form was constructed in order to find out the results of the marriages in Pakistan. The Divorce and Separation were taken as the criteria for unsuccessful marriages and length (Individuals who were presently living together and have been married for more than five years) was taken as the criterion of successful marriages.

ZADEH & AHMAD

Before the interview an effort was made to create rapport with the participants. The following information was collected from each participant through standardized interview form.

1. Age
2. Education
3. Marital Status
 - Divorce
 - Separation
 - Successful (The individuals were specifically asked whether they are happy in their marital life or not)
4. Place of residence
5. Educational Qualification
6. Occupation
7. Family income from all sources
8. Type of marriages

“Totally Arranged Marriages”

“Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages”

“Totally Love Marriages”

DEFINITION OF VARIABLES:

“TOTALLY LOVE MARRIAGES”:

“Totally love marriages” are defined as the system of marriages in which the spouses are the only involved people in the decision-making process of the marriage, the family members and parents are not consulted”.

“PARTIALLY ARRANGED AND PARTIALLY LOVE MARRIAGES”:

“Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages” are defined as the system of marriages in which the spouse is selected with the joint decision of parents, family and the partners involved.

This system of marriages is a combination of arranged and free choice method of mate selection due to which it is known as the system of “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages”.

BAHRIA JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

“TOTALLY ARRANGED MARRIAGES”:

“Totally Arranged Marriages” are defined as the system of marriages in which parents or elder family members select spouse for their daughters and sons and the couple is not involved in the decision making process.

Successful Marriages:

Marriages in which spouses were presently living under one roof and have been living happily. The individuals were specifically asked whether they were happy in their marital life or not. In the light of the research findings of various previous researches only those couples who have been married for more than five years were taken.

Unsuccessful Marriages:

Marriages were considered to be unsuccessful in case of Divorce (legal dissolution of marriage) or Separation (Spouses are not living together without dissolution of marriage).

UPPER INCOME GROUP:

Individuals whose monthly gross family income is more than 30,000 rupees.

EDUCATED CLASS:

Individuals who completed 14 or more than 14 years of formal education in schools and colleges.

RESULTS

Chi square test was computed to compare the outcome of three systems of marriages (Totally Love, Totally Arranged, and Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages) in educated and upper income group of Karachi.

The results of statistical analysis are shown in Table NO 1, 2 and Graph A,B. The results indicate that there is a difference in three groups. It is evident that “Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriages” are successful as compared to “Totally Arranged” and “Totally Love” Marriages in upper income group and educated class.

ZADEH & AHMAD

TABLE NO 1

DIFFERENCE AMONG THE SYSTEMS OF MARRIAGES IN THE EDUCATED CLASS AND SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGES

	EDUCATED CLASS			Total
	Totally Love Marriages	Partially Arranged And Partially Love Marriages	Totally Arranged Marriages	
Successful	24 (29.13 Fe)	33 (29.13 Fe)	35 (33.73 Fe)	92
Unsuccessful	14 (8.86 Fe)	5 (8.86 Fe)	9 (10.26 Fe)	28
Total	38	38	44	120

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(F_o - F_e)^2}{F_e}$$

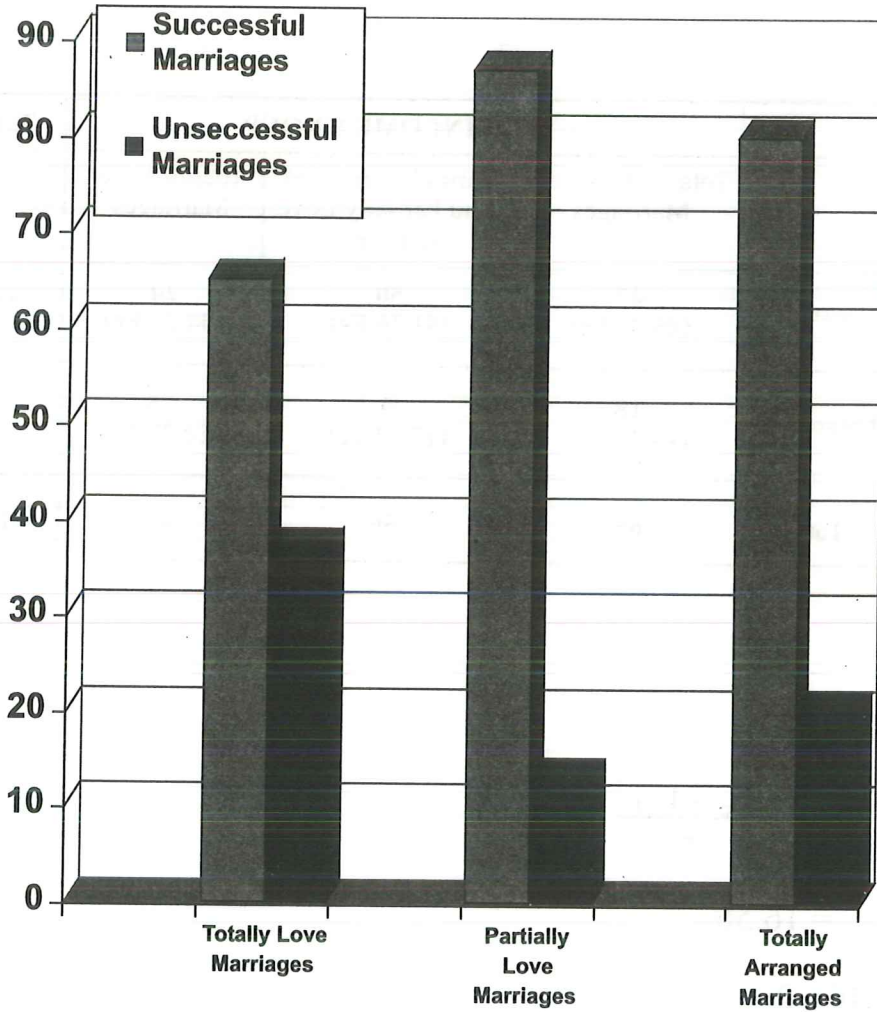
$$\chi^2 = 6.267$$

$$Df = 2$$

Significant at 0.05 level

Graph "A"

DIFFERENCE AMONG THE SYSTEMS OF MARRIAGES IN THE EDUCATED CLASS AND SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGES



ZADEH & AHMAD

TABLE NO 2

DIFFERENCE AMONG THE SYSTEMS OF MARRIAGES IN THE UPPER INCOME GROUP AND SUCCESS OF MARRIAGES

	UPPER INCOME GROUP			Total
	Totally Arranged Marriages	Partially Arranged And Partially Love Marriages	Totally Love Marriages	
Successful	47 (45.46 Fe)	50 (41.26 Fe)	24 (34.27 Fe)	121
Unsuccessful	18 (19.53 Fe)	9 (17.73 Fe)	25 (14.72 Fe)	52
Total	65	59	49	173

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(F_o - F_e)^2}{F_e}$$

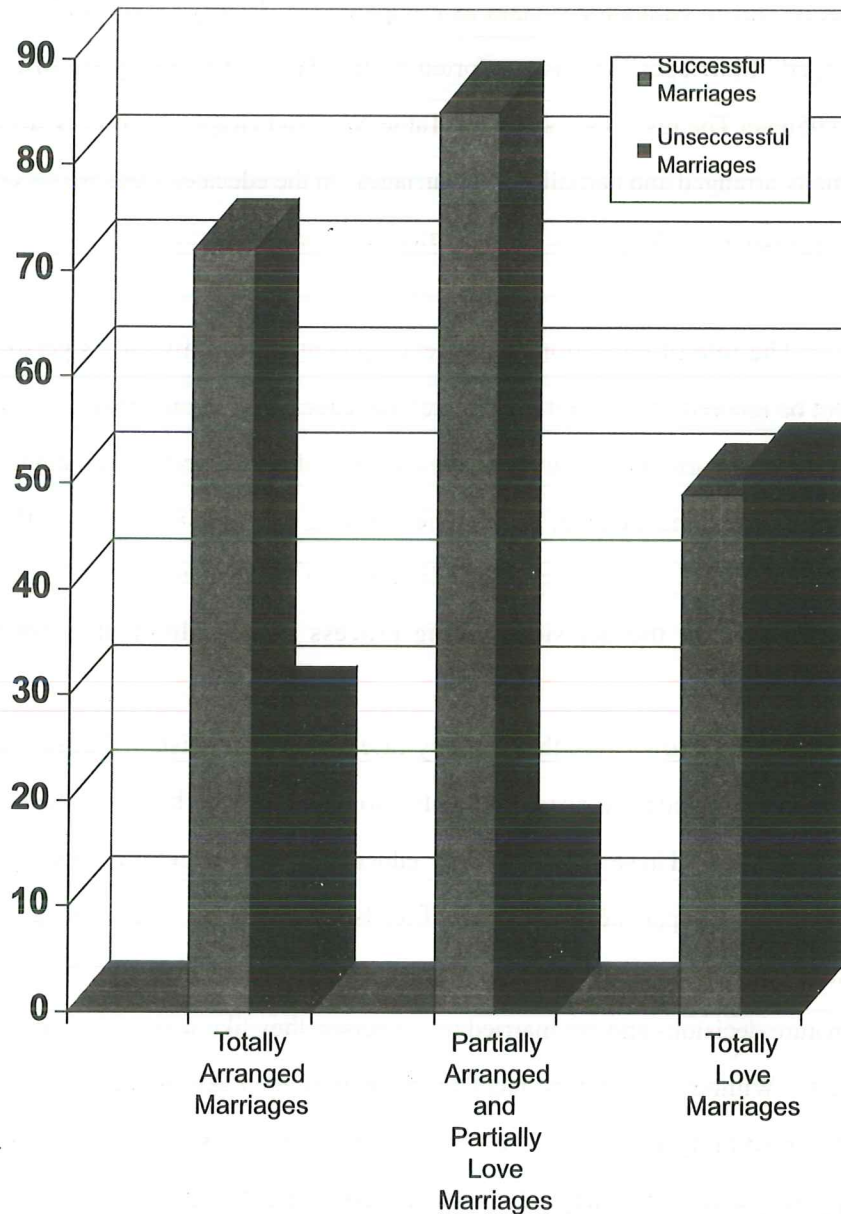
$$\chi^2 = 16.56$$

$$Df = 2$$

Significant at 0.001 level

Graph "B"

DIFFERENCE AMONG THE SYSTEMS OF MARRIAGES IN THE UPPER INCOME GROUP AND SUCCESS OF MARRIAGES



DISCUSSION

The first hypothesis states that “Partially arranged and partially love marriages” will be successful in educational class as compared to “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages” and is supported by the data and is highly significant at $P < 0.05$ level. The results are shown in Table No 1 and Graph ‘A’. It is evident that “Partially arranged and partially love marriages” in the educated class are successful as compared to “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages”.

The role of education in the development of an individual’s personality cannot be ignored. It is a well known fact that education not only make individuals aware of their surrounding but also gives them confidence, and helps them to grow as a mature and independent adult. When making any decisions it is worth while to consider views of the concerned individual but it becomes essential to include the individual in the decision making process if the individual is educated.

It is a known fact that literacy rate is low in Pakistan. Those who are acquiring knowledge in academic institutions seem to be highly influenced by western culture. These people in their educational career get the opportunity to interact with the opposite sex and make friendships with them. These young students under the influence of unrealistic view of love presented by media at times take immature decisions and get married to the person they like without informing their parents. Without realizing the fact that in societies like Pakistan individual’s choice and compatibility are not the important factors for a successful marriage but social support systems play a key role in the success of marital relationships.

BAHRIA JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

No doubt that parents should consider and give importance to the views of their educated children in the decision making process of spouse selection because they need to have a compatible life partner. However, at the same time they should investigate the compatibility of the families and try to delineate infatuation and long lasting love.

The hypothesis is statistically significant and proves that the system of “Partially arranged and partially love marriages” in educated class is successful as compared to the system of “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages.

The second hypothesis states that “Partially arranged and partially love marriages” will be successful in upper income group as compared to “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages. The hypothesis is supported by the data and is highly significant at $P < 0.001$ level.

The results are shown in Table No 2 and Graph ‘B’. It is evident that “Partially arranged and partially love marriages” are successful in upper income group as compared to “Totally Love” and “Totally Arranged” Marriages. In societies like Pakistan mostly upper income group people are influenced by western culture due to the resources they have access to many things which are provoking for the young people. The positive and romanticized view of love marriages presented to them by media often misleads them. As a result they take hasty decisions in life and get married without getting the approval of their parents. Later on when they are out of the fantasy life and face the reality it becomes difficult for them to continue with the relationship. Due to the fact that the family members were not involved in the decision making process they do not support and help the couple

in their adjustment to this most complicated transition of life cycle. Thus, without the support of family members the possibility of breakups in marriage increases.

Moreover, if the partners are economically independent and family ties were not considered in the decision making process of the marriage there is greater possibility that little or unimportant matters may lead to breakup in marriage.

The hypothesis is statistically significant and proves that the system of "Partially Arranged and Partially Love Marriage" in upper income group is successful as compared to "Totally Love" and "Totally Arranged" Marriages.

BAHRIA JOURNAL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, Farrukh, Z. and Raees, Sohaila, (1993). "Norming of the Thematic Apperception Test in Pakistan". Institute of Clinical Psychology University of Karachi, Pakistan.
- Ahmad, Farrukh, Z. and Chochinwala, Seema, (1990). Vulnerability to Anxiety in Adults as A Function of Loss as Early Traumatic Experience. Institute of Clinical Psychology, University of Karachi, Karachi Pakistan.
- Asia Society's Video letter from Japan,(1988). My Family, Tohoko Dairy. r0001 53.htm.
- Blood. R. O, (1967). Love match and Arranged Marriages, New York: Free Press.
- Burgess et al., (1963). The Family: (2Ed) New York: American Book Company.
- Colasanto ,D. and Shriver, J.(1989). Mirror of America. Middle-aged face marital crisis. Gallup Report.
- Cuber. J, and Haroff. P, (1965). Sex and the significant Americans. Baltimore, Penguin.
- Dawood, Saima., and Farooqi. Yasmeen, (1997). "Impact of Females' Education On Their Marital Adjustment".
- Dawood, Saima., and Farooqi. Yasmeen, (2000). "Socio-Economic Status: A Factor In Marital Adjustment". Pakistan Journal of Psychology, June-December.
- Fergusson et al, (1984). A proportional hazards model of family breakdown. Journal of Marriage and the family.
- Glenn, N, D, (1991). Quantitative research on marital quality in the 1980's. In contemporary families. Looking forward, looking back. ed. A Booth, 28-41. Minneapolis. MN: National Council on Family Relations.

ZADEH & AHMAD

- Gupta, G. R, (1979) Love, arranged marriage and the Indian Social Structure. In Cross cultural perspectives of mate-selection and marriage. Ed. G Kurian, Westport, C, T, Greenwood.
- Labour Force Survey, (1974-75). In W. Siddiqui, In Depth Study: Divorce. Mag Weekly, 1981.
- Leslie. G.R, (1976). "The family in social context". New York Oxford.
- Maternity and Child Welfare Association of Pakistan, (1976). In W. Siddiqui. In Depth Study: Divorce. Mag Weekly, 1981.
- Myers. D. G, (1995). Psychology, 5th de. New York, Worth Publishers.
- Pakistan Fertility Survey. In W. Siddiqui, In Depth Study: Divorce. Mag Weekly, 1981.
- Patel, R. In W. Siddiqui, In Depth Study: Divorce. Mag Weekly, 1981.
- Stone. L., (1997). The Family, sex and Marriage in England. New York, Harper and Row.
- Triandis. H. C (1994). Culture and Social behavior, New York, McGraw-Hill.
- Tuker. M.B, And R.J. Taylor (1989). Demographic correlates of relationship status among black Americans. Journal of Marriage and family.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census (1975). Statistical abstract of the United States (96th Ed). Washington D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office.