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Changes in the Process Needed for Marital Adjustment from 1938-Present

Terrence J. Neary
Loyola University Chicago

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CHANGES IN THE PROCESS NEEDED FOR MARITAL ADJUSTMENT
FROM 1938 - PRESENT

by

Terrence J. Neary

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

December

1984

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VITA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The popular and scientific literature is replete with articles which speak of changes in the institution of marriage. Such contemporary phenomena as the "sexual revolution," the women's liberation movement, and economic shifts are cited as social forces which have reshaped marriage. But how fundamental are these changes? Do couples now need a different set of tools in order to maintain a stable, adjusted relationship compared to being married in the so-called "fabulous fifties?" Or have the rules remained the same; with what was once needed for marital adjustment still being necessary in the same vital way? Perhaps the "content" of marital issues has changed, but the "process" needed for marital harmony has not. An example of the content changing is the wife's desire to purchase a toaster in 1950 compared with her desire to purchase a microwave oven in 1984. The process refers in both cases to the

interaction between the husband and wife regarding whether and how the purchase will be made.

Current writers have also shown that even the changes we consider novel are not so novel. For example, the women's movement has been traced back to the 1890s and even to the Greek and Roman periods of history (Murstein, 1974).

The present study was undertaken in order to assess whether elements needed for marital adjustment have changed over the past five decades. The vehicles for assessing this were three marital adjustment questionnaires - one from 1938, from 1951, and from 1981.

One hundred and eight married persons completed all three questionnaires. The present study hypothesized that if elements needed for marital satisfaction have changed since 1938, then the assessment instruments would be asking different questions, and subjects would be responding differently to each era's criteria. These differences would be evident in subjects' scores varying depending upon the particular criteria applied to assess their marriage. However, if the elements needed for marital satisfaction have not changed, then one would expect their scores on the three marital satisfaction instruments to be consistent. This result would occur if the test developers in 1938, 1951, and 1981 included the same basic elements needed for marital satisfaction and gave them equal consideration.

Some attention has been devoted to historical

changes in factors causing marriages to break up (Thurnher, Fern, Melichar, & Chiriboga, 1983), but an extensive computer and manual search of the literature revealed only one article (Holahan, 1984) that has empirically studied changes in elements of marital satisfaction over past generations (and this was limited to the study of sex-role attitudes). While there have been some longitudinal studies of marital adjustment, they have usually been short-term (covering a span of five years or less); studied only a part of the life span; or taken only the perspective of a person's aging process.

The present study, besides using instruments from different eras, studied cohorts ranging from age 19 to age 73 to answer questions such as the following: Will a couple's level of adjustment differ significantly depending on whether the criteria used is contemporary or from previous eras (like the 1950s or 1930s)? Will a couple portrayed as "happy" on today's questionnaire also score happy on the 1951 and/or 1938 questionnaire? Or will today's couple emerge as poorly adjusted when judged by criteria established for marriages in 1951 or 1938? Similarly, will it be shown that today's maladjusted couples would have been happier living in the "good old days?"

Do some age groups (cohorts) have happier marriages than others? Is a particular cohort portrayed differently

by different tests? In other words, does a cohort's adjustment rating differ significantly depending on whether the criteria is from 1938, 1951, or 1981?

Do a husband and wife within the same marriage perceive the same level of satisfaction with their relationship? Considered as a group, who's better adjusted and happier in their marriages, men or women? Will criteria from previous decades portray the sexes in a different manner than today's yardstick for measuring marriages?

Do marital adjustment questionnaires from "days gone by" continue to be valid means of assessing current marriages, or are they outdated? In considering this, the present study may benefit researchers and clinicians by being a type of concurrent validity study of marital adjustment questionnaires. When given the opportunity, what do couples spontaneously list as the vital factors necessary for marital adjustment in today's world?

Does level of marital satisfaction vary significantly depending on socioeconomic status, age at marriage, and other demographic variables?

Though there have been many studies analyzing the relationship of demographic variables to marital satisfaction, a review of the literature reveals many ambiguous and even contradictory results (e.g., reviews by Hicks & Platt, 1971; Spanier & Lewis, 1980). Thus, the present study makes comparisons between groups of persons equated for age,

socioeconomic status, and gender.

While the composition of the present study's sample reflects careful consideration of important demographic variables, their relationship to marital satisfaction was not the primary focus of the present study. Indeed, Spanier and Lewis (1980) conclude in their review of research done in the decade of the 70s that, "recent studies especially those demonstrating increased methodological rigor - often fail to find significant associations between marital satisfaction and demographic indicators, such as income and age" (p. 830).

The primary focus of the present study's investigation was the psychological factors which would account for shifts in the marital adjustment process between generations. This emphasis is confirmed by the findings of Bentler and Newcomb's (1978) longitudinal study in which marital success or failure was most accurately predicted from personality and not demographic variables. As Baucom and Aiken (1984) concluded from their results, "individual difference variables of personality are an important factor in marital distress and need to be taken into account in developing increasingly effective treatments" (p. 443).

Understanding the composition of satisfying marriages and how that may have changed, is important to the development of healthy marriages in the future as well as the

treatment of relationships wedded in the past and stressed by the contemporary demands. Studying how the importance of certain marital dynamics has changed over past generations will help us know more about contemporary marriage. Elder (1981) urged further study of the historical development of marriage by writing, "We still know little about the interacting and enduring effects of the Great Depression and World War II, an historical period which Reuben Hill (1981) has called "the watershed of family change in the twentieth century."

The present study may reveal how some of today's marriages are composed of individuals who were more conditioned by yesterday's cultural norms and fall short in making adjustments necessary to live with another person in contemporary society. This study may also yield some idea of trends and directions in which marriage is headed in the future.

While much "media hype" and popular literature paint a picture of brand-new conflicts between the sexes and ideological revolutions, one might ask, "What does the data show?" Similarly, Thernstrom (1965) offers that the real choice for research is "between explicit history, based on a careful examination of the sources, and implicit history, rooted in ideological preconceptions and uncritical acceptance of local mythology" (p. 242).

A slightly unrelated case that exemplifies this

problem is the widely held belief that the emergence of nuclear families was a result of industrialization. The Western family in the period just before industrialization, according to conventional wisdom, was typically a large, extended family consisting of the elderly household head and his wife, their adult children, their grandchildren, and quite possibly aunts, uncles, and other kin. The research of historical demographers has shown the inaccuracy of this picture; at any one time most households in the 17th and 18th century Western Europe and the United States contained a nuclear family of husband, wife, and children with no other relatives (Cherlin, 1983).

In her analysis of the history of marriage and the family, Barbara Harris (1976) criticizes research and writings based on "an imaginary past." The present study asks the reader to avoid the temptations of a myopic imaginary present. The present study aims to respond to Harris' (1976) challenge to develop a present state of knowledge not based on "brilliant theory" but for "the facts and modest, tentative interpretations."

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Elements of Marital Satisfaction Have Changed

Changes in marriage. Noted marriage researcher, Bernard I. Murstein (1974) states:

Our life styles have drastically changed in the past half-century. Mores and beliefs that once formed our attitudes toward love, sex, and marriage are no longer adequate. Science and technology, new economic patterns, and the diminishing influence of religion have brought greater opportunities, mobility, challenges, and problems... The net result is that in an era where everyone "does their own thing," choice of a domestic lifestyle is increasingly becoming a matter of individual preference. (p. 1-2)

Change is reflected simply in the dating of publications. For example, Henry Bowman published a book entitled, "Marriage for Moderns" in 1942. Marriage has changed so much since then that he has revised the book seven times and published his seventh edition of "Marriage for Moderns" in 1974.

Changes in the institution of marriage are revealed

by changes in demographics over the past five decades. In the United States, the late 1940s and 1950s brought a sustained baby boom, a lower average age at marriage, and a stable divorce rate. Yet these trends were changed after 1960 by a sharp decline in fertility, and an equally sharp rise in divorce, a large increase in the labor force participation of married women, and the growth of nonmarital cohabiting relationships" (Cherlin, 1983, p. 51).

The impact of the economy on the marital relationship is evidenced by the fact that "most of the fluctuations in the starting points of family life cycle stages have occurred when there were closely related changes in economic conditions (notably the economic depression of the 1930s and the decades of affluence after World War II) and longtime demographic changes. These demographic changes include a decline in the rate of childlessness, and a decline over much of the (previous) 80 years in the number of children per mother" (Glick, 1977, p. 9, using reports from the U.S. Bureau of the Census).

Spouses in the early years of the 20th century had to contend with the demands of an average of four children (Glick, 1977). Families started during the Depression years of the 1930s averaged three children; compared with 3.5 children born to couples during the baby boom of the 1950s. Couples forming their marriages in the 1970s are likely to average one child less (Glick, 1977). The smaller family

implies several consequences including: the period of family building tends to be shorter; the degree of need for the mother to devote full time for many years to childbearing is lessened; and there is less strain on a couple's ability to provide adequately for their children. Older married couples today must adjust to a much longer "empty nest" period than married couples of previous decades. In the last 80 years, the period following the departure of the couple's last child has increased from 2 to 13 years (Glick, 1977). This change has created a longer period during which husbands and wives relate together in the absence of children - a situation that has the potential for developing either more harmonious or more strained relations between the two.

People are coming into marriages from different places than young adults did in years past. Early in the 20th century, children went right from their family of origin into their new marriage. "However during more recent times an increasing proportion of young adults have been leaving home before they marry " (Glick, 1977, p. 8).

Everyone has heard of the rising divorce rate. Does this mean that every married person living today is equally likely to succumb to the same contagious influence of divorce? No; Norton (1983) did a cohort analysis using data from a June, 1980 Census Bureau survey. Nearly 18% of

all women married at least once and born between 1920 and 1929 have been divorced. Twenty-three percent of those born between 1930 and 1939, and 26% of the women of the 1940 to 1949 cohort have been divorced. Norton shows his statistical astuteness by pointing out that women in the 1920 - 1929 cohort were in their 50s at the survey date and probably had completed most of their divorcing but possibly may add another two percentage points to the estimate by the end of their lives. The younger women, in their 40s and 30s respectively, still have a significant number of years left in which the risk of divorce is sizable. Norton (1983) writes, "When the women of the 1940 - 1949 cohort eventually complete their divorcing experience they probably will have at least doubled the completed level of women born 20 years earlier.... Divorce is projected to end nearly half of the marriages of today's young adults" (p. 274).

The above analysis shows that 50 year olds, even though they currently live in the same society as 30 year olds and are bombarded by the same societal messages, do carry with them a certain amount of irrevocable influence from the childhood years in which they grew up. In this sense, one might see cohorts in a psychoanalytic light. The childhood of the age 60 cohort includes the era of the Great Depression and the childhood of the age 30 cohort does not. Freud might argue, although both cohorts are being exposed to similar socialization and current mores, the

basic personality of each cohort is formed in its early years and highly resistant to change in subsequent years. This concept has been referred to as the aging - stability hypothesis (Glenn, 1980). Confidence in this occurrence makes the study of different cohorts' requirements for marital satisfaction all the more interesting. This is because if cohorts' attitudes toward marital dissolution have been shown to be highly resistant to change, one can be reasonably confident that if there are differences between cohorts on elements desired for marital satisfaction, they will be just as evident.

In his review of research on historical changes of marriage and the family, Cherlin (1980) writes, "The family patterns that reached their peak in the 1950s were distinctive. In fact, the evidence suggests that the 1950s were more unusual in a historical sense than the decades that preceded or followed" (p. 58). Young couples in the 1950s married earlier than those in the preceding generations. This was also established by Modell (1980) who studied data from surveys from the 1930s through the 1970s and found the marriage age dramatically lowered around World War II. He theorized that postwar prosperity made younger marriages easier.

Cherlin (1980) hypothesizes that the distinctiveness of the 1950s may be explained by the fact that many young

adults of the immediate postwar years had suffered economic deprivation during the Depression and had had lives disrupted by the war. The late 1950s finally brought a period in which they could satisfy their desires for a stable, secure home life.

Clifford Swensen interviewed 224 middle-aged and senior citizen couples and observed that, "Whatever is going on at the time you marry has a long-term effect on what happens to your marriage. There's going to be an effect you can see 40 years later" (Moore, 1979, p. 275). For example, post-retirees, most of them married during the Depression, repeatedly talked about the financial problems of their early years of marriage. Many had lost jobs or worked only part-time. Many had been compelled to live with relatives, putting additional strain on their getting-acquainted years and often producing in-law problems. They do not report the lower income of retirement as a particular problem. They seemed more conscious than younger members of the study that problems can arise in interactions with people outside the nuclear circle. The younger group interviewed, which was composed of pre-retirees typically married during World War II, were confronted with personal rather than material or instrumental problems in their early years. In many cases separated early and greatly changed by their individual experiences while apart, the couples found that their problems with becoming reacquainted stressed the

interpersonal facets of their lives. A higher level of expressed love was found in the pre-retirees as compared to the retired group.

Using the criteria provided by a 1940 marital satisfaction questionnaire (Terman & Oden, 1947), today's 30 year old married couples are significantly more dissatisfied with their marriages than 30 year olds in 1940 (Holahan, 1984). This was the finding of Holahan's (1984) cohort comparison of a group of 1940 subjects with exceptionally high IQs and a similarly intellectual group tested in 1981. However the reasons for today's greater dissatisfaction are unknown. The present study, by using criteria from 1938, 1951, and 1981 will attempt to assess whether the change is due to different elements being perceived as required for marital happiness in today's society. In other words, if a different set of criteria had been used - for example a 1981 questionnaire, would the findings have been reversed, with current marriages showing more happiness than 1940 marriages?

When considering whether elements of marital satisfaction have changed since 1938, one of the first influences which many people think about is the redefining of female - male expectations. The following section will illustrate how the effects of the women's movement have influenced the marital adjustment process of couples up through the

present.

In their review of research done in the decades of the sixties, Hicks and Platt (1971) note that researchers into marital patterns postulate at least two basic marital types existed in the United States. They describe the recession of the "institutional" or "instrumental" type and the emergence of the "companionship" marriage. In the former, adherence to traditional role specifications, customs, and mores are factors which are most significant to the success or happiness of the marriage. The husband role is to be the more instrumental or utilitarian and the wife role, the more expressive - integrative. In this marital type, the instrumental aspects predominate because the husband is more rigid in role needs while the wife is more accommodating.

The second, emerging type, usually referred to as the companionship marriage places greater emphasis on the affective aspects of the relationship (Hicks & Platt, 1971). Emphasis is placed on personality interaction. More than the fulfillment of prescribed roles is expected to take place. Companionship, expressions of love, etc., characterize this pattern; and marital happiness is a function of the expressive aspects of the relationship. Support for this type was found by Broderick (1971) who wrote of the demise of the stereotyped "expressive" female and "instrumental" male.

Research studies performed in the sixties showed that the instrumental model was still the predominant marital type. "The most compelling results suggest that happiness is related more significantly to the male than to the female performance. The critical importance of the male instrumental role in marital happiness finds support in study after study" (Hicks & Platt, 1971, p. 62). At the end of their review of 10 years of research, Hicks and Platt (1971) conclude, "It would seem that marriages are either essentially utilitarian in nature or the transition to the companionship marriage is not yet complete - or maybe not even possible" (p. 74).

While referring to the evolution of the companionate marriage, researchers have alternately used the concept of egalitarianism to explain what they perceive to be the increasing change in modern marriages. The egalitarian dynamic between spouses stresses democratic principles and comradeship in contrast to the traditional, largely patriarchal ideal which stresses feminine obedience, duty, and respect. An egalitarian family ideology emphasizes the equal sharing of family roles, joint decision-making, and the equality of males and females. The traditional marriage segregates the roles of housekeeper, provider and caretaker of children. The provider role is assumed by the husband/father with laws and norms requiring the

husband/father to assume primary responsibility for the support of his family. His traditional female counterpart assumes most of the responsibilities associated with the housekeeper role (e.g., keeping the house clean and cooking) and the child care role (e.g., keeping children clean, feeding them, and protecting them from harm).

The lack of egalitarianism in the past is reflected in the recent American Psychological Association's Publication Manual which warns writers to avoid the familiar phrase "man and wife" (American Psychological Association, 1983). They explain that the use of man and wife together implies differences in the freedom and activities of each.

A well designed study on this aspect of marital interaction is Holahan's (1984) longitudinal and cohort analysis of attitudes related to egalitarianism in marriage. In an attempt to separate the effects of aging and historical influences, she conducted two studies. The first consisted of a longitudinal analysis of changes in attitudes of a sample of individuals from the Lewis Terman Study of the Gifted from 1940, when they were approximately 30 years old, to 1981, when those same individuals had reached the age of 70. The second was a cohort comparison in which the responses of the 30 year-old adults of 1940 were compared with a contemporary sample of the same age group.

The latter comparison resulted in the finding

reported earlier in which contemporary couples showed lower marital satisfaction than their 1940 counterparts. Holahan (1984) explained this occurrence by showing an increase in egalitarianism in marriage. She theorized that increased egalitarianism is apparently accompanied by greater strains than more traditional patterns, where less negotiation is required for smooth marital functioning. Women in the longitudinal study for example lessened their beliefs that husbands should be older than wives and that husbands should wear the pants in the family. The Terman women also believed more strongly in the same standard of sexual morality for husband and wife. Both the Terman men and women in their 70s expressed greater agreement than they had in their 30s with the view that the wife should work or have independent income. Cohort comparisons between women showed an even more dramatic increase in egalitarianism.

Holahan (1984) found evidence that contemporary men are more involved in family life, as shown by the cohort analyses concerning expressing love in words, the father participating in the disciplining of children, and husbands and wives taking vacations together. These results were presented as support for Bernard's (1981) view that for men, the traditional role of the good provider is now accompanied by two new demands: "(a) more intimacy, expressivity, and nurturance... and (b) more sharing of household

responsibilities and child care" (p. 10).

Holahan's (1984) study, while valuable, suffers from the following limitations: (1) Only marital criteria from 1940 was utilized; (2) only high IQ people were studied; (3) persons were studied only at two ages, age 30 and 70 , rather than ranges of age; and (4) the 70 year-old group included subjects who were no longer married, and who were asked to evaluate past marriage.

Kundu (1982) found that today's marital relationship is characterized by comradeship and companionship between husband and wife. However, this study is an illustration of how important the influence of culture can be on the dynamics of the marital relationship. Contrary to the trend in American culture, the male in India prefers a "modern democratic - companionate" relationship and the female expresses a desire for an authoritarian relationship of the traditional type.

Egalitarian marital relationships have been heavily endorsed by the feminist movement. To make an interesting comparison of changes in sex roles over the previous 40 years, Roper and Labeff (1977) utilized the same survey instrument as Kirkpatrick in 1936. They also sampled the same populations - college sociology students and their parents. It was discovered that, on the whole, students and parents in 1977 held more favorable attitudes toward feminism than students and parents in 1936. It should be

noted that the validity of the comparison, while appearing to have face validity, was limited by the fact that actual statistical tests for the significance of differences could not be performed due to the lack of information from the 1934 study.

A moderate degree of change is shown by Komarovsky (1973) who saw a trend among men toward what she called "modified traditional views" towards female sex roles. The modified traditionalists feel that men are the superior achievers yet women who want to work should follow a sequential pattern of work, childrearing, and return to work. From this perspective, the wife is still expected to carry the major responsibility for housework but she should receive assistance from the husband.

This imbalance is not likely to be reduced in the future if the study of Russian society is any indication. Since 1926, women have constituted roughly 50% of the Soviet labor force (Sacks, 1977). Yet from the 1920s to the 1960s the same pattern has emerged - "women have far more housework and far less free time than their male counterparts" (Sacks, 1977, p. 793).

The continuing trend to "do it all" is evident in a 1972 study by Epstein and Bronzaft who showed that the majority of college women were moving away from the traditional role of housewife; yet desiring both marriage

with children and a career.

Yogev (1981) studied the marital dynamics of 106 married university faculty women (mean age 41). Her findings indicate professional married women express two contradictory patterns regarding their marital relationship. On the one hand, they did not want to change the traditional aspect of their lives; i.e., "they assumed most of the responsibilities for housework and child care, and did not expect or want their husbands to have an equal share in these matters" (p. 869). On the other hand, they perceived their husbands in a way that assumed egalitarian relationships, i.e., they did not perceive their husbands to be "superior" to them; rather they perceived themselves to be basically equal to them. The researcher concluded that today's professional women are going through a process of role expansion (adding new responsibilities without relinquishing old ones), rather than a process of role definition which may be what lies ahead for tomorrow's professional women.

As women take on more traditionally male attributes, e.g., by being a co-bread winner, and men participate in more traditionally female activities, a process of increasing androgeny takes place. Baucom and Aikin (1984) found support for marital satisfaction being correlated with androgyny.

Women may not be the only gender undergoing a

transformation of values and responsibilities. Araji (1976) sampled 1154 men and women and found that men performed an equal amount of child rearing duties as their wives. This is a change considering that the child-related role has been traditionally assumed by and/or given to women.

Men are not without their resistance however. For example, Aller (1962) found the advent of the liberated woman threatening to the self-concept of young husbands and adversely affecting the stability of the marriage.

The sources of marital conflict can also be used to indicate what factors are important in marriages. In looking for changes in elements that contribute to marital satisfaction over the past few generations, it might be helpful to see if there have been any changes in what contributes to a related dimension, marital dissatisfaction and its extreme manifestation - divorce. Thurnher et al. (1983) examined reasons for divorce reported by a sample of 333 men and women, aged 20 to 79. They compared their distribution of selected reasons with generally equivalent sociodemographic samples studied by Levinger in 1966 and Goode in 1948 (published in 1956). Differences became evident at the outset when the current study found Goode's (1956) classifications of reasons for divorce to be inadequate. Two new commonly cited reasons for divorce had to be added to the 1956 list - "conflicting lifestyles" and

"spouse wants freedom." Thurnher et al. (1983) thought these new necessary additions reflected the impact of recent changes in the role of women.

Ten percent of the women in the contemporary sample mentioned economic reasons for divorce; whereas, 33 to 53% of the 1948 sample mentioned economic problems of various forms. Sixteen percent of the women in today's sample mentioned spouse's drinking, compared to 30% of Goode's sample. In contrast, women in the contemporary sample were more likely to mention sexual problems: 11% compared to four percent. Comparisons between the 1983 and Levinger's 1966 samples yielded similar trends with the exception that both mentioned sexual problems in roughly equal frequencies (13 percent and 14 percent). The findings of this study should be treated with caution because of the questionable practice of comparing samples from different studies with no control for subject variables other than age and gender.

Nonetheless, Thurnher et al. (1983) concluded:

These comparisons point to a decline in economic problems and alcoholism as reasons for divorce, and an increase in the importance given to sexual compatibility ... changes with the trend toward egalitarianism between the sexes. With the increased participation of women in the labor force and increasing expectations that they contribute to the family budget, the husband's ability as breadwinner may have become less central to the survival of the family unit. Similarly, recent change in the sex roles has served to bring to consciousness and to legitimize the sexual needs of women. (p. 32)

In explaining contemporary society's higher incidence of divorce, Pinard (1966) suggests that it's not so much

things inside the family as outside the family. He obtained evidence that tentatively pointed to the processes of urbanization and industrialization as factors increasing the freedom of the individual, and therefore one's proneness to divorce.

A major aspect of the push towards greater equity between husband and wife has been the right of women to participate in what formerly was "a man's world" - the workplace. In 1973, 22% of all American wives worked full-time throughout the year. Fifty-two percent were employed to some extent that year (Sacks, 1977); while only 20% of wives worked in 1948 ("Bridal Vitals," 1984). William Goode (1970) asserts that considerable change occurs in the status of women as they enter the labor force. Women's participation in the economy serves to bolster the altered values which in turn produce changes within the family:

It is by virtue of a change in the general evaluation of women and their position in the large society that the permission is granted to work independently; but once women begin to take these positions in the large society, then they are better able to assert their rights and wishes within the family. (Goode, 1970, p. 372)

With more married women in the workforce than ever before in history, what is the effect of this upon today's marriages? One may consider the results of research to be contradictory or simply reflective of the fact that negative and positive effects from this phenomenon coexist. Burke

and Weir (1976) illustrate benefits for the working wife and negative consequences for her husband. Booth (1977) evidenced negative effects for the working women and no negative effects on the husband.

More specifically, Burke and Weir (1976) sampled 189 engineers, accountants and their spouses. They find employed women to be in better physical and emotional health and to hold more positive attitudes toward their marriage than housewives. They also find husbands of employed women to be in poorer health and less contented with their marriage than men whose spouses are not in the labor force. They conclude that employment contributes to the women's sense of personal growth and fulfillment. However, they also conclude that this same factor contributes to marital discord and stress experienced by the husband by: (1) reducing the amount of personal care he receives, (2) increasing his responsibilities for child care and other work otherwise done by the woman, (3) enhancing the measure by which husbands are called upon to support their spouse's ambition, and (4) generally eroding the husband's central position in the family.

A detailed analysis of further differences found that working wives worried about the amount of time they spent with their family while housewives worried about family sickness. Working wives communicated with their husbands about in-laws and sex relations, while housewives

communicated with their spouses about their children and home activities. Husbands of working wives were concerned about money problems, while husbands of housewives were worried about their children.

Booth (1977) replicated the above study but made improvements in the generalizability of the sample, measurement instrument and data analysis. Reaching quite different conclusions, he found that women making the transition into or out of the labor force showed more signs of stress than full-time housewives. It is suggested that the stress may stem from adjusting the division of labor within the family as well as from modifying individual schedules and routines. A conservative interpretation of their data further revealed that wives' employment does not contribute to the marital discord or stress experienced by the husband. When the direction of the trends found in the data are attended to, a case is made for the wife's employment having beneficial effects on the husband. They conclude that:

Husbands and wives are readily adapting to female participation in the labor force.... While there is no doubt that wives, and probably husbands, go through a period of adjustment that is stressful when the woman first joins the labor force, our evidence suggests that it is short-lived. The added income and the greater personal fulfillment the wife and probably her husband eventually enjoy, far outweigh the short-term disadvantages which female employment may bring to the couple. (p. 649)

One factor which has come to be a greater source of

marital satisfaction or dissatisfaction as a result of wives being employed is household chores. The results of a nationwide survey of 680 married couples by Mirowsky and Ross ("Sharing Housework," 1984) revealed that dual-career marriages are happiest if spouses equally split up the routine chores of housework and child care. Depression is most common in couples in which the wife has to work to make ends meet, but she and her husband wish she could stay home and she still does all the housework. In adapting to the wife's employment, the central problem for husbands was found to be one of self-esteem - of getting over embarrassment, guilt or apprehension associated with the wife's employment. For wives, the central problem was revealed to be getting the husband to share the housework. At first, the wife may shift some of her duties onto older children or avoid work by using frozen foods, throwing fewer dinner parties or simply cleaning the house less often. But once it becomes obvious that she is in the working world for good, she is apt to urge her husband to pitch in with the housework.

The feminist movement is not the only force which has influenced dynamics within the marital relationship. Due to the "sexual revolution," changes in morality, and the use of contraceptives, individuals are entering marriage today with more sexual experience than their parents. This is

exemplified by a longitudinal comparison of three studies (King, Balswick, & Robinson, 1977). The researchers found that the percentage of college males who engaged in premarital intercourse increased 8.8 percent (from 65.1% to 73.9%) between 1965 and 1975; while for the same period of time, the percentage increase among females was 28.4 percent (from 28.7% to 57.1%). The authors took this as indicating not only an increase in the amount of pre-marital sexual experience in general, but also proof that women were catching up to men in their sexual habits. Such findings substantiate the swell of egalitarianism into the sexual realm and the decline of the double standard.

The value of marital faithfulness is also in flux in Western society:

Honored more and more in the breach is the traditional imperative that husband and wife love sexually only each other, till death do them part. Accepted more and more are divorce and remarriage as well as marriages in which one spouse has a loving sexual relationship with a third person. (Milhaven, 1984, p. 82)

Changes reflected in the questionnaires. Beginning with Hamilton's Marital Adjustment Test in 1929, the passing decades have seen the development of many instruments devised to measure the phenomenon of marital "satisfaction," "adjustment," "success," or "happiness." All these terms have been used interchangeably in the literature to delineate the spouses' evaluation of the state of the marital relationship (Hicks & Platt, 1971).

Since the questionnaires used in this study are assumed to reflect the factors thought to be necessary for marital satisfaction during their respective eras, it would be worthwhile to examine differences in the content of the three instruments. One difference became apparent when several subjects in the present study expressed their ignorance or consternation in reaction to Terman's (1938) question about spouses' agreement on "matters of conventionality" and Locke's (1951) similar question about "conventionality (good, right, and proper conduct)." Without knowing that questionnaires were from previous decades, one subject said, "People don't ask these things anymore!" One can see an evolution of semantics by the 1951 developer's apparent need to define the term. Roach, Frazier, and Bowden (1981) did not use the term "conventionality" at all but may have included this element by asking spouses' reactions to the statements, "My spouse and I agree on what is right and proper conduct."

Marriages have struggled and prospered in strikingly different economic conditions. This is evidenced by the fact that Terman's (1938) highest income bracket appearing on his background information sheet was "\$5,000 or over." The average annual income for Terman's population of the Depression was \$2,450.

The content of the three questionnaires also differ

in the implicit ways they portray the personality characteristics and responsibilities of husband and wife, males and females. Perhaps reflecting a more androgynous society, only the 1981 questionnaire has the exact same format for both male and female respondents. Terman (1938) has different sets of questions for males and females. Locke (1951) has husbands and wives answer the same questions, but he scores their answers differently.

Pilot subjects in the present study uncovered further gender bias in Terman's (1938) question, "When disagreements arise, they usually result in: (check) you giving in ____; your wife giving in ____; agreement by mutual give and take ____" (p. 440). The word "wife" was substituted by "spouse" in the present study. In the sections in which the sexes are asked to respond to different questions, he describes men as potentially "impatient," but for women he substitutes the descriptor "emotional." Women are expected not to "neglect" the children; whereas the counterpart question asks males only to "take an interest" in the children. Men are evaluated only on their "tidiness," but the counterpart question for wives evaluates them on their ability to take care of the whole "houshold." The only sex attributed with having "business" is the male gender.

In Terman's (1938) questionnaire, women are "extravagant" but men having this quality are "gamblers." A

woman's habits are described as "annoying" whereas men's habits are described as "vulgar." Women are ascribed the socialite and entertainer role, and not men. Women are evaluated for their ability to have the meals ready on time; and men, rather than being evaluated on the same ability, are evaluated for their ability to show up on time for the meal his wife prepared. Only the male is evaluated for the role of disciplinarian. Only the female is evaluated for cooking ability. Only the husband is evaluated for table manners; lacking ambition; not being able to "talk things over freely;" and being deficient in showing affection. Terman allows only the women the potential to be: "too interested in clothes," a nag, and a gossip.

"Working outside the home" is listed as a potential problem for husbands concerning their wives, but not vice versa. Husbands are given the chance to evaluate their wives as "slovenly in appearance," but wives are not given such an opportunity. And finally, for some reason (perhaps a greater sense of machismo), Terman considered the poor health of wives a potential problem and did not for husbands. Despite the noteworthy value of his research, Terman obviously held many gender stereotypes which current society views as growth-inhibiting if not prejudicial.

The questionnaires also differ in that Terman's (1938) and Locke (1951) score subjects' answers by

assigning weights as numerical indicators of the significance of certain questions and responses, while Roach et al. (1981) did not. Through a weighting procedure, the developers of the testing instrument define, a priori, which variables are more important than others in assessing the quality of the marital relationship. Neither Terman (1938) or Roach et al. (1981) found marked differences between the responses of males and females. Locke (1951) however found the divergence between husbands' and wives' responses to be significant enough to warrant scoring their answers differently by assigning different weights to what occasionally is even the same response.

Another indication of changing times is Spanier's (1976) newly developed marital adjustment questionnaire which can also be validly used to assess the quality of cohabitating unmarried couples.

Even test developers in the 1930s considered the potential importance of noticing changes from previous generations. Bernard (1933) said of his newly constructed marital adjustment test, "This instrument, devised to measure success in marriage, assumes that the traditional home services are decreasing in importance and that the crucial test depends upon the extent to which marriage satisfies the primary group needs of the personalities of its members" (p. 94). Bernard's mention in 1933, of the decreasing importance of traditional home services may even

strike the reader as surprisingly similar to today's perspective.

It should be mentioned that there are also some surprising similarities between questionnaires. Pilot subjects interviewed after completing the questionnaires noted some overlap. Also, for those that think divorce and remarriage is a pattern unique to our time, Terman (1938) thought it rampant enough to allow for the following options in one of his questions: "What marriage is your present one? (a) first (b) second (c) third (d) fourth."

Elements of Marital Satisfaction Have Not Changed

Things haven't changed. This view emphasizes that while the passage of time may have caused some aspects of the institution of marriage to appear differently, the factors necessary for two individuals to get along with each other in a marital relationship remain basically the same over the past 50 years. This view would subscribe to the popular belief that "people are people" whether they're from the 1940s or 1980s. This thesis is justified on the basis that it is the process of a relationship that creates the discontent or satisfaction, and not the content of marital issues.

In the same book which emphasizes the "drastic changes" of our culture over the past half century, Murstein

(1974) later cautions that changes may sometimes prove to be illusionary. He writes, "The dusty files of history show that much which seems at first glance to be novel has many an antecedent." As examples he cites today's Western sexual mores as having their roots among the ancient Hebrews and early Christians. The communes of the 1960s and 1970s were preceded by hundreds of communes in the United States a century ago.

Contrary to popular notion, there has not been a dramatic fluctuation in the age at which people get married. Using reports from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Glick (1977) reports that in the preceding 80 years, the median age of women taking their marriage vows for the first time has only fluctuated from a low of 20.0 years for those who married in the 1950s to a high of 21.4 years for marriages occurring during the first decade of the 20th century. The estimated median age of those currently getting married is reported to be 21.2 years.

Men showed a more significant fluctuation. A three year decline in the median age of first marriage began with men born in the 1880s (median age 25.4) and ended with men born in the 1930s (median age 22.5). Since then men have been postponing marriage slightly more, with those men who were born in the 1950s getting married at a median age of 23.6.

There is also much talk about married couple having children later in life. Closer to the truth, "women who marry in the 1970s are expected to be about 22.7 years old, on the average, at the birth of their first child. This is very near the 80-year average of 22.6 years. The highest median age at first childbirth was registered for women who married mostly during the 1930s (age 23.5)" (Glick, 1977, p. 7). For added comparison, marriages of the 1950s had their first child when the wife was 21.4 years old.

One might think that with the increase of women into the labor force, that women today put less priority on housework. However, Vanek (1973) examined studies from 1920 - 1970 which recorded how women budgeted their time. Her finding was that there has been little change in the total time employed and nonemployed women spend on housework. There was however, a change manifested in the allocation of time for different types of domestic chores: with the spread of modern household technology there was a shift from expenditures of time on "maintenance aspects of housework" to "managerial and interactional tasks" (Vanek, 1973).

Although changing times have produced an increase in the number of couples living together before marriage, a longitudinal study by Bentler and Newcomb (1978) found that living together has no apparent effect of increasing or decreasing the occurrence of divorce.

The critical observer understands that the feminist

movement is not a unique and startling creation of our own recent generation. The reader may become aware of the extent of his/her myopia by considering the year one would expect the following article to have been published: "Can the Family Have Two Heads?" If you're like this investigator, your initial impulse may have been to identify this writing with the 1970s or thereabouts. However, the conflict was raised by Popenoe in 1933. Other evidence of this realization is Roper and Lobeffer's (1977) writing of "feminism revisited" and "the upsurge of another (not "the") feminist movement." As early as 1934, Clifford Kirkpatrick (1936) was comparing different generations in their attitudes toward feminism. Apparently he didn't have the patience to wait until the 1960s to ask contemporary researchers for permission to use the word "feminism" because he used it extensively in his article.

Consider the following view of a recent psychiatrist:

Unfortunately it happens frequently in our culture that the part of a woman in motherhood is regarded as having only a minor value.... This is perhaps the greatest problem of our society and little effort is made to meet it.... Almost everywhere the woman's part in life is undervalued and treated as secondary.... Housekeeping and home-making are too often regarded, not as contributions open to women, but as drudgery relegated to them.... While the woman's part is undervalued, the whole harmony of married life is destroyed. (pp. 121 - 122)

The preceding view was asserted by the "recent" psychiatrist, Alfred Adler, in 1931.

The reader might consider that the following footnote typifies a sensitive conflict which is faced by contemporary authors and researchers: "Throughout the remainder of the paper the conventional third person masculine will be used rather than the awkward "he or she" but it should be understood that, unless otherwise specified, the masculine pronoun refers to both men and women" (p. 95). However, the reader would be wrong in considering such, since the footnote appeared in an article by Jessie Bernard in 1933:

And lest one stereotype the 1950s as a blissful period of unity and stability between husbands and wives, how does one explain Jacobson's exposition of "Conflict of Attitudes Toward the Roles of Husband and Wife in Marriage" written in 1952?

The feminist movement has inspired much discussion and received wide attention in the mass media and literature. Yet it seems a minority of the writing provides empirical substantiation of fundamental changes. Some studies indicate changes in attitudes with no, or very sketchy research data to support their assumed changes (Bernard, 1972; Lopata, 1971). While some research presented in the previous section pointed to an increase in egalitarianism, there is some dispute as to whether this trend exists in reality (Osmond & Martin, 1975). Bernard (1972) states that while there has been a trend toward equalizing the rights and obligations of men and women in

the legal arena, no clearcut definitive trend toward egalitarian relationships in the area of marriage can be substantiated through research. Those researchers who did not find any real trend in this direction include Popenoe (1933), Winch (1958), Heer's 1958 study of the working wife, Hoffman (1960), Blood and Wolfe (1960), Komarovsky (1964), Safilios - Rothschild (1970), Renne (1970), and Osmond and Martin (1975).

In the same vein are the results of a comparison between Kirkpatrick (1936) and its replication - Roper and Labeff (1977). The attitudes of males and females interviewed in both eras were significantly more favorable toward feminist issues regarding women in occupations and women's political and legal rights. Consistently less favorability was given by people in both eras for feminist gains regarding domestic responsibilities and feminine conduct, morality and dress.

This suggests that while women may be making gains in the workplace, in our government, and in the courts, the gains and changes made in a woman's relationship with her husband and family have been comparatively less. Changes resulting from the feminist movement are likely to exist, but it appears that the marital relationship is one of the slowest institutions to evidence such movement.

As Menninger (1982) said, "For more than a decade,

fueled by feminism and the failing economy, the media have focused on working women. Yet, the wife who stays home with her children and supports her husband's career has far from disappeared" (p.93).

Contemporary literature on marriage and the family have shown an emergence of subjective themes that are generally attributed to the "modern family pattern in America": the companionate or egalitarian marriage that is central to the Burgess - Locke thesis, a nurturant concept of parenting, and a developmental concept which distinguishes the young child from adults. Elder (1980) however, cites research which date the emergence of these themes in the urban middle class of the post-Revolutionary era up to about 1830.

One thing that hasn't changed to be sure, is the ever-present existence of conflict in marriage. It has been found that disagreement and conflict are common in marriage (Burgess, 1981). Argyle and Furnham (1982) found that arguing was one of the distinctive activities of spouses.

A study done in 1980 (Hawkins, Weisberg, & Ray, 1980) found that one source of marital contention may be the wife's desire for more power. On impulse, such a study may seem to lend support to the view that times have really changed. However, it would be very interesting to wonder about the results of this same study if it had been performed in the 1950s or 1930s. In fact when one removes himself/herself

from the temptations of myopia, one begins to see that women's desire for more power has been an issue hotly contested for decades if not centuries.

Consider the women's suffrage movement which resulted in the right for women to vote in 1920. However, this struggle was preceded by a woman born in 1820 by the name of Susan B. Anthony who was convicted of breaking the law by voting (Salsini, 1973). Lest one think the Equal Rights Amendment unique to our generation, an equal rights amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1923 - and every succeeding year until 1972 when it was passed, although it has yet to be ratified (Oakley, 1981). While this perspective being developed here does not intend to gloss over contemporary society's unique, groundbreaking accomplishments of women into the power structure, it is suggesting that such "groundbreaking" actions are current manifestations of the same process which has been hotly developing before our time. Today's marriages exist on a different ground than marriages in past decades, but the process necessary for survival, adaptation, and compatibility between spouses is essentially the same.

The attainment of more rights for women in both the 1930s and 1980s creates similar opportunities for marital conflict or a sense of togetherness. Granted that the sharing of power between the sexes today may involve greater

amounts of money or control, the impact of such gains is judged by the culture of the time. The significance of a woman going braless, for example, has faded greatly in the past 15 years. The alarming sight for today's male may instead be the sight of a woman with a briefcase.

Today's alarming event and cause for male insecurity is tomorrow's accepted given. Considering this, the scientific observer is aided by adopting a phenomenological, relativistic view of each cultural era. Women push for more rights in new ways, but the process remains the same. Through these issues, wives are saying "respect me." Women said it to their husbands in 1938, and 1984, and women will say it to their husbands in 1999. The present study hypothesizes that regardless of the form or content of the request, such processes as mutual respect were asked for to the same extent by spouses seeking happiness in their marriages throughout the 1930s, 1950s, and 1980s.

Family life has a great impact on the state of marital bliss or discontent. Nichols (1982) tested the belief held by many modern Americans that "the family is dead." On the contrary, in both 1970 and 1980, 96% of Americans surveyed declared themselves dedicated to the ideal of two people sharing a life and a home.

Research has shown that in traditional families, husbands contribute economically, while wives do most of the housework and childrearing and perhaps provide more sexual

gratification. Both receive affection and companionship. Albrecht, Bahr, and Chadwick (1979) found that there had been only small changes in this traditional picture, although younger wives earned more and younger husbands did more with the children.

While the previous section has documented some impact upon the marriages of working women, there is evidence to suggest that the so-called "two-career marriage" is not composed of two members who give the same emphasis to their marriages and their career. When the marital system is stressed, traditional patterns re-emerge with the male prioritizing career while the female prioritizes family. This was the finding of Heckman, Bryson, and Bryson (1977) who studied what may even be considered a fairly liberal group, 200 couples in which both husband and wife were psychologists (both members of the American Psychological Association). They sought to determine why husbands and wives who have similar training, have unequal productivity rates in their profession. A content analysis of the subjects' explanations showed that, although sexual discrimination accounted for a small portion of the problems, the larger number of problems were due to the fact that women were willing to place their career's secondary to (a) the needs of their families, and (b) the needs of their husband's careers.

There is additional research which points out that simply because more wives are employed, this doesn't necessarily mean that the anticipated re-distribution of power within a marriage actually occurs. The gainful employment of the wife usually causes an overload of responsibilities and sense of stress. This situation is frequently not responded to by the husband sharing in traditionally feminine tasks. Szinovacz (1977) found that couples which previously had a high degree of role-segregation between spouses (traditional marriages), responded to the demands posed by the wife's employment by getting relatives to assume some of the domestic duties or hiring help. The husbands of these marriages did not change and did not become more egalitarian. Marriages which were egalitarian before the wife's employment, responded with egalitarian behavior. Szinovacz (1973) writes, "These data confirm the assumption that female employment does not necessarily result in the development of egalitarian relations between spouses" (p. 781).

Thus, the sole factor of more wives holding jobs does not ipso facto mean that elements needed for marital satisfaction have similarly undergone change. A society, like an individual, can show a behavioral change with no subsequent change in its values. Consider the Soviet culture in which women constitute 52% of the labor force; yet which remains heavily male-dominated (Sacks, 1977).

A previous section of this dissertation presented Goode's (1970) view that women's increased participation in the labor force brings with it an increase in domestic egalitarianism. Scott and Tilley (1975) however, seriously question Goode's model of change on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Their research on female employment during the 19th and early 20th century led them to conclude that young women entered industrial employment in order to fulfill the traditional obligation of all members contributing to the economic survival of their family household. Scott and Tilley (1975) underscore the importance of considering the meaning of women becoming employed rather than thinking that the act causes automatic changes. They illustrate a period of history in which the act of women getting jobs was actually an act of subjugation and served to encourage changes in values and the status of women which were in the opposite direction of egalitarianism:

Goode assumes that the idea of "woman's proper place," with its connotations of complete economic dependency and idealized femininity is a traditional value. In fact, it is a rather recently accepted middle-class value not at all inconsistent with notions of the rights and responsibilities of the individual. The hierarchical division of labor within the family which assigned the husband the role of bread-winner and the wife the role of domestic manager and moral guardian emerged clearly only in the 19th century and was associated with the growth of the middle class and the diffusion of its values. (Scott & Tilley, 1975, p. 41)

Scott and Tilley (1975) further found that today's

"liberal" view of incorporating women into the work force is actually similar to the 19th century traditional view held by the lower class families that did not find feminine and economic roles incompatible.

This perspective indicates that our society is returning to a place where women become an accepted part of the work force. If history then repeats itself, the goal will eventually be for the couple to become financially secure enough for one of the spouses (either the man or woman) to be able to stay at home and devote full attention to the matters of caring for the children and tending to the home.

Burgess and Locke (1960) writing before the upheaval of sex roles during the 1960s and 1970s, saw the trend toward egalitarian marriages as beginning at the turn of the 20th century rather than being precipitated by events in their own era.

One thing that hasn't changed much is husbands' reluctance to adopt the same desire for egalitarian marriage as his female counterpart. Kirkpatrick in 1936, Jacobson in 1952, Lopata in 1971, and Roper and Labeff in 1977 all found men to be more in favor of conservative and traditional marital relations and/or less likely to endorse the egalitarian ideals expressed through feminist views.

Roper and Labeff (1977) compared their results with a

near replication - Kirkpatrick (1936). While both sexes in 1977 were more feminist in their views than their predecessors in 1936, the significant difference and disagreement between husbands and wives in 1936 still existed and had not narrowed by 1977.

While Holahan (1984) found that spouses' attitudes towards male and female roles have changed since 1940, there is some evidence which lessens the significance of such attitude change. This is research which indicates that changes in attitudes may not necessarily reflect changes in actual behavior. For example, Araji (1977) gathered data from 1154 married men and women in the state of Washington, and found a significant discrepancy between role attitudes and role behaviors. While these couples espoused egalitarian ideals, this egalitarianism was not generally reflected in role behaviors. "Most of the married males and females report that husbands are providing most of the income and wives are performing most of the housekeeping duties" (p.318).

In one area, Araji (1977) did find a seemingly contemporary behavior to exist without the endorsement of its parallel attitude. They found the behavior of males to be equally involved in child rearing as females. In their review of the literature, they offered an explanation whereby child care behavior is not assimilated by men into their role concept, but is kept ego-dystonic by viewing

their child care behavior as "a favor to the wife." Thus there is evidence to suggest a matrimonial state of affairs in which behavior exists without personal beliefs, and attitudes are verbalized without the accompanying behavior.

It's the process that matters. The thesis presented in this section emphasizes the priority of the process of relating between married partners rather than the exact content of their interactions. The summation of many various types of marital interaction may be seen as a message being sent from one partner and received by the other. Consider for example, the wife in a 1945 marriage asking her husband if she can buy a toaster for the family; compared with a wife in a 1984 marriage telling her husband of her intention to buy a microwave oven. According to process theory, the essence of the interaction is in the asking of the 1945 wife compared with the telling of the 1984 wife. The fact that the content of the interaction involved a change over the years from a toaster to a microwave is incidental and potentially distracting. This thesis focuses on the "how" of the spouse's interaction rather than the "what" of their verbal and behavioral messages.

This perspective does not intend to totally ignore the influence of changing "objects" over the past 40 years. As a hypothetical example, it may be true that increased

effectiveness of birth control methods over the past 40 years has caused an increase in the confidence of pregnancy-free sex and thus allowed an increase in the frequency of sex. However, whether couples today have sex three times a week compared with couples in 1940 averaging once a week, the primary process issue of sexual compatibility remains a challenge for couples of both eras to work out in order to achieve satisfaction in their relationship.

There are those who perceive today's world as more hectic, than say 40 years ago, with more demands placed on one's limited available hours. They would argue that this has adverse consequences on one's marriage.

White (1983), using a nationwide probability sample of 2,034 men and women, confirmed something already suspected - that heavy work involvement of husbands as well as wives, number of children, and a traditional division of labor all reduce the proportion of time couples spend doing things together. Using 2-stage least-squares analysis, her findings indicated that previous research over-estimated the effect of quantity of interaction on marital happiness. Her results were that quality of the marriage rather than time constraints is the most important determinant of how spouses interact with each other.

Adaptability and flexibility are also key elements of the interaction process between spouses and has been shown

to correlate positively with marital happiness (Buerkle, Anderson, & Badgley, 1961; Crouse, Karlins, & Schroder, 1968).

In their study of factors differentiating happily from unhappily married subjects in a sample of 984, Mathews and Mihanovich (1963) found that the unhappy are neglected, receive little affection, understanding, appreciation or companionship, their self-respect is attacked; their faults are magnified by their mates; they feel worthless, belittled and falsely accused by their spouses.

Lack of concern is pointed to as a characteristic of unstable marriages. Levinger (1965) found that couples displaying extreme patterns of marital disruption showed larger incidence of neither partner choosing the altruistic response to hypothetical situations posed by the Buerkle - Badgley Marital Interaction Inventory.

In his empirical study of "Lasting Marriages in the 1980s," Schlesinger (1983) surveyed 129 Canadian couples that had been married 15 - 43 years and had at least one child. Of that sample, 83% chose 10 items as "extremely important" in helping marriages last. These were, in order of importance: respect for each other, trusting each other, loyalty, loving each other, counting on each other, considering each other's needs, providing each other with emotional support, commitment to make marriage last, fidelity, and give-and-take in marriage. Consistent with

the hypothesis of the present study, all of the above - mentioned factors (or the lack of them) make up a great deal of the interaction process between husband and wife. Stated in an over simplistic way, "It's how one treats one's spouse that matters and not the content of the interaction."

Schlesinger (1983) illustrates that process elements are vital elements of marital satisfaction to the couple of the 1980s. His study raises such questions as, "Are the same dynamics present and influential in American marriages? Do younger couples, married less than 15 years, put the same priority on those factors?" One could easily wonder if such elements were also vital elements of enduring marriages during the 1930s, 1940s, etc. If so, it is assumed that such elements were reflected in the questions asked by marriage researchers such as Terman in 1938 and Locke in 1951. If such process elements were not as influential or not even considered during those times, then this will be reflected in the couples' different scores on the three different instruments of the present study. The present study also employs a less restrictive method than Schlesinger (1983) by using an open-ended question to determine what elements couples consider significant to marital adjustment.

When it is asserted that the primary agent determining marital satisfaction is the process of the

interaction between spouses, it would seem important to examine whether wide differences exist in the manner in which spouses communicate with each other in happy compared to unhappy marriages.

From his 280-item Marital Satisfaction Inventory which utilizes ten different scales, Snyder (1979) concludes that those items which pertain to spouses' communication with each other constitute "the best single predictor of global marital satisfaction."

In a five year longitudinal study, Markman (1981) found that the more positively pre-marital couples had rated their communication, the more satisfied they were in their relationship five and one-half years later ($r = .59$). He interpreted his findings as consistent with the social learning model of marriage which posits that communication deficits precede the development of marital distress.

"Reciprocity of positive exchange has been repeatedly implicated as the single most important description of marriages in the clinical literature" (Gottman, Markman, & Notarius, 1977, p. 463).

Ting - Toomey (1983) analyzed the verbal sequential processes of 34 married couples. The interaction of couples low in marital adjustment (as measured by the Dyadic Adjustment Scale) was mainly characterized by reciprocal patterns involving confrontation, complaint, and defense. Sequential analyses of those high in marital adjustment

showed communication patterns characterized by confirmation, description of emotions, and questioning strategies aimed at getting more information.

Navran (1967) found that happily married couples participated in more open and rewarding communications. Using the Primary Communication Inventory, happily married couples differed from unhappily married couples in that they:

(a) talk more to each other, (b) convey the feelings that they understand what is being said to them, (c) have a wider range of subjects available to them, (d) preserve communication channels and keep them open, (e) show more sensitivity to each other's feelings, (f) personalize their language symbols, and (g) make more use of supplementary nonverbal techniques of communication. (p. 182)

Burke, Weir, and Harrison (1976) found that the greater the likelihood to self-disclose, the higher the marital satisfaction. Likewise, Levinger and Senn (1967) reported that satisfied partners disclosed their feelings more fully than dissatisfied partners.

Self-disclosure was found to be similarly associated with marital satisfaction in three other studies as well (Hendrick, 1981; Miller, Corrales, & Wackman, 1975; Tolstedt & Stokes, 1983).

All of the studies mentioned above showed a linear relationship between self-disclosure and marital satisfaction. Gilbert (1976) suggested that the relationship between self-disclosure and satisfaction is curvilinear;

satisfaction being lowest as self-disclosure reaches either extreme. Gilbert reviewed literature which suggests that too much self-disclosure in a relationship can be threatening and has the potential to take the surprise out of a relationship. This viewpoint is supported by Bienvenu (1970), who found selective communication preferable to sheer volume. Cosby (1973), in his review of the literature, cited evidence supporting a curvilinear relation between self-disclosure and such variables as liking and length of relationship. The conflicting findings over the exact relationship of self-disclosure and marital satisfaction may be explained by the fact that researchers conceptualized and operationalized self-disclosure differently. Also, some studies tested only couples receiving counseling, while others tested only non-clinical spouses, or a combination of both.

Lest one think that good or poor communication is simply a correlate of marital satisfaction, it has been shown that changing a couple's communication with each other consequently causes changes in the level of happiness. For example, Gary Birchler and his associates will ask a distressed couple to talk for five minutes as if they were the happiest couple in the world. Their verbal communication improves. They are less likely to interrupt, disagree, complain, make an excuse, or blame the other

partner (Yahraes, 1979).

Most people would agree that intimacy is desirable in close relationships and that couples in highly satisfying marriages have intimate relationships. However the term "intimacy" is used to describe a variety of relationship dimensions ranging from sexuality to the extent to which persons feel "close" or emotionally bonded.

Tolstedt and Stokes (1983) included self-disclosure in their study of marital intimacy patterns, but they also examined the relatedness of affective and physical intimacy to marital satisfaction. Verbal intimacy was operationalized according to breadth, depth and valance of self-disclosures. Affective intimacy was evidenced by feelings of closeness and emotional bonding, including intensity of liking, moral support, and ability to tolerate flaws in the significant other. Physical intimacy was operationalized by sex and other physical expressions of love. Data was gotten from a questionnaire to 43 couples and judges' ratings of their audiotaped discussion of their relationship. All three types of intimacy were significantly high predictors of both perceived marital satisfaction and a measure of thoughts and behaviors indicative of potential for divorce. Measures of verbal and affective intimacy made stronger contributions to the prediction of marital satisfaction than did physical intimacy.

Behaviorists have demonstrated many times how the

interaction process between spouses is vital in determining the level of satisfaction in marriage. Sophisticated objective observational measures have provided descriptions of the interactional behaviors that discriminate happily married couples from couples experiencing marital distress.

For example, Birchler, Weiss, and Vincent (1975) used behavioral data gathered from home and laboratory interactions to study the positive and negative social reinforcement behaviors exchanged between married couples determined a priori to be distressed or nondistressed. Every subject was asked to record at home every instance of pleasing or displeasing conduct of their partner's as well as the couple's conflicts and arguments. On the average, the ratio of pleasing to displeasing behavior was almost seven times as high among the happily married pairs as among the distressed couples. Further, the happily married couples, compared with the others, engaged in a significantly greater frequency of recreational activities with their spouses. Such activities included going to sports events, the movies, church affairs, visiting friends, or taking walks.

Results from a behavior coding system in the laboratory also indicated nondistressed couples showed a significantly larger number of positive behaviors - both verbal and nonverbal - than the unhappy couples. Observed

in both casual conversation and problem-solving tasks, the more positive behaviors included cooperation, compromise, appreciation and approval of the other's viewpoint, the utterances "please" and "thank you," and gestures indicating positive emotions. Moreover, the distressed couples showed one-and-a-half times as much "negative" behavior - principally in the form of criticism, interruptions, and disagreements with the spouse - as the happily married pairs. In support of the present study's hypothesis, one might point out that such words as "please" and "thank you," their effects, and the principles of social learning theory in general are not a new creation of the last decade and have been operative since at least 1938.

Another behavioral analysis of "The Topography of Marital Conflict" (Gottman et al., 1977) used videotapes of distressed and nondistressed couples trying to verbally resolve one of their marital conflicts. The discrimination of couples into nondistressed and distressed groups was performed in a manner uncharacteristically thorough compared to most studies in today's literature. A convergence of two (instead of just one) operational definitions of marital distress was used; namely, self-report measures of marital satisfaction and the receiving-marital-therapy/not-receiving-therapy distinction. Three important aspects of the videotaped interaction were coded: (1) the content of messages; (2) the nonverbal delivery of messages by the

speaker ("affect") and the nonverbal behaviors of the listener ("content").

Findings showed that these three elements accounted for most of the variance in the classification of couples as distressed or nondistressed. Consistent with a process theory of marital satisfaction, a multivariate analysis showed that nonverbal behavior discriminated distressed from nondistressed couples better than verbal behavior. An analysis of the content of messages revealed that distressed men and women were more preoccupied with getting their own point across than listening to their spouse. This was shown by measuring the proportion of statements that were summarizing one's own position compared to the total number of summary statements one would make. Both distressed husbands and wives made statements summarizing their own point of view significantly more than satisfied spouses - who were much more likely to summarize the other person's or both people's positions.

Further support for a process theory of marital satisfaction is given by Birchler and Webb (1977) who reported very unhappily married couples having four times as many marital problem areas as the very happy couples. Why do some marriages have many more problems than others? These investigators note several possible answers. A few marriages may simply start with more problems because the

two persons are mismatched. Or some marriages may develop more problems owing to such external events as unavoidable difficulties with relatives or illness. For the majority of marriages though, Birchler (as reported by Yahraes, 1979) prefers a third explanation. He maintains that distressed couples make original problems worse or accumulate new ones because "their styles of interaction and problem-solving are ineffective, if not destructive" (Yahraes, 1979, p. 241). "The difficulty seems to lie not so much in either of the (unhappily married) partners but in the interaction" (Yahraes, 1979, p. 238).

Another perspective is provided by exchange and equity theory which suggest that marital satisfaction is maintained by the provision of rewards by both spouses. Exchange theories have shown how conflict arises when one partner in a relationship is dissatisfied with the exchange achieved. He or she may then use hostility as the ultimate bargaining move (Scanzoni, 1979). Levinson and Gottman (1983) found that distressed couples showed more reciprocity of negative affect, thus exhibiting a kind of emotional "If you hurt me, I'll hurt you" exchange.

The powerful influence and need to exchange rewards is an operating principle which has influenced the happiness of married people constantly since the beginning of time. What may not be constant is the type of resources or rewards used in these exchanges. This suggests that while the

spouses of all generations utilize the same process of achieving marital satisfaction - namely, by exchanging perceived, equal amount of rewards, the content or elements of this exchange may differ in degree or kind over the course of generations.

Additional Elements Needed for Marital Satisfaction

The empirical investigation of elements of marital adjustment has a history dating back to Hamilton's (1929) classic study. More recently, Lederer and Jackson (1968) developed a typology of couples dichotomized along the two dimensions of overt harmony and marital affect. Raush, Barry, Hertel, and Swain (1974) emphasized that absence of or engagement in conflict are not sufficient in and of themselves to indicate whether a marriage is "happy." Benerji (1982), writing from a psychoanalytic perspective, stated that occasional conjugal quarrels are not to be construed as marital disharmony:

Such quarrels have a wholesome aspect. Pent-up aggressions of the married couple, their sadistic, as well as masochistic libidinal components get an outlet through such occasional quarrels. It thus serves as a catharsis. Sometimes they seem to be deliberately sought for deriving vicarious gratification. It is for this reason that after the storm blows off, the quarrelling partners feel so sweet and come closer to each other. (p. 126)

In studying different types of close relationships (e.g., friends, coworkers, family members, etc.), Braiker

and Kelley (1979) suggested that a closer relationship having deeper commitment often requires working through, rather than avoiding conflicts. Similarly, Scanzoni (1979) argues that at a greater level of interdependence, conflict is more likely but that its resolution will lead to a higher level of rewards. More conflict is likely because members of the couple have come to rely and depend on certain aspects of the other to be supplied. Since this is a human relationship, each member inevitably fails to "come through" with his or her expected contributions. And thus, conflict results. In this light, the absence of conflict may be interpreted as a lack of interdependence. Excessive conflict may be a sign of over-dependence.

Argyle and Furnham (1983) also studied many different types of close relationships such as friends, neighbors, co-workers, and spouses. They discovered that the marital relationship was by far the most satisfying and conflictual of all the relationships. They found that "a high level of conflict is normal in marriage" (p. 492). In fact, "those relationships that produced the greatest satisfaction also had the most conflict" (p. 492). They found strong support for their view that satisfaction and conflict are entirely compatible. All of this goes contrary to a popular view that conflict is a wholly negative feature of relationships.

Influenced by psychoanalytic thought, Benerji (1982) sees marital harmony and disharmony as being heavily

influenced by the spouses' manner of resolving for basic conflicts: (1) bisexuality, (2) the Oedipus Complex, (3) sexual incompatibility, and (4) narcissism. This view is based on the fundamental assumption that the human psyche of every individual is bisexual:

The female traits in a man enable him to understand the needs and peculiarities of women. If there is a repression of these female tendencies, man becomes unsympathetic to female aspirations and cravings; and conjugal quarrels frequently break out. A corresponding situation is also true of the woman who has repressed her male traits. (p. 122)

Benerji (1982) explained the frequent marital problem of sexual jealousy as being a delusion produced by the repression of the opposite-sexed elements. In the female for example, the unconscious male element feels sexually attracted towards other females and she projects this feeling on her husband who is then imagined to be running after all sorts of beautiful women.

Additionally, the Oedipus complex, when left unresolved and fixated, becomes responsible for trouble in later married life. The husband who suffers from this complex expects the wife to behave like his mother and any deviation on the wife's part from the mother-ideal brings unhappiness, irritation, and quarrels in conjugal life.

Thirdly, sexual incompatibility is one of the most frequent causes of conjugal unhappiness. When the sex cravings of either of the spouses are not satisfied, the accumulated tension breaks out in quarrels over insignificant things. And the woman or the man who remains habitually unsatisfied is likely to develop

neurotic disorders. The release and enjoyment of a good sexual relationship smoothes away the rough edges of the minor incompatibilities that occur in every marriage and the frictions that arise in daily living. (p. 124)

The fourth factor outlined by Benerji (1982) is narcissism. The narcissistic needs of a husband or wife are believed to be gratified in harmonious conjugal life. For example, a husband may need his wife to support his masculinity by admiring his athletic prowess, intellectual capacity, or his personal charm. There is no harm in such demands usually. However, pathological narcissism of either spouse may adversely affect marital harmony. Benerji points out that excessive narcissism on the part of a woman may cause her to deny the desire to become a mother because it would bring a rival for the husband's affection. Or such a woman might think that child birth would destroy her physical form or charm.

Benerji (1982) concludes his analysis with a comparison of pre-arranged marriages of the medieval years and eastern cultures with marriages of western society which are thought to be formed out of free choice and love. He feels the latter type of marriage provides no better guarantee against marital disharmony. This is because "love marriages" (compared to designated ones) are borne out of a "what can this do for me" element which Benerji refers to as a spirit of possession rather than a spirit of self-abandonment. He wrote that happiness in marriage requires

"a generous self-abandonment, endless tolerance and gentleness, politeness of the heart" (p. 126).

The psychoanalytic framework is also employed by Miller (1983) in his discussion of what causes marital concord and discord. He wrote that the duties of a spouse are to provide the spouse with sexual pleasure, to provide the partner with encouragement to express aggression appropriately, to allay the partner's old anxieties, and to avoid mobilizing new anxieties. Each of these issues can be a source of continuing concord and gratification, or conversely, can become malignant and disrupt or destroy the marital dyad.

Another study of elements contributing to marital harmony and disharmony involved 100 divorced persons (50 husbands and their former wives) and 50 well-adjusted married couples. Kundu (1982) had subjects do the TAT and complete a marriage analysis questionnaire. His results showed significant differences between the two groups in personality characteristics. Divorced and separated individuals proved to be depressed, unambitious, easily frustrated, self-centered, introverted, emotionally dissatisfied, unrealistic, aggressive and irritable. They suffer from lack of spontaneity & drive, conflicted sexual adjustment, and poor adjustment overall.

When analyzed as a dyadic system via the eight factors of the Marriage Analysis Questionnaire, divorced and

separated couples indicated a pattern of hiding their negative feelings, repressing their frustrations, resentments and hostilities toward their marriage partner, and a feeling of being deprived from open emotional communication with the other.

Kundu (1982) presented his findings as indications that the relationship which exists between two people when they marry does not remain static. New understandings and new adjustments are required of both spouses as they confront the new challenges posed by each new stage of life. Considered as a whole however, his group of subjects presented desires to receive love, admiration, and respect from their partners.

Luckey (1964) also sought to determine the personality characteristics of happily and unhappily married persons. She had couples describe the spouse's personality on the Leary Interpersonal Checklist. Satisfied persons saw their spouses as being moderately managerial, competitive, modest, docile, cooperative, responsible. They further characterized spouses as considerate, helpful, tender, bighearted, friendly, neighborly, and warm. Unsatisfied persons saw their spouses as impatient with the mistakes of others, cruel and unkind, frequently angry, hard-hearted, gloomy, frequently disappointed, bitter, complaining, jealous, and slow to forgive.

Koslow (1982), in her "Portrait of the Healthy Couple," found that such couples have a systems orientation in that they consider themselves to be a unit in which their relationship to each other is special and of paramount importance. The healthy couple deals with boundary issues that allow them to function as a couple - apart from their children and parents. Their system also allows the spouses freedom to function as autonomous individuals. Adult sexual needs are met within the dyad. Their communication was found to be consistent and straightforward, with conflicts not going unresolved. The healthy American couple was described as having a relationship that was egalitarian and mutually supportive. Equity, individuality and happiness were higher values than maintaining control. The healthy couple is described as able to express a wide variety of emotions and propert to have a clear and shared belief system.

While the psychoanalytic researchers in particular stressed the importance of sexual fulfillment, other investigators did not find data to support the strength of this position. Compared to verbal and emotional intimacy, Tolstedt and Stokes (1983) found that physical intimacy plays only a small role in determining perceived marital satisfaction and is not an important factor in determining actions that lead toward separation and divorce. Their subjects were mostly distressed couples between the ages of

18 and 59. They inferred from the data that, "Perhaps relationships with good verbal intimacy and high levels of affective intimacy can be satisfying even when the level of physical intimacy is low" (p. 578).

Concurrent with the above finding, Yahraes (1979) reports that distressed couples gave secondary importance to sex, ranking it eighth or ninth in their list of problems. Surprisingly, among very happy couples, the problem area most frequently reported was sexual relations. The researcher believes the explanation may be that "such couples had relatively few problems, and sexual interaction can stand improvement in most marriages" (p. 238).

A physiological perspective is provided by Levenson and Gottman (1983) who sought to determine the extent to which variation in marital satisfaction could be accounted for by physiological and affective patterns between and within spouses. They compared distressed and nondistressed married couples during conflictual interactions. Using heart rate, GSR, pulse transmission time, and somatic activity from both spouses, they found strong support of their hypothesis that spouses of distressed relationships would show greater physiological interrelatedness or "linkage." Sixty percent of the variance in marital satisfaction was accounted for using measures of physiological linkage alone.

Marital Satisfaction and Gender

Elements different for men and women? Do husbands require different elements than wives in order to be satisfactorily married, and vice versa? Bernard (1972) thinks so. He concluded that, "There is by now a very considerate body of well-authenticated research to show that there really are two marriages in every union and that they do not always coincide" (p. 4).

Rhyme (1981) investigated possible gender differences in bases of marital satisfaction. Results showed that the marital quality of Canadian men and women differed in degree rather than in kind. Women were more sexually fulfilled and men were more satisfied with the spouse's help, time spent with children, and friendship. Results suggested that women place a greater emphasis on companionship. Concurrence is offered by Rettig and Bubolz (1983) whose results showed that even in contemporary society, husbands and wives value instrumental and affectional aspects of the relationship, respectively.

Rettig and Bubolz (1983) further specified how marriage meets different needs for men and women. Both men and women rank "love and affection" as the most important ingredient for a happy marriage - but while men rank sexual relations second, women put it fourth. Two hundred twenty-four married couples were given a list of nine elements for

a happy marriage and asked to rank them in order of importance, resulting in the list shown in Figure 1.

Schlesinger (1982) found that recognizing one's own needs, positive relationships with children, sharing feelings and emotions, similar life goals, and a sense of humor were given greater emphasis by women than men as being extremely important to marital adjustment.

Men and women have not made the same adjustments to contemporary shifts in sex roles. This adds an additional stressor to a marital relationship since "the likelihood of two persons agreeing in their definitions of husband - wife is very small" (Roper & Labeff, 1977, p. 114). Women are more apt to favor egalitarian and companionate relations because they offer more freedom and opportunity (Lopata, 1971). This is especially true of younger, more educated women who are experimenting with new roles, including professional careers.

Despite finding an overall shared endorsement of egalitarianism between the sexes, Holahan (1984) found that a sample of older men (average age 70) still believed that the man should wear the pants in the family, while women of the same age believed differently. Both young and old men were significantly more resistant to the idea of the wife being fully informed about the family's finances than women. Women endorsed sex-role equality to a greater extent than

| <u>Men</u> | <u>Women</u> |
|---|---|
| 1. Love & affection | 1. Love & affection |
| 2. Sexual relations | 2. Time with spouse |
| 3. Respect | 3. Respect |
| 4. Communication | 4. Sexual relations |
| 5. Time with spouse | 5. Open, honest expression of feelings |
| 6. Things to do together | 6. Closeness & belonging |
| 7. Closeness & belonging | 7. Comfort at home |
| 8. Comfort at home | 8. Communication |
| 9. Open, honest expression of feelings | 9. Things to do together |

Figure 1. Ranking of marital satisfaction elements
by males and females (Rettig & Bulbolz, 1983).

men (Holahan, 1984).

Swensen, Eskew, and Kohlhepp (1981) believed men and women also differed in what they needed to be happy in marriage because of demands external to the marriage relationship which are different for husband and wife. They reasoned that the external demands subsequently prevent the husband and wife from maintaining intimate contact with each other so that they increasingly interact with each other in stereotypic ways and become estranged from each others as individuals.

Womens' sense of marital fulfillment is more influenced by the presence of children than their husband's (Thurnher et al., 1983). The researchers wrote, "Women's greater or more immediate sense of responsibility for the welfare of family members may account for the fact that the presence or absence of children was shown to exert broader influence on reasons for divorce among women than among men" (p. 33).

While most of the relevant research indicates that husbands and wives have at least some different needs for a sense of marital fulfillment to be achieved, there are a few studies which found men and women to be essentially similar in this regard.

In studying factors which caused marital dissatisfaction and eventual divorce, Thurnher et al. (1983) found that most reasons were shared equally by both men and

women. They felt that the general similarity of the sexes was interesting and suggested that men and women may be converging in the reasons they cite for marital breakup. Their indications for androgyny were not global, however. The sex differences which did exist were found not to be random, and did point to a lingering element of traditional sex role behavior. For example, behaviors such as drinking, violent behavior, and "running around" were cited as reasons for women divorcing husbands more frequently than reasons why men divorced their wives.

The emerging expectation by researchers that husbands and wives require the same elements for adjustment in marriage is evidenced by the fact that while Terman (1938) and Locke (1951) treated the sexes differently in their questionnaires; Roach et al. (1981) and Spanier (1976) do not. Perhaps as men and women become more androgynous, there will be more evidence of less differences.

Overall satisfaction level: Women vs. men Are husbands happier than wives with their marriages, or visa versa? Three separate studies (Argyle & Furnham, 1983; Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Rhyne, 1981) found that men were more satisfied with their marriages than women.

Both sexes have been found to vary in their subjective felings according to the stage of the family life cycle. Husbands however, are less affected by the

particular stage of the family life cycle. Wives show a decrease in general marital satisfaction during the child-rearing phases (Rollins & Feldman, 1970).

Not only will the present study examine whether one sex is happier with their marriages than the other, but it will also test whether partners within the same marriage differ in their perceived level of satisfaction. Lively (1969) found that husbands and wives do not share the same level of happiness about their relationship.

Marital Satisfaction and Income Class

Elements different depending on income? The literature has reported significant class differences in marital ideologies, the upper strata characterized by egalitarianism and emphasis on the expressive and companionship dimensions of the marital relationship; the lower strata characterized by male dominance and emphasis on the fulfillment of role obligations (Fengler, 1973; Kerckhoff & Bean, 1970; Komarovsky & Phillips, 1964).

While the existence of traditional sex-role differentiation has been previously documented throughout all social classes in a previous section of this thesis, the attachment to the traditional pattern seems to be especially strong among the less educated (Osmond & Martin, 1975). Komarovsky (1964) illustrated in her study of blue-collar

families, the traditional acceptance of masculine dominance has not disappeared, but one is likely to find its weakest support among the higher educated.

Thurnher et al. (1983) found partial support for this characterization in their study of reasons for terminating marriages. They find a prevalence of such reasons as "spouse's personality," "spouse's indifference," or "lack of communication" in the higher income and educational groups as being consistent with the norms and values of such groups generally. Higher income groups also gave greater importance to the ethic of self-realization which gives priority to the pursuit of personal growth and happiness. On the other hand, the lower income and educational groups tended to mention reasons as "spouse drinking" and "spouse violent" - reasons reflective of the traditional male sex role. The application of Maslow's hierarchy of needs seems appropriate here in explaining how, with greater income, a couple's needs can (afford to) change from attending to basic instrumental needs to affective values.

Hawkins, Weisberg, and Ray (1977) examined the relationship between socioeconomic status and style of marital communication. They distinguished four styles: conventional, controlling, speculative, and contactful. On a psychological level, conventional and control styles are closed in that they minimize the importance of others' experience or are disrespectful of others' internal

realities. Speculative and contactful speech behaviors are open in the sense that they convey interest in, respect for, and validation of the internal realities of self and other. Through the speculative style, the speaker conveys a willingness to make explicit tentative verbalizations of internal realities. In addition, the speaker conveys a willingness to receive new information from the other's point of view. Controlling style, on the other hand, inhibits explicit verbalizations of internal realities by conveying a closed, even rejecting, stance toward the idea of mutual exploration of meanings. Conventional style accomplishes the same inhibition of explicit verbalization by avoiding or glossing over issues. Cocktail banter, the weather, etc. serve to maintain relationships while maintaining ignorance of the unique and private views of the speakers.

Hawkins et al. (1977) found that the higher the class level of couples, the more the contactful style is preferred and the less conventional style is preferred. The researchers found however, that no class group turned in an outstanding performance relative to the other groups. Higher status couples see both spouses as less controlling and the wives as less conventional. Despite these variations, all classes had the same general rank order of styles, suggesting that the class differences are matters of

degree rather than kind. Everyone, regardless of income class, valued talking things over calmly (speculative style) and detested a pure power orientation (controlling style). In addition, all couples, regardless of class, espoused a modern ideal of intimacy (i.e., respectful confrontation of feelings) in marital communications.

Since socioeconomic status may be thought to correlate with ethnic background, one may wonder if the elements of marital satisfaction differ depending on ethnic background. A partial answer is provided by Bean, Curtis, Russell, and Marcum (1977) who studied the effects of family size, wife's labor force participation and conjugal power on the marital satisfaction of 325 Mexican American couples. They concluded:

With few exceptions, the results parallel those generally reported for Anglo (or predominantly Anglo) samples in other studies of marital satisfaction. Husbands and wives in this sample of Mexican Americans are found to be more satisfied with the affective side of their marriages when there are fewer children present and when the conjugal power structure is more egalitarian. Consistent with the pattern often noted for working class Anglos, affective satisfaction is lower when the wife works (in the case of the husbands) or when the wife works voluntarily (in the case of wives). This latter finding, in holding only for blue collar couples, suggests that class rather than ethnicity may be a more important factor conditioning the effects of wife's employment on marital satisfaction. (p. 765)

Overall satisfaction: Income classes compared. Are the rich more likely to have happier marriages? Glick and Norton (1971) used data from the national 1967 Survey of

Economic Opportunity and found that divorce was inversely related to income and education - the more wealthy and educated had a lower frequency of divorce. Norton (1963) and Hicks and Platt (1971) found the same negative correlation between family income and divorce. Renee (1970) found that couples with low income are more likely to be dissatisfied with marriage.

Liker and Elder (1983) used data from a study on the impact of income loss during the Great Depression on marital relations and personalities. They found that economic loss produced marked declines in marital quality among middle and working class families. Suggesting that income class may not take complete precedence, "marital quality was more likely to be diminished by economic pressures when marital relations were weak before hard times" (p. 356). The personality of the husband is vital in determining the effect of tight monetary resources. "Husbands with an unstable disposition prior to the Depression were likely to become more unstable if they lost income; while calm, even tempered men remained relatively unaffected" (p. 356). The influence of this factor has carried through the 1960s as Hicks and Platt (1971) summarize in their review, "the significance of the positive relationship between the instrumental aspects of the male's role and marital happiness has been strongly demonstrated by research in this

decade" (p. 68). Spanier and Lewis (1981) however, reviewed the research of the 1970s and found much less certainty in the relationship between socioeconomic status and marital adjustment.

The present state of ambiguity is exemplified by the three following studies. On the one hand, Galligan and Bahr (1978) state, "Whether socioeconomic status is measured by income, education, occupation, or a combination of these variables does not alter the finding of a decrease in the divorce rate as socioeconomic status increases" (p.283).

On the other hand, the strength of this expectation is tempered by the findings of studies such as Glenn and Weaver (1978). Using a global measure of marital quality from three recent national surveys, they found that no aspect of socioeconomic status had a strong net relationship to marital happiness. Similarly, Jorgensen (1979) reported from his own data collection that multivariate analysis did not support earlier notions that higher levels of socioeconomic rewards lead to marriages which are any more satisfying or stable.

Marital Satisfaction and Age

Elements different depending on age? Some of the differences in elements of marital satisfaction between age groups were already presented in the opening section which described changes in marriages over previous decades. This

overlap occurs because comparing young adults to older adults invariably includes discussing "how times have changed." This confounding difficulty is dealt with in a subsequent section of this dissertation. For the present, efforts are directed toward focusing on whether the elements needed for adjustment in marriage change over the course of the life span.

A disproportionately greater increase in divorce among the middle-age group compared to younger people was found by Thurnher et al. (1983) in the 1980 U.S. Census Report. The researchers thought this indicated that the elements necessary for marital satisfaction change with age. However, a rival interpretation may be that the the elements of marital satisfaction are basically the same throughout life, but if they don't seem to have materialized after several years of trying (by middle age), then that seems like a good time to bail out before one spends the rest of one's life trying to create something that doesn't seem likely to materialize.

The salience of sexuality in the early years of marriage was assessed by Greenblat (1983). She found considerable variation in the frequency of sex during the first year of marriage among the 80 subjects she interviewed. Most couples however, experienced a decline in their rate of intercourse over the next few years which

subjects attributed to work, childrearing, fatigue, and familiarity. The author found that despite the relatively low frequencies reported at this time, subjects still considered sex to be important in marriage.

Holahan (1984) found evidence from a longitudinal and cohort analysis to suggest that men adhere more strongly to traditional sex roles in which the husband is dominant in young adult years than in the later years of marriage. Egalitarianism is additionally brought about by a change in the direction of women assuming greater masculine role behavior with advancing age. These findings are in accord with Gutmann (1977) who found evidence for changes across the adult life span such that women demonstrate increasing dominance and independence with age and men demonstrate less aggression and increasing dependence and physical affliction with age.

Stimulating common activity between spouses is one aspect of the marital relationship that decreases from the very beginning and does not recover (Rollins & Feldman, 1970).

In a longitudinal study of couples upon engagement, after five years of marriage, and then after 20 years of marriage, Pineo (1961) found that the greatest decline in satisfaction occurred in the areas of companionship, demonstrations of affection, common interests, consensus, belief in the permanence of the union.

In most cases, getting older correlates with becoming a parent. Consequently, one must include the influence of becoming a parent in the study of the course of aging on marital satisfaction. Childless couples have different needs for marital satisfaction than couples with children (Thurnher et al., 1983). The reasons for divorce differed between childless couples and parents. Spouses without children showed a greater likelihood of leaving the marriage if their own personal needs weren't being met, or if they felt too constrained; whereas spouses with children tended to cite other seemingly less self-centered reasons. For example, compared to childless women, mothers were more likely to cite behaviors and situations detrimental to the rearing of children and the harmony within the household.

Overall satisfaction: Age groups compared. Are older couples more happy or less happy than younger couples? Mixed findings are revealed by Swenson, Eskew, and Kohlhepp (1981) who examined the relationships of 776 married couples from different stages of the family life cycle. Their results showed both the amount of love expressed and the number of marriage problems declined from the first stages of marriage to the last. Perhaps this illustrates a greater passion on the part of younger couples regarding their love and differences.

Argle and Furnham (1983) found that there is more

conflict and less satisfaction for younger spouses compared to older ones, thus supporting their idea that conflicts get worked through.

Far more studies on this question however, show a steady decline in satisfaction over the course of marriage. Hicks and Platt (1971) verified this after reviewing all relevant research done in the 1960s.

In her longitudinal study of the same sample over 40 years, Holahan (1984) used an 8-item questionnaire to assess changes in marital satisfaction over the life span. Women showed a significant decrease in marital satisfaction as they aged while men showed no change.

Luckey (1966) also found a negative correlation of marital satisfaction with the number of years the subjects had been married. She also astutely observed that this finding was not confounded by a similar correlation of marital satisfaction with the subject's age.

Glass and Wright (1977) state that:

The literature on length of marriage is consistent in reporting that marital satisfaction and favorable perceptions of one's mate decrease gradually over the life cycle of the marriage, especially while children are in the home (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Bowerman, 1957; Burr, 1970; Pineo, 1961). (p. 692)

Glass and Wright (1977) analyzed the responses of 831 men and women to a "Psychology Today" sex questionnaire. The median age of males in their sample was slightly over 30 and slightly under 30 for females. Their results indicated

a negative relationship between length of marriage and marital satisfaction. The relationship was consistently linear and not curvilinear; i.e., the least satisfied were subjects in old marriages, and middle-length marriages were less happy than young marriages.

Researchers have explained these findings as indicative of a process of growing disillusionment. As the honeymoon and novelty stages of the marital relationship pass away, so too do the illusions. Reality replaces fantasies and dreams. Spouses no longer are buoyed by the hope of having many of their expectations fulfilled.

Vaillant (1978) provides some evidence which suggests that those who have healthy adaptive marriages when they're young will have happy marriages when they're older, and visa-versa. In a prospective 35 year follow-up study, he found support for the speculation that one's capacity for object relations may be a relatively stable dimension of adult personality. Similarly, a longitudinal study by Sears (1977) found that measurement of marital happiness at age 30 was a significantly accurate predictor of the same at age 62.

Rollins and Feldman (1970) found that marital satisfaction of both husbands and wives is associated with stages of the family life cycle. They rated the child-bearing and early childrearing phases as highly satisfying

and reached a low point when launching the children from home. However they found a substantial increase in marital satisfaction through the "retirement" stage with a temporary setback just before the husband retires.

The presence of children has been shown to influence marital satisfaction. The findings however, are both complex and contradictory. On the one hand, many studies have found that the presence of children appeared to reduce the risk of divorce in a family (e.g., Cohen, 1932; Willcox, 1980). Even controlled studies which compared marriages of equal duration also found divorce rates generally higher for couples with few children (Day, 1965; Jacobson, 1950; Rowntree & Carrier, 1958; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1971). Additional studies provided findings which suggested that children may increase the adjustment of couples (Elliot & Merrill, 1934; Marshall & May, 1932; Nimkoff, 1947). One explanation of this effect may be that having children requires the development of a willingness to work and sacrifice, conditions which are also likely to nurture marital satisfaction.

On the other hand, are studies which testify to the opposite effect - that having children decreases marital satisfaction. Waldron and Donald (1981) found that wives' marital adjustment was significantly lower following the birth of the first child. The birth of children can give birth to new sources of conflict and strife (Landis &

Landis, 1948). Childless couples don't have to go through what Dyer (1963) refers to as the "crisis of parenthood." Empirical evidence shows that people in the childbearing and rearing stages often report less marital adjustment than those without children (Campbell et al., 1976; Renne, 1970; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Rollins & Feldman, 1970). Possible explanations put forth are that children create conflict, intensify existing conflict, or decrease opportunities for enjoyable marital interaction.

Spanier and Lewis (1980) conclude their review of research done in the 1970s on this relationship by stating that, "most of the current evidence is congruent with the notion that the presence of dependent children in the home puts a crunch on the time, energy and economic resources of parents and results in a decrease in the marital satisfaction of parents" (p. 829).

It is important to note that the above data showing both a negative and positive relationship between marital satisfaction and having children are correlational. Even if the findings are assumed to be causal, they usually adopt the perspective of the birth of the children affecting marital satisfaction rather than the other way around. It is just as possible that the level of happiness in a marriage may determine the number of children born. Thus a dual interaction is possible. Udry (1971) offered this

hypothesis in his suggestion that marital unhappiness and conflict decrease childbearing because unhappy couples are probably less likely to want more children added to the family and also have less exposure to pregnancy because of reduced intercourse.

Perhaps rather than there being absolute relationships between children and marital satisfaction, what influences marital satisfaction most is the couple's unique desire for what they consider the ideal family size.

Other recent studies have suggested that there is a curvilinear relationship between marital satisfaction and length of marriage, such that marital satisfaction tends to decline over the early stages, levels off somewhat during the middle, and then increases in the final stages of the family life cycle (Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Rollins & Feldman, 1970).

This study as well as many others previously mentioned, have been brought under question by the methodological problem present in measuring marital satisfaction over the course of the life span. Testing only intact marriages in the later stages has a selection bias because many unhealthy relationships have dropped out of the testable population because of separation or divorce. This could result in the belief that the group of marriages tested later in the stage of the family life cycle are likely to contain a disproportionately high number of happy

marriages.

In their review of the literature however, Hicks and Platt (1977) point out something which may mitigate the suspicion that the older sample is over-represented by happy couples. They cite studies which point out that the later stages of the family life cycle, as well as the previous ones, are composed of a significant number of marriages that are highly "stable" (in the sense that spouses are not considering terminating the relationship) but which are very low on satisfaction (spouses are very unhappy with each other). The present study also reduces the selection bias by including subjects who, while having dropped out of the marriage pool at one time, are now back in it due to remarriage.

Spanier, Lewis, and Cole (1975) collected data from 1584 respondents from three different states, and found only limited support for the interpretation of curvilinearity. Spanier et al. (1975) summarized:

Whereas it is seemingly appropriate to conclude that couples report lower marital adjustment scores following the birth of their first child, and continuing through the early childhood years, current evidence does not yet warrant concluding that there is a leveling off followed by an increase in adjustment or satisfaction into the later years. (p. 271)

Hudson and Murphy's (1980) analysis of persons between the ages of 40 and 80 revealed a linear relationship with marital discord decreasing consistently (i.e.,

satisfaction increasing). Consistent with previous research however, Hudson and Murphy (1980) found that age plays a very small role in influencing marital satisfaction. Age accounted for only six percent of the variance in marital discord over the 40 year span.

Schlesinger (1983) shows the complexity of the whole relationship with his extensive review of the literature. He found that studies offered results that supported the existence of one of three possible life cycle trends: (1) a linear decline after the honeymoon period; (2) a curvilinear trend where the empty nest period is the high point because of increased independence; and (3) a "u"-shaped curve with a peak in the initial years, declining with the birth of the children, and improving once the children have left the home.

Separating Effects of Aging and Cultural Changes

In their review of a decade's worth of research, Hicks and Platt (1971) write, "A recurrent criticism of research evaluating marital happiness is that most frequently it is measured only at one point in time, thus ignoring the dynamic nature of the marital relationship" (p. 70). Ten years later, Spanier and Lewis (1980) concluded, "Since 1970, unfortunately, marital research in this area has not employed longitudinal studies; in fact, all of the family life-span studies in the 1970s have been cross-

sectional in design" (p. 829). One of the author's own studies, Spanier et al. (1975), cautioned researchers that cross-sectional methodology does not adequately account for cohort effects, age-related effects, mortality, social desirability, and other response sets. They illustrated the problem of discerning the effects of aging vs. cultural change in the following statement:

There are generational (and historical) differences which generally have not been controlled in cross-sectional studies. Those couples in the latter stages of the family life cycle were socialized, married and formed their families of procreation within a more traditional generation which was characterized by low divorce rates, and greater initial and continuing commitment to marriage regardless of dyadic and extramarital pressure to divorce. (p. 272)

In their review, Spanier and Lewis (1980) offer, "In short, it can be concluded that much of the research on the quality of marriage over the family life cycle is flawed" (p. 829).

In recent years, both developmental psychologists (Baltes, 1968; Schaie, 1965) and developmental sociologists (Riley, 1973; Ryder, 1965) have raised serious questions about the exclusive use of either cross-sectional or longitudinal approaches to describe developmental phenomena. This is interesting in light of Hicks and Platt (1971) and Spanier and Lewis' (1980) strong emphasis on the need for longitudinal studies to examine marital happiness over the life span. Rollins (1975) points out how such studies might result in longitudinal research that is no more defensible

in demonstrating developmental trends than is cross-sectional research.

Just because the developmental trend of marital satisfaction over the family life cycle for one cohort, such as those married in 1930, might be demonstrated from longitudinal data to be in the shape of an inverted "U" does not mean that a similar pattern exists for those married in 1940. Historical events (i.e., World War II) might differentially influence the developmental pattern of the two cohorts. (p. 259)

What have previous researchers done in order to try to circumvent the problems of cross-sectional research? Spanier and Lewis (1980) offer, "...despite our growing awareness of such problems, the majority of studies of marital quality over the decade did not pay any attention to such issues" (p. 827). Feldman and Feldman (1975) argued for short-term longitudinal studies which follow individuals and couples at least through critical transitions in their marriage. Espenshade and Braun (1982) attempted to solve the conflict by developing a methodology which allowed them to use cross-sectional data to study cultural changes over time. Introduced as "multistate demography," this methodology quantified transitions which all individuals went through. By measuring and summarizing the experiences of subjects, cohorts were able to be compared through their quantified characterizations. Nesselroade and Baltes (1974) used what they called a "sequential-longitudinal research design measuring cohorts of 13, 14, and 15 year olds repeatedly on personality characteristics over a three-year

period. The design enabled them to separate the effects of culture and aging when drawing conclusions.

Spanier and Lewis (1980) remark, "...the need for innovative alternatives for studying families over time becomes abundantly evident" (p. 830). The present study employs what may be considered innovative methodology in an attempt to differentiate the effects of aging vs. culture change. While it is not possible to go back in time (to perform a longitudinal study), it is possible to bring representative reflections of the culture of past generations into the present. In an attempt to make the past culture present for assessment purposes, representative instruments of marital adjustment were selected. Specifically, instruments from 1938, 1951, and 1981 were chosen after reviewing over 20 instruments from 1929 to the present. It is expected, for example, that the marital experience reflected in the 1951 questionnaire will find greatest resonance with the couples who were married at that time. It is designed as a way of testing various cohorts' degree of consonance with past generations. In other words, in the case of the 1938 instrument, it is expected that the highest degree of consonance will exist between it and the oldest cohort rather than with the youngest or middle-age cohorts.

It is a way of bringing the cultural milieu of past generations into the present in order to assess the degree

of difference between cohorts. If subjects score similarly across the three different measures (which are representative of the 1930s, 1950s, 1980s) then differences in marital quality between the cohorts are due to aging and not cultural influences. Conversely, if subjects score significantly different on the three instruments, it is considered indicative of significantly different stimuli and strongly suggests a confirmation of cultural changes since 1938.

Psychometric Changes in Questionnaires 1929 - Present

"This last decade has witnessed dramatic gains in both the technical and conceptual sophistication available for the assessment of marital discord" (Snyder & Regts, 1982, p. 736). While this true, another seemingly contrary truth is the fact that the same senior author developed a marital adjustment test in 1979 that correlated significantly with a marital adjustment test published in 1959 (Locke & Wallace, 1959). The present study seeks to determine the relevance of different-aged instruments for the sake of utility as well as validity. That this is needed is evidenced by a study done by Luckey (1960) in which she used both the Locke (1959) and Terman (1938) marital happiness scales concurrently in order to help differentiate unhappy from happy couples. However, she

failed to investigate whether the two instruments were indeed assessing the same thing. The present study seeks to determine whether marital adjustment questionnaires from previous generations are outdated or still remain valid means of assessing a couple's marital adjustment.

Scheer and Snyder (1984) proclaim that "the formal assessment of distressed couples has come to play an increasingly important role in marital therapy; its development has paralleled both conceptual and technological advances in this field" (p. 88).

Despite Scheer and Snyder's (1984) claim of technological developments in the assessment of marital satisfaction/dissatisfaction, the present study hypothesizes that the differences between questionnaires from 1938, 1951, and 1981 due to advances in psychometry, will not be so great as to interfere with the finding that they are all testing the same phenomenon, with the same basic ingredients.

It is additionally important to look at the psychometric properties of the three different instruments used in the present study because if changes are found in couples' level of marital satisfaction on the tests from 1938, 1951, and 1981, it is possible that what is being evidenced is not a cultural change in the actual elements necessary for marital adjustment, but a change in psychometricians' ability to measure those constant

elements.

The measures used in the present study are not short, two- or 10-item forms as used in some studies. Nor are they as long as those used in others (e.g., Snyder's, 1979, 280-item Marital Satisfaction Inventory). Burgess and Cottrell (1939) found empirical support for the preference of short over long questionnaires, saying:

It's interesting to note that the statement of a generalized attitude toward the marriage, such as the frequency of regretting its occurrence, should be a better index of marital unhappiness than specific complaints about one's marriage and about one's mate. This finding suggests again that the generalized attitude toward the marriage is of far more basic significance than specific concrete disagreements or complaints. (p. 55)

One psychometric consideration which has changed is the manner in which the social desirability of subjects' responses about their marriage is handled. Terman (1938) was sharply aware of the bias caused by the high need for persons to present their marital relationship as successful and happy. Upon receiving the distribution of scores shown in Figure 2 from his sample of 800 couples (which even included a group receiving marital counseling), Terman offered no apologies to those researchers who were "allergic to non-normal distributions" (p. 62). He did however, offer the following explanation for the heavily skewed distribution in which 95.4% of men and 94.4% of women felt their marriages were happier than average:

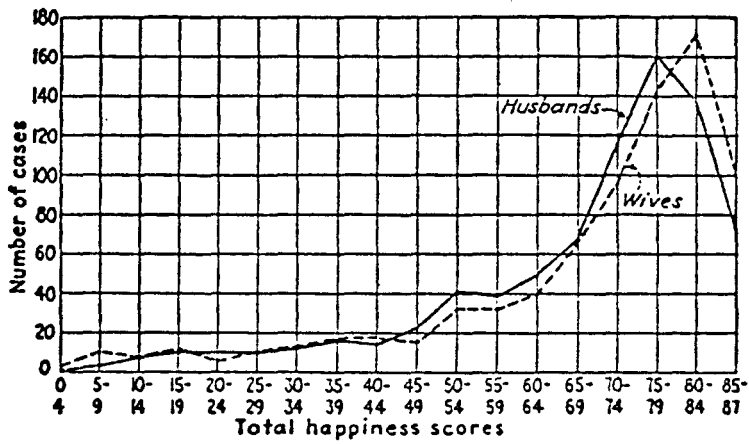


Figure 2. Terman's (1938, p. 63) graphical distribution of total happiness scores.

Marital happiness is something so greatly to be desired that the average person has a deep-seated will to believe that he has found it and a corresponding reluctance to admit the presence of any circumstance or condition which belies his faith. Where dissatisfaction has not progressed too far, so long as realities can be distorted by wishful thinking to bolster the hope that all will yet be well, the subject's responses to our questions are likely to be seriously affected. When dissatisfaction has gone beyond a given point, it may not only be admitted but its degree may even be exaggerated. We thus have a long tailing out of low happiness scores and a sudden rise in the frequency curve for happiness scores above 60. (p.66)

Since items of the questionnaire probed more for symptoms of unhappiness than for positive signs of happiness, Terman felt that a subject's high score was more an indication of his/her certainty about not being unhappy rather than a sensitive measure of the amount of happiness a person felt. As a result the Terman test (and probably Locke and Roach et al. as well) reflects a great many couples who lack many signs of negative relationships but lack the second half of the continuum which would differentiate neutral couples from those ecstatically in love with every personality characteristic exhibited by one's spouse.

Terman also attributed the skewed distribution to the fact that securing his data was contingent upon the voluntary cooperation of the subjects approached. Terman's observations about this process were verified as still true by the behavior of subjects approached to participate in the present study. Terman observed:

The challenge to submit his marriage to self-inspection and appraisal is more likely to be accepted by the happy individual. The unhappy person not unnaturally finds the scrutiny of his marriage a painful experience, and not even behind the shield of anonymity does he care to face the ordeal. (p. 64)

Terman had the additional selection bias in his sample by utilizing only data in which the husband and wife were cooperative and communicative enough with each other to return their questionnaires together. The present study avoided this selection bias by not requiring that both spouses return the questionnaire.

Despite his awareness of the influence of the social desirability factor, Terman (and for that matter Locke, 1951) did not appear to introduce any formal method of controlling it. Roach et al., (1981) made a more concerted effort to avoid constructing items which would have had a strong social desirability loading. Upon testing, their instrument did not show a significant positive correlation with a test for social desirability. However, despite Roach et al.'s (1981) attempt to control for social desirability, it is expected that subjects will still be able to sense the socially desirable direction of the questions and respond accordingly.

Such an occurrence would not invalidate the findings however. Hawkins (1966) demonstrated that social desirability, while significantly correlated with the Marital Adjustment Test (Locke & Wallace, 1959), did not

preclude the use of the test because social desirability accounted for only a small portion of the variance.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1-A: It is hypothesized that psychological elements thought to be necessary for marital adjustment have not changed since 1938. While time may have caused certain marital issues to recede or become more prominent, the elements of the interaction process necessary for a man and a woman to adjust to each other's relative position on an issue are not expected to have changed. This hypothesis is indicated by the many studies presented in the preceding section entitled, "It's the Process that Matters."

Hypothesis 1-B: It is hypothesized that a couple's level of adjustment will not differ significantly whether the criteria used are contemporary or from previous eras. This hypothesis is supported by findings discussed in the section entitled "Things Haven't Changed."

Hypothesis 1-C: It is hypothesized that marital adjustment questionnaires from previous generations are not outdated and still remain valid means of assessing a couple's marital adjustment. Thus, it is expected that scores from the 1938, 1951, and 1981 tests will all be highly and significantly correlated. The methodological implication of this is that researchers would not have to restrict their

selection of measuring instruments to "newly constructed" tests. This hypothesis is supported by recent research (Snyder, 1982) in which a new marital test was constructed in order to reflect contemporary issues facing today's married couple. It yielded results highly correlated with scores using criteria from 1959.

Note: The reason for placing the three above-stated hypotheses under the same numeral (one) with different letters, is that they are three different results drawn from the same basic analysis of the data. Put simply, that analysis involves the detection of a couple's adjustment score on one era's test which is not consistent with their performance on the other two tests, relative to other subjects. It is felt to be worthwhile to keep all these three hypotheses separate, rather than merging them or deleting one or two, because of the unique and distinct value of each conclusion drawn from the data analysis. The method of data analysis may be the same, but the implications of the results and perspective from which the results are viewed are important enough to warrant maintaining three separate hypotheses.

Hypothesis 2: It is hypothesized that young married couples will have significantly happier marriages than older couples. Although previous findings have not been precise and have pointed to the complexity of this relationship,

this hypothesis is based on Hicks and Platt's (1971) review of studies which were "consistent in showing a decline in marital satisfaction" (p. 70).

Hypothesis 3: It is hypothesized that no significant differences will exist in the way each age group (cohort) is portrayed by the different assessment criteria from 1938, 1951, and 1981. This hypothesis is aimed at answering the question, "Does a particular cohort score happier on one era's test than another?" For example, the above hypothesis would prove incorrect if young couples were the happiest age group with the 1981 test while the oldest cohort was the happiest group when the assessment criteria was from 1938.

Hypothesis 4: It is hypothesized that the perceptions of husband and wife regarding their level of satisfaction in their marriage will coincide. In other words, it is not expected that husbands and wives will differ significantly in their perceived level of satisfaction with their marriage.

Hypothesis 5: It is hypothesized that men will be no more or less adjusted in marriage than women. This corollary of Hypothesis 4 is presented because the sample includes some men and women without also including their spouses. This hypothesis is also of interest because its investigation may reveal whether one era's test shows more difference between

the sexes than another era's.

Hypothesis 6: It is hypothesized that low income married couples will show significantly less satisfaction in their marriages than high income couples, and possibly than middle income couples. This is based on many previous studies (e.g., Galligan & Bahr, 1979; Hicks & Platt, 1971) and the belief that financial concerns significantly stress the couple's process of relating with each other in satisfying ways.

In addition to the formal testing of the hypotheses of the current study, other analyses will be done. The relationship of marital satisfaction to other demographic variables such as length of marriage, education, religion, and age at marriage will be investigated. Further, the subjects' answers to the following open-ended question, "Please list what you think are elements of a satisfying marital relationship, " will be analyzed. This evaluation is exploratory; although it is hypothesized that most of the spontaneously listed factors will refer to timeless necessities of a rewarding process of interaction.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Design

This study employed the following 3 x 2 x 3 x 3 factorial design with the last factor being repeated measures within subjects. The respective variables are age (three cohorts), sex, income (high, middle, and low bracket), and era of test (1938, 1951, 1981). The variable of education was held constant by selecting only those subjects who had completed a high school education. Figure 3 provides a graphic illustration of the design of the present study.

Subjects

Subjects were drawn from the general population. No couples known to be receiving counseling were used. Subjects resided in six southern California cities (San Bernardino, San Diego, Riverside, Colton, Pasadena, and Redlands). More than enough completed, usable

| | | | Terman (1938) | Test Locke (1951) | Roach et al. (1981) |
|----------------|--------------|----|---------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| male N=54 | Age 54-73 | H | | | |
| | | M | | | |
| | | iL | | | |
| | Age 36-53 | H | | | |
| | | M | | | |
| | | iL | | | |
| | Age 19-35 | H | | | |
| | | M | | | |
| | | L | | | |
| female N=54 | Age 54-73 | H | | | |
| | | M | | | |
| | | iL | | | |
| | Age 36-53 | H | | | |
| | | M | | | |
| | | iL | | | |
| | Age 19-35 | H | | | |
| | | M | | | |
| | | L | | | |

Figure 3. Graphic illustration of the design of the present study. (One hundred and eight subjects were represented by equal numbers of males and females; equally represented by three different age groups (19-35, 36-53, 54-73); and equally represented by high, middle, and low income brackets. All subjects responded to the three marital satisfaction tests (Terman, 1938; Locke, 1951; Roach et al., 1981).

questionnaires were obtained (319) in order to obtain the stratified quota sample of 108 subjects along the variables of age, income level, education and gender. Subjects' placement in their particular strata was determined by their answers to questions on the background information sheet. Having an excess of subjects in almost all of the prescribed conditions afforded the opportunity to be sure the full range within each age group was represented and the mean age of the selected subjects in each approximated the mid-way mark in each group. For example, the mean age of subjects in the 19-35 age group is 26.5. Since this objective was frequently served by many possible subjects, random selection determined which subjects would be used for the analysis. Randomization was done by shuffling the blank envelopes containing the questionnaires and picking a playing card with a possible number from one to ten. The playing card number determined the numbered envelope selected for the analysis. When needed, this process was repeated. The entire selection process was done of course, prior to examining their responses on the marital satisfaction questionnaires.

Fifty-four males and fifty-four females were studied. Three age cohorts were represented by an equal number of subjects; 36 Ss in each cohort. The age groups were 19 - 35; 36 - 53; and 54 - 73.

Subjects' economic status was represented by income

level. The importance of this variable is supported by a probability sample of 6,928 persons by Renee (1970). In her analysis of socioeconomic correlates of marital satisfaction, she concluded, "Income is more closely related to marital dissatisfaction than is either education or occupation, probably because it has an independent and very concrete impact on a couple's daily life" (p. 61). Couples' income bracket were determined by the combined gross income of husband and wife for 1983. An equal number of subjects - 36, represented each income bracket. Low income families grossed \$21,999 or less annually, middle income families \$22,000 - \$33,999, and high income families \$34,000 or more. In an effort to compose a homogeneous sample of subjects in terms of educational level, only those subjects who completed a high school education or beyond were selected for the study. Sixty-one percent of the wives in the sample were employed at least part-time; and 41% of the wives worked full-time (30 hrs. or more). Subjects ranged from being married six months to 50 years.

The religious affiliation by percent of the total sample was: 22% Protestant; 53% Catholic; 1% Jewish; 6% Mormon; and 18% Other.

The races by percent of the sample were represented in the following way: 73% Caucasian; 7% Black; 2% Oriental; 16% Hispanic; 2% Other.

Eighty percent of the sample was composed of husband/wife pairs, thus providing a worthwhile basis for examining differences between the perceptions of husband and wife. Twenty percent of the subjects were respondents whose spouse did not participate in the study. An analysis of variance showed that there was no significant difference between the satisfaction level of husband/wife pairs and lone respondents, $F(1, 106) = 3.45, p = .07$. The source of this near significant statistical difference is evident from a more specific examination which showed lone respondents in the older age group revealing significantly less marital satisfaction ($M = 181$) than couples ($M = 213$) in the same age group, $F(5, 102) = 2.32, p < .05$. The young and middle-aged groups contained no significant difference between subjects whose spouse participated vs. subjects whose spouse did not participate.

Measures

Every effort was made through a comprehensive review of the literature to select instruments which were representative of marital adjustment tests of that particular time period. (Twenty instruments which were reviewed appear in the "List of Published Measures of Marital Adjustment" in Appendix B.) Not by accident, the ones chosen were also some of the most reliable and valid instruments in use at that time. They were and still are

frequently cited as landmarks in today's literature. The search for instruments was limited to those measures which directed their inquiry primarily into the psychological (rather than sociological) factors that influence marital satisfaction. By focusing on the interpersonal dynamics and interaction between the husband and wife, the selected tests will yield information about the psychological aspects which contribute to a happy marriage. What follows is a description of each individual instrument and additional rationale for its selection:

Marital Satisfaction Scale developed by Arthur Roach, Larry Frazier, and Sharon Bowden (1981). This 48-item scale was recently developed by the authors in order to "generate new items ... that were fresh and not drawn from the traditional item pool used by Locke and Wallace" (p. 540). Research results indicate that this instrument has very high internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .97). Roach et al. substantiate the concurrent validity of their instrument with a concurrent validity coefficient of .78 with the brief Marital Adjustment Test (Locke & Wallace, 1959). Discriminant validity is significant to the $p < .0001$ level, and test-retest reliability is significant ($r = .76$). Precautions were also taken in the construction of the Marital Satisfaction Scale to insure that it had a "low degree of contamination with social desirability" (p. 537).

Marital Adjustment Test - A Modified Version

developed by Harvey Locke (1951). This is considered a 22-item or 44-item test depending on whether one counts a 22-item checklist as one question or 22 questions. For the purpose of clarity, the present study will refer to it as a 44-item test. It is an improved version of an instrument previously tested by Locke within the same publication. Scores are derived by adding weights assigned by the author to test answers. There are separate systems of weights for men and women. Evidence of concurrent validity is provided. (Test scores correlated significantly with outside judges' ratings of marriages of happily married persons and divorced persons.) The credibility of Locke's assessment of marital adjustment is widely respected and even today continues to be relied upon. Snyder (1979) stated that a shorter version - the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test, "currently remains the most frequently used criterion of marital satisfaction" (p. 814).

Marital Happiness Index developed by Lewis Terman (1938). The total adjustment score of a given subject is the sum of the weights corresponding to his/her individual responses. The items were selected and weighted on the basis of internal consistency item analysis. While Terman sampled a California population, Kelley (1939) found Terman's weights and questions to be valid for a population

in New England. Three sources of content validity are presented: (1) subjects who were classified as grouchy, touchy, critical, rebels against orders, or unconventional in their attitudes toward religion, drinking, sex and so forth on the basis of personality tests had lower marital happiness scores than others; (2) 15 couples being counseled for marital difficulties all had scores more than one standard deviation below the mean; and (3) divorced couples scored significantly lower than married couples (Terman & Wallin, 1949). The scores of husbands and wives correlated .60. Like Locke (1951) who scores men and women differently, Terman's test has a separate section for husbands and another different section to be filled out by wives. There are nine general items used, but when their specific parts are counted, the total happiness score of husbands utilizes the answers to 75 questions and that of wives the answers to 71. Contributing to the appeal that led to the selection of this particular instrument is : (1) the fact that it is the earliest objective testing instrument measuring marital satisfaction, and (2) it was developed within the context of a thorough and landmark 474-page study of "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness." Snyder (1979) offers this summary, "Representative of research of this period is the extensive study by Terman (1938) in which several hundred factors were correlated with the degree of marital satisfaction experienced by more than

1,000 married and 100 divorced couples" (pp. 813-814).

Each subject was also asked to complete the following open-ended question, "Please list what you think are elements of a satisfactory marital relationship."

Procedure

In order to obtain the intended stratified sample, subjects were volunteers drawn from a variety of sources such as county employees, a city college, church organizations, an employment service, and civic organizations. A peer-solicitation procedure was also used to increase sample size as well as the diversity of the sample. In many cases, this meant that participating couples solicited the participation of other couples for the research project. The use of this procedure provided additional heterogeneity to the process of sampling already-assembled groups.

Subjects were introduced to the project by being told of the research purposes of the questionnaires. Each potential subject was given a stamped, pre-addressed envelope containing two sets of questionnaires (one for each spouse). Out of 875 questionnaires, 319 were returned for a 36% response rate. This is considered a good rate of return for questionnaires returned through the mail (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz & Sechrest, 1966). Also, it should be remembered that each lack of response represented not one,

but two unreturned questionnaires. The verbal and non-verbal reaction of many respondents and non-respondents indicated that the low response rate might be explained in part by the unpleasantness of having to evaluate one's marriage in a very concrete way and then making one's anonymous evaluation available to the scrutiny of an outside party (the researcher).

The first page of each questionnaire set explained the purpose of the project, gave assurance of the anonymity of their responses, gave directions, and a way for the subject to acknowledge his/her informed consent. (See "Marital Satisfaction" in the Appendix.) Subjects were instructed on the necessity of completing the questionnaires independently, without any collaboration.

The order of the tests was systematically varied so that each test was filled out the same number of times in each position of the three-step sequence. (There are six different combinations for ordering the tests.) The questions from each questionnaire were presented in its original, unaltered form. Average completion time for the questionnaire packet was about 40 minutes.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Elements of Marital Adjustment 1938 - Present

The present study proposed three separate hypotheses relating to the question of whether elements needed for marital adjustment have changed since 1938. As mentioned in the Method section however, the verification of these three hypotheses involved the same statistical comparisons. The statistical procedure for this analysis is presented fully in the first of these hypotheses.

Have elements changed? (Hypothesis 1-A) It was hypothesized that psychological elements thought to be necessary for marital satisfaction have not changed since 1938. To test this, all 108 subjects completed three marital satisfaction questionnaires developed in 1938, 1951, and 1981. The underlying assumption is that each of the questionnaires reflects the elements thought to be important for marital adjustment during that particular era. A total

marital satisfaction score for each subject was computed using the original author's scoring method. The results of the correlational analysis indicated that the raw scores of subjects' responses on all three marital satisfaction questionnaires were highly and significantly correlated.

As Figure 4 illustrates, subjects' marital satisfaction scores from the 1938 questionnaire correlated significantly with their scores on the 1981 questionnaire ($r = .89$; $p < .0001$). The results from the 1938 instrument correlated highly and significantly with the results of the 1951 instrument ($r = .91$, $p < .0001$). The 1951 and 1981 tests correlated to a similar extent ($r = .88$, $p < .0001$).

This shows that subjects who scored high on one era's test, scored the same high level of marital satisfaction on another era's test. The tests also discriminated similarly at the other end of the spectrum with unhappily married spouses exhibiting equivalent levels of maladjustment on all three instruments.

The extremely high correlations among the three instruments support the conclusion that elements needed for marital adjustment have not changed substantially since 1938. This realization is made clearer by imagining the opposite result. For example, if highly satisfied persons according to Roach et al. (1981) criteria scored only average or low satisfaction scores on the Terman (1938) test, relative to the other subjects, then the evidence

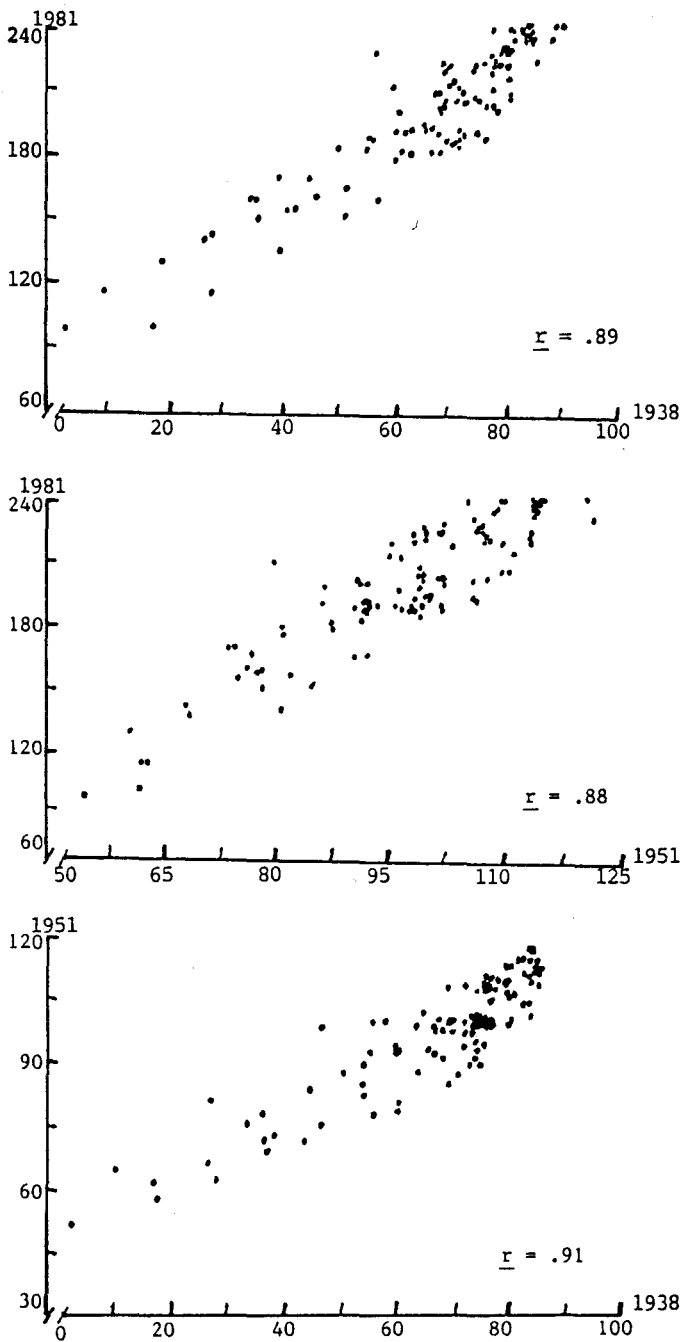


Figure 4. Subjects' Marital Satisfaction raw scores on 1938 & 1981 instruments; 1951 & 1981 instruments; and 1938 & 1951 instruments, respectively (beginning with top graph).

would suggest the instruments give different consideration to the variables thought to be necessary for marital satisfaction. However, such was not the case illustrated by the results of the present study. Instead, the necessary criteria for marital adjustment are represented to an equal extent by the 1938, 1951, and 1981 tests.

Further equivalence among the three measures is illustrated by the fact that separate ANOVA for all three measures produced the same pattern of results for all the variables considered. Equivalence between the present 1984 Southern California sample and Terman's 1938 Southern California sample is shown by the latter's mean happiness scores for men and women of 68 and 69 respectively, while the former had very similar means of 66 and 67 for men and women respectively. The difference between the two samples' means is not significant considering that Terman's standard deviations were 17 and 19 respectively. Another dynamic shared by both samples is the fact that husband and wife scores correlated to about the same extent ($r = .59$ in 1938 and $r = .52$ in 1984 using a 1981 questionnaire).

Level of adjustment and criteria used. (Hypothesis 1-B) It was hypothesized that a couple's level of adjustment would not differ significantly whether the criteria used are contemporary or from previous eras. The perspective offered by this area of inquiry considers the

individual. It asks whether one individual's level of marital adjustment will differ depending on whether the assessment criteria is the 1938 test, 1951 test, or 1981 test. The results shown in Figure 4 demonstrate that an individual's level of adjustment as assessed by the 1981 questionnaire will correspond significantly with the individual's adjustment level on the 1951 and 1938 tests ($r = .88, p < .0001$ and $r = .89, p < .0001$ respectively). Similarly, a married person's adjustment level was measured equivalently by the 1938 and 1951 tests ($r = .91, p < .0001$). Thus, confirmation is provided for the hypothesis that a couple's level of adjustment does not differ significantly whether the criteria used are contemporary or from previous eras.

Previous questionnaires outdated? (Hypothesis 1-C)

It was hypothesized that marital questionnaires from previous generations are not outdated and still remain valid means of assessing a couple's marital adjustment. This hypothesis focused on the important methodological implication of using marital satisfaction from other than contemporary years to assess current marriages.

Again, the results illustrated in Figure 4 show the remarkable similarity of the three instruments. The 1981 test correlated highly and significantly with the 1938 and 1951 tests ($r = .89, p < .0001$ and $r = .88, p < .0001$ respectively). Also, the 1938 and 1951 tests produced

results which correlated highly ($r = .91, p < .0001$).

Normally, another test of the equivalency of the three tests would be the equivalence of their means and standard deviations. However, since the three measures had different ranges of possible scores, standardizing the scores would have produced equivalency as a meaningless artifact.

Equivalency between the three tests is established however by the analysis of variance. In a separate ANOVA for each test, all three measures produced equivalent main effects, interactions, and trends for the major variables of this study.

Thus, while many current researchers continue to expend much energy and effort towards developing "current, up-to-date" marital satisfaction questionnaires, the present analysis suggests that such efforts and resources appear not to be necessary. Questionnaires from 1938 and 1951 yield near identical overall assessments of a couple's marital satisfaction as the 1981 instrument. Although contemporary marital satisfaction questionnaires are not required for an accurate assessment of marital happiness, current up-to-date material may add to the motivation of the people taking the test. It may make the test-taking experience more meaningful for them.

Marital Satisfaction and Age (Hypothesis 2)

It was hypothesized that marital satisfaction would

vary over the life span such that young married couples would have significantly happier marriages than older couples. To test this (and all subsequent hypotheses in this study as well), a three factor complex analysis of variance (ANOVA) with repeated measures was employed. The repeated measures were the three marital satisfaction questionnaires which all subjects completed. Each testing instrument was represented by a total score for each subject. High scores indicate higher levels of satisfaction than lower scores. The ANOVA considered the effect of age over all three instruments combined. The age groups had the following average marital satisfaction score: young, age 19-35 ($\underline{M} = 119.6$); middle, age 36-53 ($\underline{M} = 114.7$); older, age 54-73 ($\underline{M} = 126.7$).

Overall ANOVA revealed a significant difference between the marital satisfaction scores of the three age groups, $F(2, 90) = 3.13, p < .05$. The oldest group (age 54-73) is clearly and consistently the most satisfied in their marital relationships. The next happiest group is the young adults (age 19-35), and the most unhappy group is the middle-aged (36-53).

As evidenced by the means listed above, marital satisfaction varies in curvilinear way over the course of the life span. On a relative scale, young married persons show moderate happiness, hit the bottom of marital

discontent during their middle years, and by the advanced years of life have risen past their original point of happiness to reach the highest level of marital satisfaction in their life. All three instruments showed the same trend for the middle-aged to be the most unhappy, the oldest group to be the happiest, and the youngest group to be in between. (It is important to remember that this analysis is for people overall and does not differentiate the sexes which actually show variations in this pattern. These findings will be presented in the results on Hypothesis 5.)

The analysis of variance allows us to conclude that the difference between middle-aged and older subjects is significant. A Least Significant Difference (LSD) test was applied to see if any other comparisons between age groups were significant (LSD = 9.60 for 90 degrees of freedom when $p < .05$). The result of these tests revealed that the young group was not significantly more satisfied with their marriages than the middle-aged or significantly less satisfied than the older group. The widest and significant difference exists between the oldest group and middle-aged persons.

Cohort Satisfaction as a Function of Criteria (Hypothesis 3)

It was hypothesized that no significant differences exist in the way each age group (cohort) is portrayed by the different assessment criteria from 1938, 1951, and 1981.

While Hypothesis 2 looked for an age effect across all three tests, the present hypothesis is concerned with a test by age interaction. If such an interaction exists, cohorts would differ as to which measures they score happiest on. Or, the tests might even disagree on who they portray as the happiest age group. To test this, a three factor ANOVA with the tests used as a repeated measures within-subjects variable was employed. As with the entire ANOVA in this study, raw test scores were used.

The hypothesis was confirmed and no significant test by age interaction occurred, $F(4, 180) = 1.88$; whereas $F(4, 180) = 2.43$ when $p = .05$. Additional analysis was provided by performing a Least Significant Difference test on each age group's performance to see if any instrument portrayed the couples in a significantly different manner (LSD = 4.5 when $p < .05$). As can be seen in Figure 5, any cohort's performance did not vary by 4.5 points or more across the three different measures.

For ease of visual comparison, subjects' raw scores were standardized according to the z-score method and are presented by cohort in Figure 5. The raw score mean of each test for all subjects was set to zero. Any score above zero may be considered happy. Any score below zero may be considered to reflect marital happiness. As can be seen in Figure 5, each cohort is portrayed in essentially the same manner by the 1938, 1951, and 1981 tests. In other words,

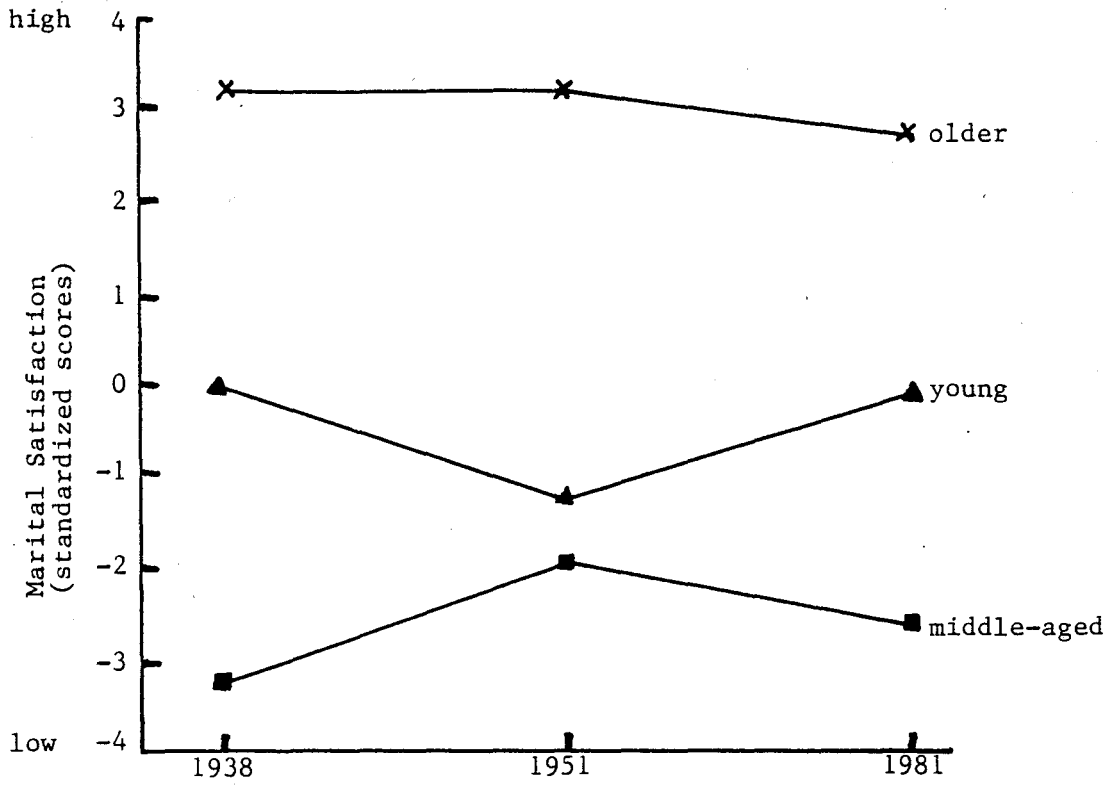


Figure 5. The three age groups' average marital satisfaction scores on the 1938, 1951, and 1981 tests.

the older group did not feel any more "at home" with the 1938 test criteria than with the 1981 test. Nor did the young group react any differently to contemporary criteria (1981) than to criteria for marital adjustment established before they were born.

With all three measures, the rank order of the cohorts is the same. It doesn't matter which test is used; the oldest group is happiest, the middle-aged group is the most unhappy, and the young group is somewhere in between them.

As can be seen in Figure 5 however, the treatment by the three different tests is not exactly the same. The 1938 and 1981 tests produce results that are extremely similar. There's something different however, about the 1951 test. And the difference affects the young and middle-aged groups, not the older group. The 1951 test allows the middle-aged to score slightly happier than the other two tests; and makes the younger group appear less satisfied than with the 1938 and 1981 criteria. While this differential treatment exists with the 1951 test, it does not approach significance as evidenced by the non-significant test by age F value of 1.88. Thus it is reasonable to assume these are chance fluctuations due to sampling rather than any real differences in the test population.

Similarity of Husband and Wife Perceptions (Hypothesis 4)

It was hypothesized that the perceptions of husband and wife regarding their level of satisfaction in their marriage would coincide. Given the fact that all the tests correlate highly with each other, and for the sake of parsimony, only the 1981 questionnaire was used as the criteria for testing this hypothesis. Also, it represents the milieu in which all the subjects currently feel adjusted or not adjusted. Only subjects whose spouse also participated in the study were used for this analysis ($n = 82$). In other words, the 46 subjects whose spouse did not participate in the study were not used in this analysis.

This hypothesis was tested and confirmed by both correlational and t -test analysis. In the 41 couples used for this analysis, the marital satisfaction scores of husbands and wives correlated significantly, $r = .52$, $p < .001$. However for this to be meaningful, it should be known how much scores from stranger dyads correlate. Previous research such as Locke (1951) did not report this basis for comparison. To determine this, a spouse was paired with a randomly selected opposite-sexed, non-spouse. Several randomized compositions of stranger men and women dyads were drawn up, and the correlation between the man and woman's score averaged to zero. Since the randomized correlation is essentially equal to zero, the correlation between husband/wife pairs as stated above remains significant ($p <$

.001).

The present hypothesis was also tested by comparing the mean absolute difference between husband and wife scores ($\underline{M} = 24.4$) and the mean absolute difference between randomly matched pairs of men and women ($\underline{M} = 38.1$). The two measures of disparity were found to be significantly different, $\underline{t}(60) = 2.94$, $p < .01$. Husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction scores were significantly closer to each other than the scores of randomly paired men and women. In summary, both correlational and \underline{t} -test analysis provided confirmation for the hypothesis that husbands and wives share basically the same degree of contentment or discontent about their marital relationship.

Adjustment Level and Sex Difference (Hypothesis 5)

It was hypothesized that men would be no more or less adjusted in marriage than women. All 108 subjects were included in this analysis of variance. In testing the main effect for sex, the subjects' rating across all three measures was combined.

No significant difference was found in the marital satisfaction ratings of males and females, $\underline{F}(1, 90) = 0.21$; whereas $\underline{F}(1, 90) = 3.96$ when $p = .05$. Similarly, an analysis of variance which considered each testing instrument alone, showed that the difference between the sexes was minute and did not even approach significance.

A close inspection of the data reveals trends toward sex differences at certain stages of the life span, but the direction of the sex difference reverses and thus cancels itself out. In the younger years, females are somewhat happier than males ($\underline{M} = 125$ vs. 115 , respectively). Females are still slightly happier than males in the middle years ($\underline{M} = 117$ vs. 113 , respectively). However, this trend is negated in the later years with males showing greater happiness than females ($\underline{M} = 131$ vs. 122 , respectively).

However, none of these within age-group sex differences are significant. This was verified by employing a Least Significant Difference test. As evidenced by comparing the means listed above, no difference equaled the LSD of 13.5 when $p < .05$. This was also verified by an overall analysis of variance for a sex by age interaction which proved to be non-significant, $F(2, 90) = 1.91$, $p = .16$; whereas $F(2, 90) = 3.11$ when $p < .05$.

Although the sex by age interaction is not significant, the trend may be worth discussing. Females show relative constancy in their marital satisfaction over the life span (a range of eight points) while men exhibit high variability over the life span (a fluctuation of 18 points). It's primarily the males who made the overall age difference (Hypothesis 2) significant. Men start out their younger years being moderately happy ($\underline{M} = 115$), hit an all-time low in the middle years ($\underline{M} = 113$), and then rocket into

marital bliss in the later years ($\bar{M} = 131$). The females contributed very little to the difference between age groups. For example, although the oldest age group was clearly the happiest, this was mostly due to the men being highly satisfied while the older women were moderately happy ($\bar{M} = 131$ vs. 122, respectively). The happiest group among females, although only by a slight amount, is actually the young group ($\bar{M} = 125$).

While these trends are interesting, overall analysis indicated that one sex was not significantly more adjusted in their marriages than the other sex.

Adjustment Level and Income Class (Hypothesis 6)

This inquiry investigated the relationship between income class and marital happiness. Renee (1970) substantiated the validity of income status representing socioeconomic status. It was hypothesized that low income married couples show significantly less satisfaction in their marriages than high income couples, and possibly than middle income couples. Income class was determined by the couple's total combined gross income of husband and wife for 1983. Couples in the low income bracket had a combined gross family income of \$21,999 or below; middle income group grossed between \$22,000 and \$33,999; and the high income class grossed \$34,000 or more. An equal number of subjects ($\underline{n} = 36$) represented each class.

Across all three testing instruments, the average satisfaction score for the various income classes was: high income ($\bar{M} = 117$), middle income ($\bar{M} = 120$), and low income ($\bar{M} = 124$). An analysis of variance was performed and found no significant difference between income groups in terms of their marital happiness ($F(2, 90) = 0.93$; whereas $F(2, 90) = 3.11$ when $p < .05$). Analysis of variance on each separate instrument also found no significant effect. Not only was the hypothesis of the present study not confirmed, but a trend in the opposite direction was found. An inspection of the overall means listed above, as well as a small but significant correlation between income level and marital satisfaction on the 1951 test ($r = -.19$, $p < .05$) indicate a surprising trend for marital satisfaction to improve as a couple's income decreases. All three instruments showed a slight trend for low income people scoring happiest, middle income second happiest, and high income scoring lowest.

Despite this trend, the overall analysis showed no difference between income classes in their level of marital satisfaction. No comparisons even approached significance. That income was not an influential factor is further substantiated by the fact that statistically ignoring the different levels of income among subjects made no difference in the other findings of the present study. These results point to the conclusion that for this sample,

income level makes very little and no noteworthy difference in contributing to one's marital happiness and adjustment.

Other Variables and Marital Adjustment

The relationship of other variables to marital satisfaction was also explored. One such planned investigation was whether or not married persons who had children living at home were more or less satisfied than persons who did not. A t -test which dicotomized the variable of "number of children at home" revealed that married persons who had no children currently living at home ($n = 53$) were not significantly different in their level of marital satisfaction than married persons who had one or more children living at home ($n = 55$), $t(106) = 1.59$, $p = .24$. Only the 1981 questionnaire was used for this analysis.

As is evident from the p value however, there was a trend for those without kids at home to be happier ($M = 203$) than those with kids at home ($M = 193$). This trend existed for both males and females, although to a greater extent for males. A significant, negative correlation ($r = -.21$, $p < .05$) adds confirmation to the tendency for marital satisfaction to go down as the number of children living at home goes up.

Additional analysis provides specificity to the nature of this relationship. Having children at home

influences marital satisfaction in different ways depending on the age group. This showed up in a significant interaction between age and having children at home, $F(5, 102) = 2.38, p < .05$. Young couples (males and females combined) are happier with no children at home. There is very little difference in the level of marital happiness between couples with children at home and those without during the middle years. The pattern reverses in older age, when couples with kids at home are happier than couples who have no kids at home. In this analysis, the happiest group was older couples with children at home and the most unhappy group was young couples with children at home.

In considering other variables, level of education was not significantly related to marital satisfaction as measured by the 1981 and 1951 tests. However level of education had a low, but significant correlation with the results of the 1938 test, $r = .19, p < .05$.

Other than the ones already reported, no other variables were significantly related to marital satisfaction. Other interesting relationships which are reported for the interest of future demographic researchers follow: Females got married earlier than males ($r = .33, p < .01$). The older subjects were, the less hours they were employed ($r = .57, p < .01$). The more education one had, the more hours he/she was employed ($r = .28, p < .01$). The more education one had, the more income one made ($r = .32, p <$

.01). There was no evidence to support the belief that younger adults have more education than adults in the older cohort ($r = -.15$, NS). Those with higher education did marry at a later age than the less educated ($r = .51$, $p < .01$). Those who married at an earlier age are earning less than those who married at a later age ($r = .25$, $p < .01$).

The Subjects' View of Necessary Elements

In addition to responding to the structured questionnaires developed by marriage researchers, subjects were given the opportunity to present their own views on the elements thought to be the most important for adjustment in marriage. This was done by asking subjects to respond to the following open-ended question, "Please list what you think are elements of a satisfactory marital relationship."

One hundred and eight subjects spontaneously listed 62 different elements. Seven of those listed were combined with other elements because of their very similar meaning. Most subjects named more than one factor. The 10 most frequently cited elements needed for marital satisfaction are shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6 also shows how the various age groups agreed or differed in the top seven elements they listed as most important for marital satisfaction. Only seven are listed because of the diminishing frequency with which elements were cited.

| rank order | <u>All Subjects</u> | | <u>Young</u> | | <u>Middle</u> | | <u>Older</u> | |
|---------------|--|--|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | # of <u>Ss</u> citing this element | | # of <u>Ss</u> citing element | | # of <u>Ss</u> citing element | | # of <u>Ss</u> citing element |
| 1. | Communication | (48) | Communication | (12) | Communication | (20) | Trust | (11) |
| 2. | Trust | (38) | Trust | (11) | Respect | (18) | Respect | (10) |
| 3. | Respect | (38) | Understanding | (11) | Trust | (16) | Communication | (9) |
| 4. | Love | (35) | Respect | (10) | Love | (16) | Love | (9) |
| 5. | Understanding, Acceptance, & Compassion | (23) | Love | (10) | Understanding | (9) | Friendship | (5) |
| 6. | Give & Take, Flexibility Sacrifice & Compromise | (16) | Friendship | (8) | Religious Beliefs | (6) | Give & Take | (5) |
| 7. | Friendship & Companionship | (15) | Religious Beliefs | (7) | Honesty | (6) | Loyalty & Faithfulness | (4) |
| 8. | Religious Beliefs | (15) | | | | | | |
| 9. | Honesty | (12) | | | | | | |
| 10. | Same Goals in Life | (11) | | | | | | |

Figure 6. The 10 most important elements for marital adjustment as listed by 108 subjects (left column). Also, the seven most important elements listed by the different age groups.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Elements of Marital Adjustment 1938 - Present

The first three hypotheses of this study (Hypotheses: 1-A, 1-B, & 1-C) investigated whether there have been significant changes in the process needed for marital adjustment since 1938. The results showed that criteria for marital satisfaction from 1938, 1951, and 1981 questionnaires were highly and significantly correlated. What this high correlation means is that all three tests measure the same thing. Further equivalency among the three measures is illustrated by the fact that the separate ANOVA for all three measures produced the same pattern of results for all the variables combined. Some similarity between the samples of married couples from 1938 and 1984 was also demonstrated through their mean happiness scores being very similar when assessed by 1938 criteria. While the questions of the three instruments may be worded differently, the factors which

determined their overall level of marital happiness relate to the essential dynamics needed for marital adjustment to the same extent.

The elements needed for a measure of marital satisfaction have not undergone significant or fundamental modifications. One way changes would have shown up is by scores on one test being significantly higher or lower than the other tests. This could have occurred if one test asked about a particular problem area but another test gave couples no such opportunity to express their discontent in this area. Changes would have also been evident if a negative correlation had been found between two instruments. This would have been exemplified by subjects who scored high with the 1981 criteria scoring low with the 1938 test, and subjects scoring low on the 1981 test scoring high on the 1938 test. But such was not the result. If there have been changes in what it takes to be happily married, these fluctuations have not been significant. It did not matter which era's criteria was utilized, the results were the same.

Couples who scored highly adjusted using 1981 criteria were also highly adjusted according to criteria of 1938 and 1951. Since couples scored the same no matter which era's criteria was used, it can be concluded that couples who have happy marriages according to today's criteria would probably have had happy marriages if they

lived in the 1930s and 1950s. Similarly, those who are unhappy in their marriage today would have been unhappy in their marriage during previous eras.

One may ask, how this can be so. The present study found support for the view that it's primarily what is inside a marriage, and not so much outside in the environment, that influences marital satisfaction. This study joins the many cited in the Review of the Literature which illustrate the vital impact of the interaction process between husband and wife. While time may have caused certain marital issues to recede or become prominent, the importance of the interaction process necessary for a man and a woman to adjust to each other's relative position on an issue appears to remain. These findings have supported the major thesis of this study; to a great extent it is the interaction process between spouses which determines the extent of marital satisfaction rather than the specific elements which are considered.

While the content of some elements appears to change, the essential dynamics needed to bring about marital harmony probably have remained constant. In other words, it seems likely what is at the heart of the process of adjusting in marriage, has remained substantially the same since 1938. Such interactional factors are evident in the subjects' own spontaneous listing of the most important elements needed

for marital satisfaction: communication, trust, and respect.

The findings of the present study have implications for the methodological process of assessing marital satisfaction. The supposed improvements that recent developers have made by adding "contemporary" criteria to the assessment of overall marital satisfaction make no difference in reflecting how adjusted today's couples are. The inclusion of so-called "new" elements makes no significant improvement in measuring marital satisfaction. It is not that these new factors are unimportant, but they do not significantly alter our ability to assess marital satisfaction overall.

The 1938 and 1951 tests are as valid as the 1981 test in measuring marital adjustment. Even if some of the content elements in the tests are different, the criteria in the 1938 and 1951 tests remain as valid, operative, and alive in determining the amount of satisfaction as the criteria in the 1981 test. In other words, those elements in the 1938 test and 1951 test, even if they are slightly different, are to be given equal consideration to the 1981 elements when determining what elements contribute to an assessment of the adjustment process in marriage.

The elements of marital satisfaction have not changed in the sense that ingredients necessary for marital satisfaction in 1938 and 1951 still remain accurate measures of marital satisfaction today. What accounts for

satisfaction and dissatisfaction in 1938 and 1951 still does. The criteria in the 1938, 1951, and 1981 tests are equivalent indicators of how well adjusted and satisfied a particular couple may be. Furthermore, a "dated" instrument such as Terman's (1938) Marital Happiness Index is as valid assessing the happiness of young couples as older couples.

To summarize findings in this area then: The elements needed for assessment of marital adjustment remain substantially the same since 1938. Couples' level of marital adjustment is rated the same regardless of whether the criteria applied was from the 1930s, 1950s, or 1980s. Marital satisfaction questionnaires from previous generations (specifically Terman, 1938 and Locke, 1951) are not outdated and remain valid means of assessing couples' marital adjustment.

Marital Satisfaction and Age

Contrary to what was hypothesized, older marriages were filled with more happiness than younger marriages. This contradicts some previous research (Glass & Wright, 1977; Hicks & Platt, 1971) which suggested an increasing state of disillusionment and discontent with age. The present findings are consistent with the work of Rollins and Cannon (1974) and Rollins and Feldman (1970) who found a curvilinear relationship between marital satisfaction and age. From the present study, young married persons (age 19-

35) show moderate happiness; middle-aged persons (age 36-53) were less happy; and the highest level of marital happiness was found in older couples (age 54-73).

One might conjecture that the high happiness of the older group is due to children having been raised and now being out of the house, thus allowing for greater peace. This hypothesis was statistically tested and found not to be true. In fact, the opposite was true. Older couples are happier if they still have children living in their home ($\bar{M} = 214$), while those without children currently living at home are less happy ($\bar{M} = 202$).

The present author proposes that the age effect might be due to the amount of demands placed on the resources of an age group and the consequent amount of threats experienced to one's self-esteem. Middle-aged adults are thought to be the unhappiest because they are hypothesized to experience the most amount of demands upon their resources. More than the other two age groups, the middle-aged are taxed for the creation and maintenance of shelter, children, and career. The middle-aged may be consumed by the tasks of building and mortgaging a home and/or caring for children. Younger couples however, are more likely to be renting a residence and older couples are more likely to be living in an already built, mostly paid for home. Younger couples may be totally without child care

responsibilities. (In fact, those who are, are happier than their peers who do have children to care for, $M = 207$ vs. $M = 183$ respectively.) Older couples also are likely to have fewer obligations for child care.

It is expected that middle-aged couples spend the least amount of time enjoying recreational and pleasurable activities. The fact that this age group gave less priority to friendship in naming important elements needed for marital satisfaction suggests that middle-aged spouses spend less time alone with each other compared to the other two age groups.

If the middle-aged group is the busiest with responsibilities and task obligations, more demands are placed upon their limited resources of time, money, intellect, emotional availability, etc.. Each demand is a challenge to and test of the person's self-esteem. When a spouse's resources and self-esteem are constantly being called upon and tested, greater irritability and conflict are likely to erupt between spouses.

By the later years in life, on the other hand, most of one's fighting for a place has occurred, and one begins the process of accepting one's limitations and successes. Spouses also do this for the other. As older adults begin to accept themselves more than they ever have, they also accept more of their spouse's attributes. Thus, future research would benefit by testing the proposition that: (1)

there is a higher and more stable sense of self-acceptance and self-esteem in the later years, and (2) marital satisfaction is positively related to the amount of threats and challenges posed to one's self-esteem as well as general level of self-esteem.

While an overall age effect was found in the present study, this should be interpreted cautiously since an inspection of the data reveals that most of the difference between age groups was due to men's fluctuations. Women did not show as dramatic fluctuation across the life span. In fact for women, the younger females were slightly happier ($M = 125$) than the older females ($M = 122$).

The key then, to understanding why the older group is happiest, lies in understanding why men are so much happier at this time than any other. The answer is suggested to be men's greater sense of accomplishment and relief that the toughest part of life is behind them. As the literature suggests, men are still heavily invested in the fulfillment of instrumental or maintenance type needs. This relies heavily on their career performance.

It appears that men's marital satisfaction is sharply influenced by something negative that happens during middle-age and then something very positive after about age 54. This factor is suggested to be the process of experiencing intense pressure to succeed in career and

provide for family, followed by a sense of accomplishment or relief in later life when this tension is more resolved. Again, self-esteem is proposed to be the factor influencing marital satisfaction. It is suggested that men's variability and women's constancy in marital satisfaction parallels a similar pattern in men's and women's self-esteem. The above explanation for the age effect obtained in this study is tentative and needs to be verified by future research.

Cohorts' Satisfaction as a Function of Criteria

As hypothesized, the cohorts' level of satisfaction did not vary significantly whether the marital adjustment criteria was from 1938, 1951, or 1981. This gives limited, indirect support for a conclusion that there has not been a substantial change in the elements needed for marital adjustment since 1938.

One of the unique contributions of the present study was its attempt to discern the separate effects of the aging process and cultural influences by using testing instruments from different cultural eras. The results of Hypothesis 2 revealed that older persons show significantly greater marital happiness than middle-aged persons, with younger adults falling in between. Is this difference due to the aging process which influences all aging adults regardless of their era; or is this difference between age groups due to cultural influences to which one age group was exposed

and the other was not (i.e., cohort differences)?

The findings of the present study would point to the conclusion that the difference between the age groups is due primarily to the aging process and only slightly to cohort differences. The absence of cultural changes in elements needed for assessing marital adjustment was indicated by the extremely high correlation between the 1938, 1951, and 1981 tests. This was also indicated by the lack of a test by age interaction whereby the three tests would have differed e.g., in which age group scored highest. This interaction did not occur, as the ordinal position of the age groups was consistent on all three tests with the oldest group being happiest, the young adults being second happiest, and the middle-aged showing the most unhappiness.

Some slight evidence which was not statistically significant might suggest support for mild cultural changes in elements needed for marital satisfaction since 1938. This is from the 1951 test portraying the young and middle-aged couples in a slightly different manner than the 1938 and 1981 tests. With the 1951 criteria, the middle-aged emerge as not quite so unhappy and the young couples appear less adjusted as when assessed by the 1938 and 1981 criteria. However, since this pattern from the 1951 test does not deviate significantly from the pattern evidenced by the other two tests, the significance of this observation is restricted to making the reader aware of the possibility of

a slight cultural shift affecting the adjustment of young and middle-aged couples. One purely speculative reason why the 1938 and 1981 tests are so similar is that both eras share the characteristic of being periods of recovery from economic hardship; while the 1951 test was developed during a time preceded by economic prosperity. On the whole however, cultural shifts in elements needed for the assessment of marital adjustment since 1938 have not been substantial as evidenced by the tests performed in this study. These results are congruent with a hypothesis that the factors underlying marital adjustment have remained constant.

Similarity of Husband's and Wife's Perceptions

As hypothesized, husbands and wives tend to share approximately the same degree of satisfaction or discontent toward their marital relationship. It was found e.g., that a happy wife usually had a happy husband, and an unhappy husband had an unhappy wife. While this high correlation in the latter case unfortunately means that two people are unhappy instead of just one, it also means their chances for improvement are better since they both share the same "realistic" view of the relationship. At the risk of being oversimplistic, it was found that by knowing one spouse's score, one could not predict the score of an opposite-sexed person in a different marriage. On the other hand, by

knowing one spouse's marital satisfaction score, one could predict the other spouse's marital evaluation to be approximately the same.

Adjustment Level and Sex Differences

As hypothesized, one sex was not any more or less adjusted in marriage than the other. This contradicts some previous research which found men to be more happily married than women (e.g., Argyle & Furnham, 1983; Campbell et al., 1976) but coincides with three studies which found men and women showing no significant difference and in fact, scoring almost exactly the same (Locke, 1951; Roach et al., 1981; Terman, 1938). The findings of the present study show that no gender is significantly happier with marriage than the other. This is so regardless of whether one considers the life span as a whole or divides adulthood into three stages and analyzes each one separately.

There appears to be however, a trend for a sex by age interaction for marital satisfaction. Females feel generally the same about marriage no matter their age. They tend to be happiest by a slight degree in their young adult years. Males on the other hand, show much more fluctuation across the life span; starting out moderately happy, being most unsatisfied in their middle years, and shooting up to the highest level of marital satisfaction of any group during their later years.

Males' high level of happiness in later life can not be explained by a sense of relief from the children finally being off on their own. This is because older males who had kids at home were happier than males who had no kids at home.

As presented in the preceding discussion of Hypothesis 2, the present study speculates that males' (and to some extent females') conflicts in middle age are due to the pressures and obligations from career and family. It's possible that the males' happiness in later life comes from a feeling of relief, security, and/or accomplishment since there is less pressure on him to fulfill the role obligations of provider. He is likely to be acting in a more dependent manner than he ever has (Gutmann, 1977). The presence or absence of excessive responsibilities for both males and females is hypothesized to be directly related to marital satisfaction because of the mediating variable of self-esteem.

The females' greater happiness than males' during the younger years might possibly be due to the marital commitment feeling more like a goal attained for women than men. For the male on the other hand, the marital commitment may be more of a means than an end, and thus represents less of an accomplishment for the male than for the woman. The male's sense of satisfaction appears to hang more in

suspension until the accomplished years of later life. The preceding explanations for the results obtained from the data are of course speculation until supported or discounted by future empirical findings.

One alternate explanation for finding no difference in the marital satisfaction level of men and women is that the questionnaires were designed to show no such "sex bias." This points up a dilemma created by current thinking regarding "proper" psychometry. If there truly is a difference between males and females regarding level of marital satisfaction, it gets wiped out by the psychometrist who works from the philosophical position that marital adjustment should be the same for both sexes (in a similar way that many feel that intellectual performance should, a priori, be no different between the races). So that, what started out as a genuine, existent "sex difference" becomes a thorn in the side of the psychometrist known as "sex bias" and has to be eliminated to make his/her testing instrument valid.

Roach et al. (1981) did not have to modify their measure because no such sex-bias showed up after preliminary use of the test. From a review of their literature, it does not appear that Terman (1938) or Locke (1951) took any special precautions to insure the outcome of their sampling in which males and females scored essentially the same.

Adjustment Level and Income Class

Contrary to expectations, marital satisfaction was not lower among low income people than high income people. In fact, a slight trend was found for marital satisfaction being inversely related to income level. Overall, the analysis consistently illustrated that marital satisfaction does not differ significantly depending on one's economic level.

This finding is not inconsistent with a view that emphasizes the importance of factors internal to the relationship such as the quality of spouses' interaction, rather than external circumstances such as one's income class. It may also point to the importance of one's expectations. For example, both low income and high income married persons may be unhappy with the amount of financial resources available to them. Both may feel equally stressed financially. However, it is also possible that a low income person may not expect to have much more than he has and thus omit declaring money matters as a source of unhappiness.

Thus, it appears that having more money does not lessen or increase the likelihood of being maladjusted in one's marriage. The findings of the present study, supported by Spanier and Lewis (1980), indicate no apparent need for future studies to systematically control for different income levels in the design of their studies of marital satisfaction.

Other Variables and Marital Adjustment

The present study also explored the possible relationship of other variables to marital adjustment. One of those was whether or not the presence of children currently living in the home is associated with higher or lower satisfaction among spouses. Most of the analyses pointed to an overall negative relationship between the number of children living at home and one's marital satisfaction. However, this was true only in the young and middle years of adulthood.

Whether or not having children at home enhances or hinders one's marital satisfaction depends on one's age. For younger couples, having children at home is associated with low ratings of marital satisfaction. Whereas, having children at home in the later years of life is associated with higher ratings of marital satisfaction. This could be so because children have a positive impact on the marital relationship, perhaps bringing a sense of enjoyment or fulfillment to each parent. Or, the lesser happiness of older people who don't have children at home could be attributed more to the marital relationship than the absence of children. In this instance, the couple may always have been unhappy and conflictual, and the children either got kicked out or preferred to leave the unhappy home scene. As is evident, more than one explanation of this result is

plausible and further verification is needed.

Another interesting finding was that older males, as well as females were happier if they had children still at home, suggesting that both parents may eventually feel the loss and pain of the empty nest syndrome.

In considering the relationship of marital satisfaction to other variables, some weak evidence suggests that the 1938 marital satisfaction questionnaire may be more influenced by one's educational level than the 1951 and 1981 tests. In considering all of the subgroups composed by the three income classes, three age groups, and two sexes, the overall analysis revealed that the group that is happiest with their marriages was the older-aged male belonging to any income group ($\underline{M} = 131$). The unhappiest married subgroup was the middle-aged, high income male ($\underline{M} = 97$).

Correlational analysis with demographic variables showed low correlations, surprisingly few of which were statistically significant. This however, may be due in part to the fact that an unnatural population was constructed for the present study. So that matched comparisons could be performed, the design of the present study subsequently made variables such as sex, age, and income correlate zero with each other. This occurred because all levels of these variables were artificially balanced for the sake of matched comparisons. However, these variables do correlate higher

than zero in the natural environment. Any variables that correlated with the demographic variables of sex, age, and income consequently also correlate non-significantly. Additionally, other uncontrolled demographic variables may have correlated higher with marital satisfaction if the sample had not been artificially restricted.

The reader may recall from the Method section that the older subjects (age 54-73) whose spouse also participated in the study were significantly happier ($M = 213$) than older subjects whose spouse refused to participate ($M = 181$), $F(5, 102) = 2.32, p < .05$. This was true of both males and females. No such significant difference was found in the young and middle-aged groups. One may wonder if the findings of this study would have been different if only couples or only lone respondents had been used. It appears that the only finding that might have been altered significantly is the age effect. Lone respondents served to lower the mean satisfaction level of the older group. Thus, the difference between older persons and the two younger groups would have been even more dramatic, with the older group appearing even happier. There was no significant difference within sexes between lone respondents and couples. A conclusion that may be drawn about persons age 54-73, is that whether one spouse or both spouses agree to participate in such a study of marital satisfaction is a diagnostic sign in itself of the level of happiness in their

marriage.

The Subjects' View of Necessary Elements

When given the opportunity to respond to an open-ended question, couples spontaneously name communication, trust, and respect respectively as the most important elements necessary for marital adjustment. Out of the 10 most important factors they listed, eight refer to the process or manner of relating between spouses. These additional factors include in their respective ranking love, understanding, give & take, friendship, and honesty. Only "religious beliefs" and "having the same goals in life" are elements of marital satisfaction which refer less to the interaction process and more to static, content issues of the marriage.

This inquiry was important because it obtained the married person's spontaneous view in a study otherwise utilizing researchers' pre-determined, structured assessment instruments. Not only did this yield a phenomenological view of marriage from the spouses' point of view, but unlike the results of the tests, this result could not have been due to response bias nor a generalized predisposition to be happy or unhappy. This also provided indirect support for one of the basic propositions of this dissertation - that is the inferred suggestion that interaction processes between spouses may determine the level of marital satisfaction,

rather than the specific content issues which are often time-related. Few, if any people would maintain that communication, trust, respect, love, understanding, give & take, friendship, and honesty are important elements needed for satisfaction in today's marriages but not in marriages of 1951, 1938, or before.

The different cohorts all share the same view that communication, trust, respect, and love are among the four or five most important elements needed for marital adjustment. Caution needs to be exercised however in interpreting differences in the elements between cohorts because the differences could be due to aging or the cohorts being exposed to different cultural influences.

The perceived need for understanding decreases steadily with age. This may be due to the fact that young spouses are new to each other and still getting to know much of the other person's personality; whereas by the later years, spouses know each much more about each other. There may also be less of a perceived need for understanding in the later years because there is much less conflict and greater compatibility at this time.

Friendship and companionship were cited as significant needs by young and older subjects, but not by the middle-aged. This is consistent with a portrayal of the family unit as beginning with a man and woman who establish

a foundation of friendship; then build upon it with the addition of children but have little time or energy available to share with each other; then when the children are raised, join closer together and seek the rewards of companionship. Middle-aged persons place greater importance on things other than friendship in their struggle to survive this stressful time. This de-emphasis on friendship, whether it be out of need or desire, may actually be part of the reason why their happiness scores are so depressed. Honesty is expressed as a higher need for middle-aged couples than the other age groups; however, citing a reason for this would be purely speculative.

Future Research

Future studies might do well to avoid mixing data from couples and lone respondents (i.e., subjects whose spouse did not also participate in the study). The present study indicates that lone respondents (particularly those in the 54-73 age bracket) are likely to be more dissatisfied (or at least express more dissatisfaction) with their marriages than subjects who belong to marriages in which both spouses participated.

The present study found that the most happily married group is the oldest age group. This is contrary to some research reviewed by Hicks & Platt (1971) which found a steady decline in marital satisfaction through the life

span. Other research (Rollins & Cannon, 1974) concurs with the present study in finding a curvilinear relationship of marital satisfaction to the age of the respondent and perhaps to the aging process. This relationship would gain more credibility through verification with additional sampling which includes the same age span or even larger than the present study and particularly through longitudinal data which would give more direct evidence on the aging process. The present study shares a limitation with numerous previous studies in that the oldest married group may be less representative of their cohort due to greater attrition of persons from the category of "married" as time goes on.

Although the essential elements needed for marital satisfaction do not appear to have undergone substantial changes since 1938, future research would benefit the field by employing factor analysis or item analysis to many different questionnaires since the 1930s. This way, specific additions, deletions, or modifications in the content areas thought to influence marital adjustment could be investigated.

The present study suffered from a limitation of relying on self-report assessment. A problem with using subjective self-rating of marital satisfaction is that the meaning that marital satisfaction has for individuals is dependent on what they expect in a relationship; what they

are willing to settle for; and the level of involvement in the marriage. Unless these various expectations and patterns of marital relationships are discerned, it is difficult to determine what ratings of marital satisfaction mean. One individual may be highly satisfied with a utilitarian marriage that offers little intimacy, whereas another person may be unhappy with such a relationship because it lacks intimacy, closeness, and a sense of vitality.

Future research may also explore whether marital happiness is a distinct arena for happiness or whether its measurement is the product of an overall, pervasive sense of happiness or discontent. How likely is it that a person's level of marital satisfaction will differ significantly from his/her overall satisfaction, job satisfaction, or other aspects of his/her life? In the present study, comparability of age cohorts in spontaneous listings of the important elements of marital satisfaction could not have resulted from a generalized happiness orientation.

Although the present study found no difference in marital satisfaction between income classes, the impact of finances may not be ruled out. In fact, future research may study couples who have just experienced a sudden increase or decrease in financial resources and the impact on their

marital adjustment.

Future research may also wish to differentiate two types of couples, both of whom have the exact low marital satisfaction score. For one type, the low score is a reflection of transitory and temporary unhappiness due to a situational disturbance or environmental stressor. The other couple is chronically unhappy with each other and has been for a long time. Understanding more about their differences will add to a knowledge of the prognosis and treatment approach for the two types.

Future research may seek to verify the explanation provided in this study for middle-aged couples being the most unhappily married age group. This could be done by verifying whether the resources of the middle-aged really are more taxed than earlier or later years. More overtime at work and less free time at home might be expected to exist for the middle-aged. Financial factors that would be important to consider in addition to income are, amount of money saved or the proportion of monthly income obligated to monthly payments. Future research would be aided by testing the proposition that older marriages are happier because they are composed of persons who have a higher and more stable sense of self-esteem than the other two age groups.

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APPENDIX A

MARITAL SATISFACTION

You are invited to participate in research aimed at discovering elements which contribute to marital satisfaction and dissatisfaction. While you will be asked to answer questions about your relationship, this study is concerned only with the overall results of a large group of marriages and not of any one individual or couple. Your contribution is vital and appreciated however. Your responses are completely anonymous and confidential since you are not asked to give your name anywhere. If you are being seen face-to-face by the researcher, your results are still not identifiable because your answer sheet will not be seen until all the data from other couples are collected and mixed together.

There is no obligation to participate in this study. You may stop participating at any time without prejudice. The benefits you may experience from completing the questionnaire are: 1) the educational experience of participating in a research study, and 2) some thoughtful reflection on your marital relationship.

If you intend to participate in this study and give your informed consent, please put an "X" in this box and begin answering the questions on the next page. In the interest of giving unbiased answers, please do not talk with your spouse until after both of you have completed the questionnaire. Please answer all the questions. Do not spend too much time on any one question. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers; only answers that describe your unique relationship. Thank you.

Marital Happiness Index

(about your present marriage)

1. Do you & your spouse engage in outside interests together? (check) All of them ____;
most of them ____; some of them ____; very few of them ____; none of them ____.
2. State approximate extent of agreement or disagreement on following items:
(Please place a check opposite every item)

| Check one column for each item below | Always agree | Almost always agree | Occasionally disagree | Frequently disagree | Almost always disagree | Always disagree |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Handling family finances (a) | | | | | | |
| Matters of recreation (b) | | | | | | |
| Religious matters (c) | | | | | | |
| Demonstrations of affection (d) | | | | | | |
| Friends (e) | | | | | | |
| Caring for the children (f) | | | | | | |
| Table manners (g) | | | | | | |
| Matters of conventionality (h) | | | | | | |
| Philosophy of life (i) | | | | | | |
| Ways of dealing with in-laws (j) | | | | | | |

12. When disagreements arise, they usually result in: (check) you giving in ____; your spouse giving in ____; agreement by mutual give and take ____.
13. Do you ever regret your marriage? (check) Frequently ____; occasionally ____;
rarely ____; never ____.
14. If you had your life to live over, do you think you would: (check) marry the same person ____; marry a different person ____; not marry at all ____?
15. Have you ever seriously contemplated separation? (check) Yes ____ No ____.
Have you ever seriously contemplated divorce? (check) Yes ____ No ____.
16. Everything considered, how happy has your marriage been? (Draw a circle around a number)
 - 1 - Extraordinarily happy
 - 2 - Decidedly more happy than average
 - 3 - Somewhat more happy than average
 - 4 - About average
 - 5 - Somewhat less happy than average
 - 6 - Decidedly less happy than average
 - 7 - Extremely unhappy
17. If your marriage is now unhappy, how long has that been true? (Put down number of years) ____ years.

Attention: Only husbands fill out this page.
(Wives, skip this page but complete all other pages)

In the following list, omit those things which have not occurred in your marriage.
Draw a circle around 0, for the things that have occurred in your marriage but have not
interfered with your happiness.

Draw a circle around 1, for the things that have made your marriage less happy than
it should have been.

Draw a circle around 2, for the things that have done most to make your marriage unhappy.

| | Yes, but has not interfered with my happiness | Has made my marriage less happy than it should be | Has done much to make my marriage unhappy | | Yes, but has not interfered with my happiness | Has made my marriage less happy than it should be | Has done much to make my marriage unhappy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. Insufficient income | 0 | 1 | 2 | 46. Is too talkative | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 19. Poor management of income | 0 | 1 | 2 | 47. Smokes | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 20. Lack of freedom due to marriage | 0 | 1 | 2 | 48. Drinks | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 21. Wife considerably older than I. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 49. Swears | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 22. Wife considerably younger than I | 0 | 1 | 2 | 50. Is interested in other men . | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 23. Matters relating to in-laws .. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 51. Is nervous or emotional | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| <u>My wife and I differ in our</u> | | | | 52. Neglects the children | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 24. Educations | 0 | 1 | 2 | 53. Is a poor housekeeper | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 25. Intellectual interests | 0 | 1 | 2 | 54. Is not interested in my business | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 26. Religious beliefs | 0 | 1 | 2 | 55. Is extravagant | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 27. Choice of friends | 0 | 1 | 2 | 56. Lets her feelings be hurt too easily | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 28. Preferences for amusements and recreations | 0 | 1 | 2 | 57. Is too interested in social affairs | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 29. Attitude toward drinking | 0 | 1 | 2 | 58. Has annoying habits and mannerisms | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 30. Tastes in food | 0 | 1 | 2 | 59. Wants to visit or entertain a lot | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 31. Respect for conventions | 0 | 1 | 2 | 60. Does not have meals ready on time | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| <u>My wife</u> | | | | 61. Interferes if I discipline children | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 32. Is argumentative | 0 | 1 | 2 | 62. Tries to improve me | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 33. Is not affectionate | 0 | 1 | 2 | 63. Is a social climber | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 34. Is narrow-minded | 0 | 1 | 2 | 64. Is too interested in clothes | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 35. Is not faithful to me | 0 | 1 | 2 | 65. Is insincere | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 36. Complains too much | 0 | 1 | 2 | 66. Gossips indiscreetly | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 37. Is lazy | 0 | 1 | 2 | 67. Nags me | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 38. Is quick-tempered | 0 | 1 | 2 | 68. Interferes with my hobbies . | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 39. Criticizes me | 0 | 1 | 2 | 69. Works outside the home | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 40. Spoils the children | 0 | 1 | 2 | 70. Is fussy about keeping house neat | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 41. Is untruthful | 0 | 1 | 2 | 71. Is a poor cook | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 42. Is conceited | 0 | 1 | 2 | 72. Is slovenly in appearance ... | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 43. Is easily influenced by others | 0 | 1 | 2 | 73. Has had much poor health | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 44. Is jealous | 0 | 1 | 2 | 74. Interferes with my business . | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 45. Is selfish and inconsiderate.. | 0 | 1 | 2 | | | | |

Attention: Only wives fill out this page.
(Husbands, skip this page but complete all other pages)

In the following list, omit those things which have not occurred in your marriage.
Draw a circle around 0, for the things that have occurred in your marriage but have not
interfered with your happiness.

Draw a circle around 1, for the things that have made your marriage less happy than
it should have been.

Draw a circle around 2, for the things that have done most to make your marriage unhappy.

| | Yes, but has not interfered with my happiness | Has made my marriage less happy than it should be | Has done much to make my marriage unhappy | | Yes, but has not interfered with my happiness | Has made my marriage less happy than it should be | Has done much to make my marriage unhappy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. Insufficient income | 0 | 1 | 2 | 47. smokes | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 19. Poor management of income .. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 48. drinks | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 20. Lack of freedom due to marriage | 0 | 1 | 2 | 49. swears | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 21. Husband considerably older than I | 0 | 1 | 2 | 50. pays attention to other women | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 22. Husband considerably younger than I | 0 | 1 | 2 | 51. is nervous or impatient .. | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 23. Matters relating to in-laws | 0 | 1 | 2 | 52. takes no interest in the children | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| <u>My husband & I differ in</u> | | | | 53. is untidy | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 24. Educations | 0 | 1 | 2 | 54. is always wrapped up in his business | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 25. Intellectual interests | 0 | 1 | 2 | 55. gambles | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 26. Religious beliefs | 0 | 1 | 2 | 56. is touchy | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 27. Choice of friends | 0 | 1 | 2 | 57. is not interested in the home | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 28. Preferences for amusements and recreations | 0 | 1 | 2 | 58. has vulgar habits | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 29. Attitude toward drinking .. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 59. dislikes to go out with me evenings | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 30. Tastes in food | 0 | 1 | 2 | 60. is late to meals | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 31. Respect for conventions ... | 0 | 1 | 2 | 61. is harsh with the children | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| <u>My husband</u> | | | | 62. has poor table manners ... | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 32. is argumentative | 0 | 1 | 2 | 63. lacks ambition | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 33. is not affectionate | 0 | 1 | 2 | 64. is tight with money | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 34. is narrow-minded | 0 | 1 | 2 | 65. has no backbone | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 35. is not faithful to me | 0 | 1 | 2 | 66. does not talk things over freely | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 36. complains too much | 0 | 1 | 2 | 67. is rude | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 37. is lazy | 0 | 1 | 2 | 68. is bored if I tell him of the things that happen in my everyday life | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 38. is quick-tempered | 0 | 1 | 2 | 69. is unsuccessful in his business | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 39. criticizes me | 0 | 1 | 2 | 70. does not show his affection for me | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 40. spoils the children | 0 | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 41. is untruthful | 0 | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 42. is conceited | 0 | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 43. is easily influenced by others | 0 | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 44. is jealous | 0 | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 45. is selfish & inconsiderate | 0 | 1 | 2 | | | | |
| 46. is too talkative | 0 | 1 | 2 | | | | |

Modification of the Marital Questionnaire

1. Have you ever wished you had not married?
 - a. Frequently
 - b. Occasionally
 - c. Rarely
 - d. Never

2. If you had your life to live over again would you:
 - a. Marry the same person?
 - b. Marry a different person?
 - c. Not marry at all?

3. Do husband and wife engage in outside activities together?
 - a. All of them
 - b. Some of them
 - c. Few of them
 - d. None of them

4. In leisure time, which do you prefer?
 - a. Both husband & wife to stay at home
 - b. Both to be on the go
 - c. One to be on the go and other to stay home

5. Do you & your mate generally talk things over together?
 - a. Never
 - b. Now and then
 - c. Almost always
 - d. Always

6. How often do you kiss your mate?
 - a. Every day
 - b. Now and then
 - c. Almost never

7. Check any of the following which you think have caused difficulties in your marriage?

Mate's attempt to control my spending money ____
 Other difficulties over money ____
 Religious differences ____
 Different amusement interests ____
 Lack of mutual friends ____
 Constant bickering ____
 Interference of in-laws ____
 Lack of mutual affection (no longer in love) ____
 Unsatisfying sex relations ____
 Selfishness and lack of cooperation ____
 Adultery ____
 Desire to have children ____
 Sterility of husband or wife ____
 Venereal diseases ____
 Mate paid attention to (became familiar with) another person ____
 Desertion ____
 Nonsupport ____
 Drunkenness ____
 Gambling ____
 Ill health ____
 Mate sent to jail ____
 Other reasons ____

8. How many things satisfy you most about your marriage?
- Nothing
 - One thing
 - Two things
 - Three or more
9. When disagreements arise they generally result in:
- Husband giving in
 - Wife giving in
 - Neither giving in
 - Agreement by mutual give and take
10. What is the total number of times you left mate or mate left you because of conflict?
- No times
 - One or more times
11. How frequently do you and your mate get on each other's nerves around the house?
- Never
 - Almost never
 - Occasionally
 - Frequently
 - Almost always
 - Always
12. What are your feelings on sex relations between you and your mate?
- Very enjoyable
 - Enjoyable
 - Tolerable
 - Disgusting
 - Very Disgusting
13. What are your mate's feelings on sex relations with you?
- Very enjoyable
 - Enjoyable
 - Tolerable
 - Disgusting
 - Very disgusting

State approximate extent of agreement or disagreement during marriage on the following items: (please circle x)

| | Always Agree | Almost Always Agree | Occasionally Disagree | Frequently Disagree | Almost Always Disagree | Always Disagree |
|--|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 14. Handling family finances | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 15. Matters of recreation | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 16. Demonstration of affection | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 17. Friends | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 18. Intimate relations (sex) | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 19. Ways of dealing with in-laws | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 20. The amount of time that should be spent together | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 21. Conventionality (good, right, and proper conduct) .. | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| 22. Aims, goals, and things believed to be important in life | x | x | x | x | x | x |

The Marital Satisfaction Scale

| | strongly agree | agree | (neutral) undecided | disagree | strongly disagree |
|---|-------------------|-------|------------------------|----------|----------------------|
| 1. I know what my spouse expects of me in our marriage | | | | | |
| 2. My spouse could make things easier for me if he/she cared to. | | | | | |
| 3. I worry a lot about my marriage. | | | | | |
| 4. If I could start all over again, I would marry someone other than my <u>present spouse</u> . | | | | | |
| 5. I can always trust my spouse. | | | | | |
| 6. My life would seem empty without my marriage. | | | | | |
| 7. My marriage is too confining to suit me. | | | | | |
| 8. I feel that I am "in a rut" in my marriage. | | | | | |
| 9. I know where I stand in my marriage. | | | | | |
| 10. My marriage has a bad effect on my health. | | | | | |
| 11. I become upset, angry, or irritable because of things that occur in <u>my marriage</u> . | | | | | |
| 12. I feel competent and fully able to handle my marriage. | | | | | |
| 13. My present marriage is not one I would wish to remain in permanently. | | | | | |
| 14. I expect my marriage to give me increasing satisfaction the longer it <u>continues</u> . | | | | | |
| 15. I get discouraged trying to make my marriage work out. | | | | | |
| 16. I consider my marital situation to be as pleasant as it should be. | | | | | |
| 17. My marriage gives me more real personal satisfaction than anything <u>else I do</u> . | | | | | |
| 18. I think my marriage gets more difficult for me each year. | | | | | |
| 19. My spouse gets me badly flustered and jittery. | | | | | |
| 20. My spouse gives me sufficient opportunity to express my opinions. | | | | | |
| 21. I have made a success of my marriage so far. | | | | | |
| 22. My spouse regards me as an equal. | | | | | |
| 23. I must look outside my marriage for those things that make life worthwhile and interesting. | | | | | |

| | strongly agree | agree | (neutral) undecided | disagree | strongly disagree |
|---|-------------------|-------|------------------------|----------|----------------------|
| 24. My spouse inspires me to do my best work. | | | | | |
| 25. My marriage has "smothered" my personality. | | | | | |
| 26. The future of my marriage looks promising to me. | | | | | |
| 27. I am really interested in my spouse. | | | | | |
| 28. I get along well with my spouse. | | | | | |
| 29. I am afraid of losing my spouse through divorce. | | | | | |
| 30. My spouse makes unfair demands on my free time. | | | | | |
| 31. My spouse seems unreasonable in his/her dealings with me. | | | | | |
| 32. My marriage helps me toward the goals I have set for myself. | | | | | |
| 33. My spouse is willing to make helpful improvements in our relationship. | | | | | |
| 34. My marriage suffers from disagreement concerning matters of recreation. | | | | | |
| 35. Demonstrations of affection by me & my spouse are mutually acceptable. | | | | | |
| 36. An unhappy sexual relationship is a drawback in my marriage. | | | | | |
| 37. My spouse and I agree on what is right and proper conduct. | | | | | |
| 38. My spouse and I do not share the same philosophy of life. | | | | | |
| 39. My spouse and I enjoy several mutually satisfying outside interests together. | | | | | |
| 40. I sometimes wish I had not married my present spouse. | | | | | |
| 41. My present marriage is definitely unhappy. | | | | | |
| 42. I look forward to sexual activity with my spouse with pleasant anticipation. | | | | | |
| 43. My spouse lacks respect for me. | | | | | |
| 44. I have definite difficulty confiding in my spouse. | | | | | |
| 45. Most of the time my spouse understands the way I feel. | | | | | |
| 46. My spouse does not listen to what I have to say. | | | | | |
| 47. I frequently enjoy pleasant conversations with my spouse. | | | | | |
| 48. I am definitely satisfied with my marriage. | | | | | |

APPENDIX B

List of Published Measures of Marital Adjustment

| <u>Developer</u> | <u>Name of Scale</u> | <u>Year Published</u> | <u>Number of Questions</u> |
|-------------------------|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Adams | Marriage Adjustment Prediction Index | 1960 | 743 |
| Bernard | Success in Marriage Instrument | 1933 | 100 |
| Bowerman | Bowerman Marriage Adjustment Scales | 1957 | 67 |
| Buerkle & Badgley | Yale Marital Interaction Battery | 1959 | 40 |
| Burgess & Cottrell | Burgess-Cottrell Marital Adjustment Form | 1939 | 130 |
| Hamilton | Marital Adjustment Test | 1929 | 13 |
| Inselberg | Marital Satisfaction Sentence Completion | 1961 | 13 |
| Katz | Semantic Differential as Applied to Marital Adjustment | 1965 | 20 |
| Locke | Marital Adjustment Test-Modified Version | 1951 | 44 |
| Locke & Williamson | Marital Adjustment Test | 1958 | 20 |
| Locke & Wallace | Short Marital Adjustment Test | 1959 | 15 |
| Manson & Lerner | Marriage Adjustment Inventory | 1962 | 157 |
| Manson & Lerner | Marriage Adjustment Sentence Completion Survey | 1962 | 100 |
| Most | Rating of Marital Satisfaction and Friction | 1960 | 65 |
| Nye & MacDougall | Nye-MacDougall Marital Adjustment Scale | 1959 | 9 |
| Orden & Bradburn | Dimensions of Marriage Happiness | 1968 | 18 |
| Roach, Frazier & Bowden | The Marital Satisfaction Scale | 1981 | 48 |
| Snyder | Marital Satisfaction Inventory | 1979 | 280 |
| Spanier | Dyadic Adjustment Scale | 1976 | 32 |
| Terman | Marital Happiness Index | 1938 | 75 |

* Drawn from original sources and contributions from Straus (1969).

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Terrence Neary has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Robert Nicolay, Director
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

5 December 1984

Date

Robert C. Nicolay

Director's Signature