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## Degree of expressiveness of husband or wife and attributions of love in female career, dual career, or male career marriages

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DEGREE OF EXPRESSIVENESS OF HUSBAND OR WIFE AND  
ATTRIBUTIONS OF LOVE IN FEMALE CAREER, DUAL  
CAREER, OR MALE CAREER MARRIAGES

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A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State College  
San Bernardino

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
in  
Psychology

---

by  
Barbara Lombardo  
June 1977

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Chairperson

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Date

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#### ABSTRACT

Influence of two sex-role stereotypes, that females are more expressive of love than males and that the husband should be the career-oriented partner, on attributions of love and other marital characteristics was studied. Forty female and forty male subjects heard a tape of 6 female stimulus persons (SPs) describing self and spouse career involvement and feelings about spouse in simulated interviews. Another 40 subjects of each sex heard male SPs making similar statements. Questionnaire responses indicated expressive male SPs were not seen as more expressive than female SPs making similar statements. Also unexpected were Dual Career couples' higher ratings than Male Career couples on 7 of 8 variables. (Mean ratings did not differ significantly on any item, but probability of this order occurring 7 out of 8 times by chance is .03). Ratings of Female Career couples were significantly lower. Sex differences in attributions regarding Dual and Female Career marriages were less than expected. Females favored Dual Career marriages more than did males, but both sexes rated Dual Career marriages highest and Female Career marriages lowest.

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## INTRODUCTION

"Love" is frequently mentioned as a reason for marriage. It was given more often than any other reason in a Redbook magazine survey of 75,000 readers (Tavris & Jayaratne, 1976). It was also rated more important than any other consideration in their marriages by 78% of these women. Nonetheless, there is only a scant body of research on the topic of love. Love does not appear as a separate topic in the Psychological Abstracts until 1973.

The majority of the psychological literature on love consists of theorizing based on the clinical experience and personal philosophies of the writers. These writers may endorse love in glowing terms (e.g., Fromm, 1956, one of whose subtitles is "Love, the Answer to the Problem of Human Existence"); they may devalue it (e.g., Casler, 1969, "This Thing Called Love Is Pathological"); or they may attempt to regard it on an observational, nonemotional level as merely mutual reinforcement (Skinner, cited in Casler, 1969) or an extension of the principles of the marketplace (Homans' exchange theory, summarized in Rubin, 1973).

Obvious in the diversity of theories is the fact that there are a variety of definitions of the relationship we very simply call "love." When we move from the large body of clinical and theoretical literature on love to the small body of research literature, we find that research

subjects as well as theorists have diverse views of love. Lee (1973) used factor analysis to identify different styles of loving and developed a "Styles of Loving" set of scales. Lasswell and Lasswell (1976) further elaborated upon Lee's work to develop a styles of loving scale for application in marital counseling.

In contrast with the styles of loving research, which has focused on differences in definitions of love, is the research of Knox and Sporakowski (1968) and Rubin (1973), who have attempted to measure love by constructing scales which are internally consistent. While different factors may be tapped, a higher score reflects more of the attitude the scale purports to measure. Knox and Sporakowski are willing to call the dimension measured by their Attitudes Toward Love scale "Romantic" vs. "Conjugal." Rubin speaks simply of "Love" scores, but we can infer something of the nature of the attitude he is measuring by examining the research he and others have done with his scale.

Rubin's (1973) scale was constructed and validated with undergraduate students. The validation sample consisted of 50 dating couples. Their Love scores were only moderately correlated with liking for the partner, as measured by Rubin's Liking Scale (items related to perceived similarity to and respect for the other) (Rubin, 1973). Love scores predicted a more intense relationship six months later only for subjects who scored high on a romanticism scale (Rubin, 1969, cited in Rubin, 1973). Love scale scores of subjects in other studies (also undergraduates) have been found to be negatively correlated with the number of times the subject had fallen in love (Dion & Dion, 1973). High scorers have been found to be dependent and externally controlled

(Dion & Dion, 1973).

Results such as these provide plenty of fuel for those who regard love as an immature, unrealistically romantic, overly valued phenomenon in our society. But it seems premature to categorize all love on the basis of a few findings with undergraduate college students, most of whom are not old enough to have participated in long term relationships. The cross-sectional research of Cimbalò, Faling, and Mousaw (1976) with couples who had been married 0 to 15 years suggests that love relationships change with duration. Scores on Rubin's Love Scale were negatively correlated with duration of marriage. Sex was more highly valued and security was valued less by couples who had been married longer than by short term partners.

In another of the rare love studies including married subjects, Dion and Dion (1976) found that Rubin's Love Scale did differentiate casually dating couples, who received lower scores, from exclusively dating, engaged, and married couples. However, Rubin's Scale scores did not differentiate these three more intensely involved groups. If we are to develop scales which differentiate between degrees of loving in long term relationships, it would seem that older subject populations must be studied. One solution might be that of Pam, Plutchik, and Conte (1973), who validated a Love Scale composed of five subscales (respect, congeniality, altruism, physical attraction, and attachment) on subject groups of evening school students whose mean ages ranged from 25 to 28 years. Their groups rated love, dating, or friendship relationships. Congeniality and respect scores were highest for

friendships, physical attraction and congeniality were highest for dating relationships, and physical attraction and attachment were highest for love relationships. The authors suggest that the unique quality of love relationships is what they have called attachment.

A study of love and power in marital relationships (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976) avoided the problem of measuring love by having respondents define and measure it themselves. Safilios-Rothschild asked Greek and American wives and husbands to decide which spouse was more in love. Spouses who said they loved less were more likely than their partners to make the infrequent, long term decisions influencing the structure of family life, leaving the daily but less far-reaching decisions to their partners. Safilios-Rothschild discusses the results in terms of exchange theory and sex roles in Greek and American society. While exchange theory has previously focused on social commodities such as socioeconomic status or attractiveness, these findings suggest that expression of love can be a valuable resource to be traded for power by the marital partner who loves less. Sex roles in a particular society, however, can influence the likelihood that affection will be used as a commodity in marriage. In Safilios-Rothschild's study, Greek women were much more likely to use love as an exchange commodity than were Greek men. The majority of Greek women had few alternatives outside of marriage for attaining status and financial support. Thus Greek men who loved less did not need to offer affection in exchange for their wives' services—they could maintain power on the basis of their exclusive access to money and status. Safilios-Rothschild sees resources such as affection, sex, and companionship

increasing in importance in American marriages, where women have alternatives to marriage for obtaining status and financial support.

The present study also looked at the relationship between love and sex roles in marital relationships. In the present study, however, subjects were asked to make attributions about degree of love in the marital relationships of fictional stimulus persons. There is apparently no published research on attributions of love, although Rubin (1973) discusses self-attribution of love as part of the process of commitment to a partner. Rubin mentions Bem's (1972) assumption that self-attributions are made in the same way that we make attributions about other people, and he notes the circularity of the relationship between attributions and behavior. One may behave in a certain way (e.g., saying "I love you" to another person) that leads to the self-attribution "I am in love," and once this self-attribution is made, it influences future behavior. Rubin also notes the basic attributional principle that acts which seem socially inappropriate are generally perceived as revealing of the personal qualities of the actor rather than as responses determined by particular circumstances (Rubin, 1973, p. 101). As sex-role stereotypes are one determiner of what is perceived as appropriate in marital relationships, it was expected that attributions about the stimulus persons and their marriages in the present study would be influenced by two sex-role stereotypes prevalent in American culture: (1) the view that females easily express tender feelings while males do not; and (2) the idea that the husband should be the primary career-oriented partner. The marriages were described

as Male Career marriages (the traditional pattern with career husband and home-oriented wife), Dual Career marriages, or Female Career marriages (the rare pattern with career wife and home-oriented husband). The stimulus persons were either expressive or non-expressive in discussing feelings about their spouses. Subjects were asked to make ratings of the degree to which marriages of male or female stimulus persons appeared loving, happy, and likely to last. They were also asked to rate degree of lovingness, sincerity, career involvement, and expressiveness of stimulus persons.

Research and Hypotheses Related to Sexual Stereotypes  
Regarding Expression of Affection

Previous studies have indicated that college students (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman & Broverman, 1968) and mental health professionals (Broverman, 1970) perceive the hiding of one's emotions to be a male characteristic and the easy expression of tender feelings a female characteristic. Bem's (1974) college subjects perceived being affectionate, warm, and tender as desired characteristics for females but not males. Jourard (1971) found males to be less self-disclosive than females and related this finding to sex-role stereotypes. Balswick and Avertt's (1977) female subjects reported more expression of love, happiness, and sadness than males, although there was no sex difference in reported expression of hate. These experimenters also related their findings to the influence of sex-role stereotypes.

A contrary finding was that of Fineberg and Lowman (1975), who observed no sex difference in communication of affection in their

study of the relationship between expression of affection and marital adjustment. Adjusted couples communicated more affection, but husbands were as likely as wives to be affectionate.

Despite the Fineberg and Lowman (1975) finding and the recent emphasis on the importance of expressiveness for males as well as for females in sensitivity groups and the men's liberation movement (Farrell, 1974; Fasteau, 1974), the majority of the current literature reviewed here suggested that subjects in the present study might be expected to perceive expression of affection as relatively out of role for males. On the basis of the finding of Jones, Davis, and Jergen (1961) that out-of-role behavior has much greater informational value for person perception than in-role behavior, one would expect it to be more extremely rated. Thus it was hypothesized in the present study that expressive male stimulus persons (SPs) would be rated as more expressive, loving, and sincere than expressive female SPs making the same statements about their mates. It was also hypothesized that marriages where the husband was expressive of his feelings about his wife would be rated higher on love, happiness, and likelihood of lasting than marriages where the wife made the same expressive statements about her husband, regardless of the career orientation of the partners.

#### Research and Hypotheses Re: the Stereotype of the Husband as the Primary Career-Oriented Partner

Changes in the second stereotype to be investigated, the idea that the husband is the primary career-oriented partner, have engendered a

great deal of current research. Three categories of research are relevant to the proposed study: (1) demographic studies of changes in the number of women working or receiving advanced degrees, the number of women in professional occupations, and the divorce rate for working women; (2) studies of the current status of sex-role attitudes and stereotypes regarding participation in the work world and its effects on family life; and (3) investigations of the effects of the wife's working and the degree of career involvement of both partners on the marriage relationship.

#### Demographic Studies

Demographic studies are of interest as a source of information about actual sex-role behavior. Thus data on the education and employment of women and the divorce rate for employed women were reviewed in the present study to get some idea of what subjects might consider "normal" behavior for stimulus persons, and what might be considered out-of-role behavior.

U.S. Department of Commerce statistics for 1974 (cited by Van Dusen & Sheldon, 1976) indicate that the percentage of female high school graduates who have had some college education is rising. For females 20 and 21 years old, the percentage rose from 24% in 1940 to 46% in 1974 (compared to 30% in 1940 and 49% in 1974 for men). Women earned 42% of all BAs, 40% of all MAs, and 14% of all PhDs in 1971. Van Dusen and Sheldon note that the percentage of women in graduate and professional schools is rising. Although the data indicate that more



women are receiving college educations than in the past, the women with advanced degrees—who would be the most prepared for a high degree of career involvement—are still in the minority.

As the number of women with college educations and the percentage of women working increase, so that a majority of women (2/3 of whom have children) now work (Van Dusen & Sheldon, 1976), percentages of women successfully integrating work and education with marriage have also increased, according to the recent studies of divorce rates. However, this is not true for the minority discussed above, the women with advanced degrees. One researcher (Carlson, cited by Benfell, 1976) optimistically concludes from U.S. Census Bureau figures for 1950, 1960, and 1970 showing a progressive narrowing in the difference in number of broken marriages for women of all age groups between employed and unemployed women that working women now have stronger marriages than women who stay home, though the separation rate is still higher for older working wives. However, the category "employed" does not indicate whether the woman is a full or part time employee and whether she is career-oriented or working for financial reasons. Another demographer (Glick, 1975) gives information more relevant to the present study. He found that the proportion of divorce did not increase as much between 1960 and 1970 for middle aged women (35 to 44) who were professional workers or in the upper income bracket (earning over \$7,000 in 1960 and over \$10,000 in 1970) as it did for middle aged women in general. This would seem to fit Carlson's conclusions. However, Glick also studied divorce in this age group in relation to education, and here

there was a sharp contrast between women who had terminated their education with four years of college and those women with one or more years of graduate school. The former group had the smallest and the latter group the largest proportional increase in the percent divorced of all educational groups.

Taken together these demographic studies suggest that attitudes about women's involvement outside of the home may have changed to the extent that it is considered all right for the wife to work and to graduate from college, but professional career involvement and the graduate education in preparation for it are not as well integrated into the female role or combined with marriage.

These results suggested that subjects in the present study would be likely to give lower ratings of love, happiness, and likelihood of lasting to marriages where the wife is described as career-oriented (the Female Career and Dual Career marriages).

#### Studies of Current Sex-Role Attitudes Re: Female Career vs. Family Orientation

A recent study (Nye, 1974) of family roles in which 210 couples unanimously considered the "provider" role a paternal responsibility suggests that traditional sex-role attitudes are still strong. However, a survey of the recent literature on sex-role stereotypes related to women's participation in the work world immediately reveals that attitudes are changing. Roper and Labeff (1977) noted a "trend toward more egalitarian attitudes" (p. 113) in their comparison of data on attitudes on feminist issues between 1934 and 1974. Parelius (1975)

observed "shifts toward feminism" (p. 151) in her longitudinal study of attitudes of female college students in 1969 and 1973. Osmond and Martin (1975) commented on the definite evidence of "consciousness raising" (p. 750) in the sex-role attitudes of both men and women in their study; and Komarovsky (1973) observed that the ethos on the campus of her study "clearly demanded that men pay at least lip service to liberal attitudes toward working wives" (p. 873).

While sex-role attitudes of both men and women are apparently becoming more liberal, most studies indicate that men are still much more traditional than women. On all but one of 16 questions concerning their attitudes regarding the career vs. family involvement of women in Osmond and Martin's (1975) study of sex-role attitudes, female subjects' responses were significantly more likely to be "modern" and males' responses to be "traditional." In a study of graduate students' attitudes (Valentine, Ellinger & Williams, 1975), women had significantly more non-traditional Attitudes Toward Women Scale scores than men. In a study of the attitudes of married professionals (Kaley, 1971), significantly more women than men (89% vs. 48%) agreed that a married professional woman could adequately fulfill both family and career responsibilities, while 62% of the men but only 26% of the women agreed that a full time homemaker could better fulfill her obligations to her family than a married professional woman who is employed full time. In a study of entering freshmen at 275 institutions (Joesting & Joesting, 1973), significantly more men than women agreed that married women should stay home, while significantly more

women than men agreed that both sexes should have equal opportunities. In a study of the sex-role attitudes of university faculty members (Etaugh, 1973), males were significantly less likely than females to believe that a professional woman could adequately meet responsibilities to both family and career.

The evidence is thus fairly conclusive that in a variety of populations males' sex-role attitudes are likely to be more traditional than females'. Studies by Osmond and Martin (1975), Parelius (1975), and Komarovsky (1973) shed additional light on the areas in which men's and women's sex-role attitudes are most likely to be "modern" or "traditional," and where sex differences in attitude are most likely to occur.

Osmond and Martin (1975) found the greatest agreement between their male and female subjects on attitudes regarding familial roles of both sexes, with women considered primarily responsible for the home and child care by both males and females, and on attitudes regarding macro-social issues such as approval of ERA or male liberation. They found the largest conflict between the sexes on what they called "extra-familial attitudes" concerning women's career involvement. Many more men than women in their study gave "traditional" responses, and many more women than men gave "modern" responses to the statements that, "Career women are generally neurotic;" "I would feel uncomfortable if my immediate supervisor at work was a woman;" and "Females should be encouraged to plan for a career not just a job."

While results such as these suggest that more men than women may

have negative attitudes toward women's career involvement, other data from Osmond and Martin (1975) indicate that it is not the fact that women are assuming part of the provider role in the family which modern males find objectionable. In contrast to the attitudes of Axelson's (1963) male subjects, more men than women gave a "modern" response to the statement on the Osmond and Martin questionnaire that "A man's self-esteem is severely injured if his wife makes more money than he does." In this respect, it is interesting that Parelus' (1975) female subjects, who were questioned about their own sex-role attitudes and attitudes they would expect men to have regarding a possible wife, felt that the one feminist view which a man would not be opposed to in his wife was the belief that both spouses should contribute equally to the financial support of the family. Perhaps it is not a wife's financial achievement but her gain in power which some men fear. At least this is suggested by Winter, McClelland, and Stewart's (1977) finding that wives' career achievement was negatively correlated with husbands' power motivation in a follow-up study of Ivy League men ten years after graduation.

Further aspects of men's objections to women's career involvement are elucidated in a 1973 study by Komarovsky. She reports that her all male subjects gave apparently feminist responses on sex-role attitude questionnaire items but revealed many qualifications negating these attitudes during detailed interviews when questioned about their personal feelings about the type of woman to whom they would want to be married. Like Osmond and Martin's (1975) subjects, Komarovsky's

subjects felt that women should have equal occupational opportunities but were threatened by the occupational rivalry of a career wife and felt the husband should be the superior achiever. A "modified traditionalist" position was most popular among her male respondents, who favored having their future wives work but withdraw from work for child-rearing and later return to work. Komarovsky also includes data on women's attitudes toward work and family patterns in 1943 and 1971. She notes that while there was a large shift during this time from a majority preference for full time homemaking and volunteer activities to the pattern involving withdrawal from employment for childrearing, the proportion of women who hoped to "continue working with a minimum of interruption for childbearing" (p. 883) did not increase from 20%.

The above attitude studies suggest that despite increasing liberalism regarding women's rights in a general sense, attitudes toward women's ability to combine an involving career and fulfillment of family responsibilities continue to be rather conservative. Subjects were thus expected in the present study to give lower ratings of love, happiness, and likelihood of remaining together to the dual career and female career couples, where the wife is described as very involved in her career. Another obvious pattern in the previous attitude studies was the greater conservatism of men. In addition to their uncertainty about a wife being able to care for children while involved in a career, many male subjects seemed threatened by the idea of occupational rivalry with one's wife. These findings suggested that male subjects in the present study would give even lower ratings of love,

happiness, and likelihood of remaining together than would female subjects to couples with career-oriented wives (dual career and female career marriages).

None of the above studies considered attitudes toward the female career couple, where the wife is career-oriented and the husband is more involved with home and family, possibly because this case is so rare. However, on the basis of several previous studies (Feather & Simon, 1975; Jones et al. 1961; Levinson, 1975), it was hypothesized that this combination would receive lower ratings of love, happiness, and likelihood of remaining together than would the dual career and male career couples in the present study. Based on the fact that both husband and wife are exhibiting out-of-role behavior, one would expect more extreme ratings (Jones et al. 1961). That these ratings would be negative was suggested by Levinson's (1975) and Feather and Simon's (1975) studies. Levinson found definite job discrimination against males and females applying for jobs which were sex-inappropriate according to current stereotypes, with greater discrimination against males. In the case of the female career marriages in the present study, both spouses are taking roles which violate social norms, the husbands even more than the wives. However, it was expected that the wives would also be evaluated negatively on the basis of studies indicating male threat from female occupational superiority (Komarovsky, 1973; Osmond & Martin, 1975; Winter et al. 1977), as well as a recent finding by Feather and Simon (1975) that successful women are evaluated even more negatively by both sexes than males who fail. Taken together, the

Jones et al. (1961), Levinson (1975), Komarovsky (1973), Osmond and Martin (1975), Winter et al. (1977), and Feather and Simon (1975) studies suggested that the female career couples would receive lower ratings of love, happiness, and likelihood of the relationship lasting than the dual career or male career couples in the present study.

It was expected that sex of stimulus person and career involvement of stimulus person would interact in ratings of how loving and sincere the stimulus person seemed. Since "loving" and "sincere" are more stereotypically female than male traits, it was thought possible that males in female career marriages, who were described as highly involved with home life and activities such as cooking, behavior which has been traditionally female, would receive greater attribution of these "female" traits than more career-involved males (males in dual career and male career marriages). Since career involvement has traditionally been more of a male trait, it was thought that career-involved females would be seen as more masculine and thus receive lower ratings than the traditional homemaker (in the male career marriage) on the "female" traits of lovingness and sincerity. However, it was expected that career women with home-oriented husbands would be rated as less loving and sincere than other female stimulus persons, based on the Feather and Simon (1975) finding of the negative evaluation of successful women by both sexes, as well as the apparent threat to males of female occupational superiority indicated in the Komarovsky (1973), Osmond and Martin (1975), and Winter et al. (1977) studies.



### Effects of Female and Male Career Involvement

A series of studies of 1960 British university graduates and their husbands (Bailyn, 1970; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1969; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976; Rapoport, Rapoport & Thiessen, 1974) have contributed greatly to the literature on marriages of working vs. nonworking wives by focusing attention on the career vs. family orientation of both spouses. While most studies of dual career marriages have focused on the wife's career orientation as a decisive factor influencing marital adjustment and satisfaction, Bailyn suggested that the husband's orientation is crucial for the wife's successful inclusion of a career in her life. Bailyn categorized husbands as family-oriented, if they mentioned family relationships as their first choice for source of greatest satisfaction in their lives, or career-oriented, if they mentioned only career or career first and family second. Two-thirds of the husbands were family-oriented and one-third career-oriented. Only 7 of 217 men did not mention either family or career as a first or second choice.

Since the preponderance of the wives in Bailyn's (1970) study mentioned either family relationships or running a home as primary sources of satisfaction (88% had or were expecting children), the family vs. career-orientation categories were not meaningful for the female subjects. However, career was important for 20% of the wives, who mentioned career as their second greatest source of satisfaction and who indicated on an attitude item that they favored married women engaging in a long term career. These women were labeled "integrated." A "traditional" group, which included 45% of the wives, did not list

work as an important source of satisfaction and was opposed to career involvement for married women. The other 35% of the wives were labeled "mixed" and either favored career involvement for married women without being involved themselves (25%) or opposed wives' career involvement but listed work as an important source of satisfaction (10%).

Bailyn (1970) points to a comparison of the marriages of integrated wives to family-oriented husbands and integrated wives to career-oriented husbands as evidence of the pivotal effect of the husband's orientation on marital adjustment in dual career marriages. While 56% of the former marriages were rated "very happy" by both spouses, only 12% of the latter were so described. Sixty-two percent of traditional and mixed wives with family-oriented husbands had marriages described as very happy by both partners, while 54% and 53%, respectively, of the marriages of traditional and mixed wives to career-oriented husbands were so described.

Further evidence that the husband's orientation is more pivotal than the wife's is offered by Rapoport et al.'s (1974) finding using data collected on the same subjects that regardless of the orientation of the wife, more everyday activities are enjoyed by both partners if the husband is family-oriented. The wife's orientation did have some effect in addition. Couples with integrated wives enjoyed more activities than couples where the wife's orientation was mixed or traditional. Rapoport et al. discuss their findings in relation to Young and Wilmott's (1973) book on The Symmetrical Family. Young and

Wilmott predict that in the family of the future, both partners will be highly involved with careers but also highly involved with home and family. Families in the British series of studies with integrated wives and family-oriented husbands fit Young and Wilmott's definition of a symmetrical family.

Rapoport and Rapoport (1976) have recently reviewed their research of the 60's and extensively studied 16 dual career families from their original sample, publishing detailed case studies of 5. They discuss some of the problems these families faced in the 60's and attempt to identify some of the changes emerging in sex roles and family structure as evidenced in the literature on dual career families in the early 70's.

During the 60's, there were few dual career families as models. The Rapoport's' subjects had to evolve their own patterns of work and home involvement. Despite many variations depending upon the individuals, the nature of their careers, whether or not they worked together, etc., several consistencies emerged for all couples studied. All were pleased with the dual career pattern and particularly emphasized the gain of the wife's fulfillment, but the couples also shared several problems. They frequently felt stress due to lack of time. Both husbands and wives reported experiencing some identity dilemmas regarding sex roles. For the men there was some conflict over how much occupational achievement to tolerate in their wives relative to their own degree of achievement. The husbands also experienced some conflict regarding how much domestic responsibility to assume. However, the

wives assumed the majority of domestic responsibility in most cases, the Rapoport report. The wives reported identity conflicts regarding their femininity and role as mothers—they were very sensitive to criticisms from friends and relatives to the effect that they should be devoting more time to their children and their home.

Problems in regard to sex roles were also encountered by subjects in the studies of dual career marriages in the 70's reviewed by Rapoport and Rapoport (1976). Despite a strong belief in equity held by many couples (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975), the husband's career was still given primary consideration in most cases (Holmstrom, 1972). Garland (1972) found that of 53 men married to women who were attorneys, physicians, or college teachers, 20 were "traditional" (undisputed heads of the family), 27 were "neo-traditional" (their careers came first), 5 were "matriarchal" (the woman's requirements in the marriage came first), and 1 was fully egalitarian. In a study of New York couples who were lawyers working in the same firm (Epstein, 1971), it appeared that the women were put in the "woman's place" in the firm, performing the less visible, less prestigious work.

Not only did the woman's career continue to come second in the 70's. She also continued to hold the majority of responsibility for domestic work and child care. Oakley (1974) noted that the increased participation in the home of dual career husbands was a case of "helping out," rather than assuming a major portion of the responsibility, and tended to be in more enjoyable tasks, such as child care. Rapoport and Rapoport (1976) comment that the major bottleneck to

equality between the sexes in the 60's was discriminatory employment and advancement practices in career fields. Now the Rapoport's feel that the major obstacle to an egalitarian relationship between the sexes is in the domestic arena. Women are still handling much more of the overload resulting from the dual career pattern than are men. The Rapoport's do not expect to see truly egalitarian marriages until men recognize that their gains from the dual career pattern are as great as their wives' gains, e.g., in the lessening of economic pressure when both work and in the opportunities for more intimate relationships with their children. The men's liberation movement is suggested as a possibility for furthering insights in this direction, but the Rapoport's feel that it has not yet reached many men.

In addition to the studies reviewed by the Rapoport's, several studies of dual career marriages in the United States are relevant to the present research. Ridley's (1973) study of the relationship between job satisfaction, job involvement, and marital adjustment followed the Rapoport's' lead in making use of input from both spouses. He found that job satisfaction was positively correlated with marital adjustment for husbands, but the two were not positively correlated for wives until children were of school age. Job involvement (defined as time spent in relation to the job beyond the normal eight-hour day) was negatively related to marital adjustment for both husbands and wives, although over a third of those who were highly involved also had high marital adjustment scores.

Marital adjustment has also been studied in husbands and wives who

were both students (Price-Bonham, 1973). Price-Bonham compared the marital adjustment of dual student couples with that of couples where the husband only was a student using Burgess, Locke, and Thomas' (1963) Marital Adjustment Test (MAT). MAT scores were lower when both spouses were students than when the husband only was a student. The relationship between employment of both spouses and marital adjustment was also investigated. Employment of both spouses was not associated with lower MAT scores if only the husband was a student. It was associated with lower MAT scores, however, if both spouses were students as well as being employed. Price-Bonham interpreted this finding as a result of pressure upon both spouses due to combining work and school obligations with marriage, but possibly in addition as an effect of challenging the concept of the male as "provider" and "superior." She also suggests that perhaps the MAT was not an appropriate measure of marital adjustment for couples who are non-traditional in their sex-role attitudes. The MAT stresses togetherness, and she comments that couples "might actually share fewer activities, yet feel themselves happier with their marriage than if they were sharing more activities" (p. 37). Despite their higher MAT scores, Price-Bonham's group where only the husband was a student selected more specified problem areas as "serious" or "very serious" than did her group where both spouses were students. She feels it might be worthwhile to investigate whether problem areas are indicative of lower marital adjustment.

Price-Bonham's discussion points up some of the problems in research where measures of marital adjustment have been used to measure

the effects on marriage of changes in sex-role behavior. Many different criteria of marital adjustment have been used, and the assumptions they embody may be outdated, e.g., the "togetherness" criterion that Price-Bonham discusses. Also, it seems that any one criterion will not be sufficient to evaluate a marriage. If one studies the relationship of problems to marital adjustment, for example, as Price-Bonham suggests, problems may be found to have a negative effect on adjustment in some samples, e.g., her group of couples where only the husband was a student, but not in other samples, e.g., the Rapoport's (1976) dual career couples. These couples reported many problems, but they also stated that they were happy with the dual career pattern and preferred it to the less stressful, more conventional marital patterns.

Several recent studies have focused more attention on the effects of the dual career pattern on the development of the spouses' careers than on marital adjustment per se. However, Ridley's (1973) study suggests that the two are related for husbands and for wives with school age children.

Martin, Berry, and Jacobsen (1975) studied dual career marriages of sociologists who worked together in the same university departments. Women sociologists married to husbands in the same departments when compared to other female sociologists were more likely to have a PhD, attain higher academic rank, gain more promotions, avoid demotions, and practice longer professional careers. However, they were employed on a half-time basis more than their husbands or other female sociologists. (Nepotism rules were mentioned as one possible explanation, though it

seems that half-time employment of husbands could have resulted as well if this were the only factor.) Martin et al. did not consider effects of these dual career marriages on the husband's career or on the marital adjustment of the couple.

Bryson, Bryson, Licht, and Licht (1976) did a similar but more extensive study of husbands and wives who were both American Psychological Association (APA) members and compared them with male and female controls who were APA members not married to another APA member. Husbands were the most productive (in terms of number of publications and grants received) of all groups. Wives were more productive than female controls but not as productive as husbands or male controls. Interestingly, husbands and wives who worked in the same institutions were more productive than couples who worked in different institutions, but wives who worked in the same institutions as their husbands received lower salaries than wives who worked in different institutions. Wives in general in this study received the lowest average annual income of all groups (even when hours worked were controlled for). They were also the least satisfied with their careers of all four groups on 9 out of 10 measures (advancement, regard as a professional, freedom to pursue long range goals, etc.).

While Bryson et al. (1976) did not include any measures of marital satisfaction in their study, they did question the husband-wife psychologist teams on areas often considered problems in the marital adjustment of dual career couples. On questions concerning perceived relative career importance and value, in general the husband's career was



placed ahead of the wife's by both partners, although more of the husbands than of the wives felt the wives' careers deserved equal consideration. Graham Staines (cited in Murphy, 1977, p. 26) comments that awareness of this inequity in dual career marriages "pervades the relationship and becomes the catalyst for dispute." However, division of responsibility for domestic activities proved to be more of a bone of contention in the Bryson et al. (1976) study. Wives had the majority of responsibility for cooking, marketing, laundry, and care of school age and preschool children. They were more responsible than husbands for housecleaning, but 50% of this responsibility was delegated to employed help. Husbands had majority responsibility for only one activity, household repairs, though they had more responsibility than wives for gardening, lawn care, and outdoor maintenance. Seventy-two percent of the pairs indicated on the couple questionnaire that they felt they had worked out a satisfactory division of labor, although 38.5% of the husband questionnaires and 41.5% of the wife questionnaires indicated disagreements over division of labor were either a major or a minor problem in their marriage, and "many respondents" indicated the questions had elicited heated discussions. Responses of the female controls, the majority of whom were probably involved in dual career marriages, were similar to those of psychologist wives regarding division of labor.

In summary, the literature relative to effects of female and male career involvement indicates positive and negative effects of the dual career relationship. While considering only the case of dual career

couples where both husband and wife are in the same field, the Martin et al. (1975) and Bryson et al. (1976) studies suggest that members of dual career couples may help each other to become more productive. Rapoport et al.'s (1974) findings indicate that dual career couples may have greater enjoyment of everyday activities than traditional couples. Despite the problems encountered, Rapoport and Rapoport's (1976) subjects say they prefer the dual career life style to other patterns. When one looks at the literature on marital adjustment and marital satisfaction, however, some negative effects of the dual career relationship have been reported. For example, Bailyn (1970) found that marriages of integrated wives (who were involved with career as well as family) to career-oriented husbands were less likely to be rated "very happy" by both partners than other marriages in her study. However, marriages of integrated wives to family-oriented men were not less likely to be rated as very happy. Measures of marital adjustment in the Ridley (1973) and Price-Bonham (1973) studies also appear to indicate possible negative effects of dual career involvement. However, the evidence is not conclusive, particularly since, as Price-Bonham suggests, the results may have been influenced by assumptions about the nature of marital adjustment, i.e., that "togetherness" is important. Also, it seems that adequate research on marital adjustment would have to employ multiple criteria of marital adjustment. Price-Bonham proposes further research as to whether problems are related to poor marital adjustment. If problems can be disastrous to the marriage, the Bryson et al. (1976) study indicates that dual career marriages could

be negatively affected by disputes over division of responsibility for domestic affairs. Rapoport and Rapoport's (1976) survey of the literature on dual career marriages also indicates that dual career couples encounter problems in handling domestic responsibilities, but their studies and those of Garland (1972), Holmstrom (1972), Oakley (1974), and Poloma (1972) suggest that this will be more of a problem for the wife than for the husband, since home and children are tacitly assumed to be her major responsibility. Rapoport and Rapoport feel that the area of greatest tension for the husband has been the threat of having to relinquish occupational superiority.

Coupled with the results of the attitude and demographic studies, the negative effects on marital adjustment reported and the problems encountered by husbands and wives in the dual career marriages studied suggested that subjects in the present study might be hypothesized to see dual career marriages as less loving, less happy, and less likely to last than the traditional male career marriages.

#### Summary of Hypotheses

On the basis of the above-mentioned research and ideas, the following hypotheses were suggested:

1. Expressive male stimulus persons (SPs) will be rated more expressive, loving, and sincere than expressive female SPs making the same statements.
2. Marriages where the husband is expressive of his feelings about his wife will be rated higher on love, happiness, and likelihood of lasting than marriages where the wife makes the same expressive statements about her husband, across all career orientation combinations.

3. Dual career marriages will be seen as less loving, less happy, and less likely to last than the traditional male career-female homemaker combination.
4. The female career marriages will receive the lowest ratings of love, happiness, and likelihood that the marriage will last.
5. Non-traditional (dual career and female career) marriages will receive lower ratings from male than from female subjects.
6. There will be an interaction between sex of stimulus person and career on ratings of how loving and sincere the stimulus person appears. Males in female career marriages will be rated less loving and sincere than males in dual career or male career marriages (whose ratings will not differ significantly). Females in female career marriages will also receive lower ratings than females in other marriages, and there will be a significant difference between ratings of females in male career and dual career marriages, with dual career wives receiving the higher ratings.

## METHOD

### Design

A 2 X 2 X 3 X 2 "Mixed" design (Keppel, 1973, p. 440) with two between-subject and two within-subject variables was used. Sex of respondent and sex of stimulus person (SP) were the between-subject variables. One within-subject variable was career orientation of fictional marital partners, involving three patterns: the traditional male career (MC) couple vs. the dual career (DC) couple vs. the female career (FC) couple (career-oriented wife and home-oriented husband). The other within-subject variable was expressiveness vs. non-expressiveness of SP in describing feelings about his/her supposed marital partner.

### Subjects

Subjects were 80 female and 80 male California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, behavioral science students. Division by class standing was similar for males and females. Of the females, there were 31% freshmen, 27% sophomores, 24% juniors, and 18% seniors. For males the division was: 34% freshmen, 22% sophomores, 29% juniors, 13% seniors, and 2% graduates. The mean age of male subjects was 24.7, and the mean age for females was 24.3. The majority (approximately 70%) of both sexes were single, but approximately 20% were married and approximately 10% divorced.

### Procedure

Twelve scripts were written of fictional interviews for a marriage survey (See Appendix A). In six of the scripts, female SPs were interviewed by the experimenter. In the other six scripts, male SPs were interviewed. All SPs were described as having been married for approximately a year and a half and having no children. Questions in the interview concerned the SP's career involvement and perception of her/his spouse's career involvement and the SP's feelings about the spouse. Subjects did not receive information about the spouse's answers to the same questions. SPs were asked in the interview not to mention specific job titles. The information available about career involvement of the SP and spouse consisted of the SP's ratings of self and spouse career involvement on a scale from 1 to 10 and answers to questions concerning how long they planned to continue working and how much time they spent in relation to their careers outside of regular working hours. On the basis of answers to the career questions, the SP was presented as a partner in a female career (FC), dual career (DC), or male career (MC) marriage. There were two male and two female SPs for each of the career categories. Within each sex and career category, the scripts were further differentiated in terms of the SP's responses to the experimenter's request for a description of the SP's feelings about her/his spouse. SPs responded with either a non-expressive (NE) answer (e.g., "S/He's a good wife/husband") or an expressive (E) answer (e.g., "It's easy to talk about my feelings about Lisa. I don't know how brief I'm going to be—I'm pretty emotional sometimes,

especially when I get on the subject of Lisa. I feel totally in love with her. I have absolutely no reservations about being married to her. I feel kind of exhilarated every now and then when it hits me that we're together. Sometimes I wake up in the middle of the night, and she's there beside me, and I just feel so rich—like I have everything.") There were thus six combinations of the three career patterns and the two levels of expressiveness: MCE, MCNE, DCE, DCNE, FCE, and FCNE.

While sex of SP was a between-subject variable in the study, career pattern and degree of expressiveness were within-subject variables. Since each respondent would be reading both an expressive and a non-expressive SP's answers for each of the career patterns, two versions of answers giving the same kind of career involvement had to be written. Three versions each of non-expressive and expressive descriptions of feelings about the spouse also had to be written, one for each of the three career patterns. While it was fairly easy to word the career information and the non-expressive descriptions of feelings in different but very similar forms, there was a greater variation in the wording of the expressive statements about the spouse. However, they all contained superlative statements about the spouse (e.g., "I feel totally in love with him/her," "I just love him/her tremendously," "I just feel so close to him/her"). They also contained descriptions of the SP as being an expressive person (e.g., "Maggie says I really express my feelings a lot compared to most people," "My friends say I get carried away when I'm talking about my feelings for Tina,"

"I'm pretty emotional sometimes, especially when I get on the subject of Jim.")

Tape recordings were made of volunteer SPs reading the twelve scripts. It was thought that perhaps sex of SP would be more salient from hearing a male or female voice on a tape than it would be from mere reading of a name on a written script. Each subject heard either a male or a female tape (the six male SPs or the six female SPs) and received a script to refer to as the tape was played. Subjects were also instructed that they could refer back to the scripts if necessary while answering the questionnaire. The order of scripts, as well as the order of the SPs on the tapes, was randomized and changed for each class.

Either a male or a female tape was randomly assigned to each of eight behavioral science classes until four classes had heard the male tape and the other four had heard the female tape. As there was a larger number of female respondents in all but one of the classes, 39 questionnaires filled out by female subjects who heard a female tape and 20 questionnaires filled out by females who heard a male tape were randomly eliminated to obtain equal numbers of males and females. Eight incomplete questionnaires filled out by males who heard the female tape and two questionnaires filled out by males who heard the male tape were also eliminated. The final questionnaires subjected to analysis thus included those of 40 males and 40 females who had heard the male tape and 40 males and 40 females who had heard the female tape.



Subjects were told that they were participating in a study of marriage relationships and that they would be listening to people talking about their marriages, after which they would be asked to indicate their impressions of the marriages on the questionnaire. It was requested that any questions not pertaining to how to respond to the questionnaire be held until after all students in the class had completed their questionnaires. Despite this request, several subjects in the first class to participate in the study raised their hands after the tape had been played and asked if the SPs were "real" people. They were asked to hold this question until all questionnaires in the class were completed. As a result of discussion with this class after they had completed their questionnaires, the instructions were changed for subsequent classes to indicate that the SPs had had an opportunity to write down answers to the questions about their career involvement and feelings about their spouses and were allowed to read these answers on the tape if they wished. (Subjects in the first class had commented that the SPs sounded as if they were reading.)

When the tapes had been played and all students in the class had completed their questionnaires, the design and hypotheses of the study were discussed with each class, and subjects were told that the "interviews" they had heard were actually scripts devised to control experimentally the information available about the couples. The classes were asked not to discuss the study with other behavioral science students, who might be participating in the study, for the next couple of weeks.

### Questionnaire

Along with a booklet of scripts for the tape which the class heard (See Appendix A), each subject received a questionnaire containing an instruction page where s/he was asked to indicate age, sex, marital status, and year in school, and six question pages, one for each of the marriages discussed on the tape. (See Appendix B for complete questionnaire.) There were eight questions concerning each marriage. Four of the questions involved ratings of the SP (how loving, sincere, expressive, and involved in his/her career the SP seemed). However, the other four questions involved ratings of the marriage based only on the information given by the SP. Subjects were asked to rate how happy together the couple seemed, how likely it seemed that their relationship would continue another year, how likely that it would continue another five years, and how much in love they seemed. Several subjects commented that they found it difficult to rate a marriage after hearing only one partner's viewpoint, but when asked to do the best they could, all but one male subject were able to complete the questionnaire. Responses were indicated on the questionnaire by circling a number from 1 to 7 expressing strength of the attribution being measured.

## RESULTS

Separate four-way analyses of variance were performed for each of the eight dependent variables (the eight questions answered about each marriage discussed on the tapes). (See Appendix B for an example of a complete questionnaire.) There were significant main effects for Career and Expressiveness on all eight variables ( $p < .05$ ). Female career marriages received lower ratings than dual or male career marriages, and marriages represented by a non-expressive SP received lower ratings than marriages where the SP was expressive. Significant interactions and comparisons between means will be discussed below in regard to the hypotheses advanced, and then post hoc findings will be summarized.

Hypothesis 1: Expressive male SPs will be rated more expressive, loving, and sincere than expressive female SPs making the same statements.

There were no significant Sex of SP by Expressiveness interactions for ratings of how loving, sincere, or expressive the SP seemed. There was a significant Sex of Subject by Sex of SP by Expressiveness interaction on ratings of expressiveness of SPs,  $F(1, 156) = 5.7004$ ,  $p < .05$ . However, the results provided only partial support for Hypothesis 1. Female subjects gave higher expressiveness ratings to expressive males ( $\bar{X} = 6.375$ ) than to expressive females ( $\bar{X} = 6.05$ ), as it was hypothesized both sexes would do, but the  $F$  for simple effect

of Sex of SP was not significant,  $F(1, 312) = 1.099$ . Male subjects gave higher expressiveness ratings to expressive females ( $\bar{X} = 6.025$ ) than to expressive males ( $\bar{X} = 5.75$ ), a difference in the direction opposite to that expected. However, the  $F$  for simple effect of Sex of SP also failed to reach significance here,  $F(1, 312) = .787$ . Thus Hypothesis 1 received only very tentative support from the results for female subjects, which were in the direction predicted but did not reach significance.

Hypothesis 2: Marriages where the husband is expressive of his feelings about his wife will be rated higher on love, happiness, and likelihood of lasting than marriages where the wife makes the same expressive statements about her husband, across all career orientation combinations.

There were no significant Sex of SP by Expressiveness interactions for ratings of how much in love the couples seemed, how happy together they seemed, or how likely it seemed that their marriages would last another year or another five years. Thus Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

Hypothesis 3: Dual career marriages will be seen as less loving, less happy, and less likely to last than the traditional male career-female homemaker combination.

While there was a significant Career effect across all dependent variables in the study ( $p < .05$ ), Dunn's multiple comparisons procedure for planned, non-orthogonal comparisons among means (Kirk, 1968, p. 79) indicated no significant differences between mean ratings of the dual career and male career marriages on any of the variables. (See Table 1 for mean ratings.) In fact, the non-significant differences observed

Table 1

Mean Ratings of Career Patterns on All Dependent Variables

Dependent Variable	Career Pattern		
	Female Career	Male Career	Dual Career
How happy together partners are	4.647	5.178	5.347
Likelihood marriage will last 1 yr.	5.150	5.478	5.647
Likelihood marriage will last 5 yrs.	4.128	4.800	5.066
How much in love couple seems	4.606	5.016	5.031
How loving SP seems	4.706	4.956	4.803
Sincerity of SP	4.956	5.084	5.181
Career involvement of SP	4.388	5.166	6.378
Expressiveness of SP	4.303	4.475	4.662

on all variables were in the direction opposite to that predicted, with dual career marriages receiving slightly higher ratings than male career marriages, on all but one variable, how loving the SP seemed.

Thus Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Hypothesis 4: Female career marriages will receive the lowest ratings of love, happiness, and likelihood that the marriage will last.

Dunn's multiple comparisons procedure for planned comparisons among means did indicate that the female career marriages were rated significantly lower ( $p < .05$ ) than both the dual career and the male career marriages when subjects were asked how happy together the couples seemed, how likely it seemed that their marriage would last another year and another five years, respectively, and how much in love the couple seemed. (See Table 1 for mean ratings.) Thus Hypothesis 4 was supported.

Hypothesis 5: Non-traditional (dual career and female career) marriages will receive lower ratings from male than from female subjects.

There were significant Sex by Career by Expressiveness interactions on ratings of likelihood that the marriage would last another year,  $F(2, 312) = 4.372$ , and on ratings of how much in love the couple seemed,  $F(2, 312) = 4.693$ . (See Table 2 for mean ratings by Sex of Subject, Career, and Expressiveness categories.) Females gave significantly higher ratings than males of the likelihood of the marriages of dual career expressive couples lasting another year. The simple effect of Sex of Subject,  $F(1, 936) = 5.343$ , was significant at the .05 level. Females also gave significantly higher ratings than males to dual

Table 2

Mean Ratings by Sex of Subject, Career, and Expressiveness  
for Significant Interactions Involving Sex of Subject

Dependent Variable and Significant Interaction	Career Pattern		
	Female Career	Male Career	Dual Career
Chance of marriage lasting 5 yrs. (SC) <sup>a</sup>			
Female Subjects	3.662	4.350	4.150
Male Subjects	3.850	3.975	4.038
Chance of marriage lasting 1 yr. (SCE) <sup>b</sup>			
Expressive Couples:			
Female Subjects	5.775	6.075	6.500
Male Subjects	5.650	5.938	6.025
Non-Expressive Couples:			
Female Subjects	4.412	5.225	5.175
Male Subjects	4.762	4.675	4.888
How much in love couple seems (SCE) <sup>b</sup>			
Expressive Couples:			
Female Subjects	5.575	5.862	6.188
Male Subjects	5.338	5.875	5.750
Non-Expressive Couples:			
Female Subjects	3.662	4.350	4.150
Male Subjects	3.850	3.975	4.038

Note. All interactions were significant at the .05 level.

<sup>a</sup>Sex of Subject X Career

<sup>b</sup>Sex of Subject X Career X Expressiveness

career expressive couples on how much in love they seemed,  $F(1, 936) = 4.643, p .05$ .

There was also a significant Sex by Career interaction on ratings of likelihood that the marriage would last another five years, with females giving significantly higher ratings to dual career couples than males,  $F(1, 468) = 3.89, p .05$ . (See Table 2 for mean ratings by Sex of Subject and Career categories.)

Results on these three dependent variables thus partially support Hypothesis 5, in that the non-traditional dual career marriages received significantly lower ratings from males than from females. Though their ratings differed significantly on these variables, however, it can be seen from Table 2 that both sexes gave dual career marriages the highest ratings. There were no significant sex differences in ratings of female career couples. They received the lowest ratings of all career categories from both sexes. Thus only partial support was provided for Hypothesis 5.

Hypothesis 6: There will be an interaction between sex of stimulus person and career on ratings of how loving and sincere the stimulus person appears. Males in female career marriages will be rated less loving and less sincere than males in dual career or male career marriages (whose ratings will not differ significantly). Females in female career marriages will also receive lower ratings than females in other marriages, and there will be a significant difference between ratings of females in male career and dual career marriages, with dual career wives receiving the higher rating.

Sex of Stimulus Person by Career interactions were not significant for either lovingness or sincerity. Thus Hypothesis 6 was not supported.



### Post Hoc Findings

#### Sex Differences in Addition to Those Discussed Above

Female subjects gave higher mean ratings of sincerity of SP ( $\bar{X} = 5.231$ ) than did males ( $\bar{X} = 4.917$ ),  $F(1, 156) = 5.552$ ,  $p = .05$ .

There was also a significant simple effect of sex of subject,  $F(1, 468) = 5.157$ , for the significant Sex by Career interaction on ratings of how involved in her/his career the SP seemed. Females gave higher ratings of career involvement ( $\bar{X} = 5.431$ ) than did males ( $\bar{X} = 4.90$ ) to SPs in male career marriages.

#### Additional Sex of Stimulus Person Findings

There was a significant Sex of SP by Career interaction with a significant simple effect for Sex of SP on ratings of how happy female career marriages seemed,  $F(1, 468) = 6.31$ ,  $p = .05$ . Male stimulus persons in female career marriages ( $\bar{X} = 4.381$ ) were seen as having less happy marriages than female stimulus persons in female career marriages ( $\bar{X} = 4.912$ ).

There was also a significant Sex of SP by Career interaction for ratings of career involvement of stimulus person,  $F(2, 312) = 458.483$ . As might be expected, there were significant simple effects for Sex of SP in ratings of SPs in male career and female career marriages. The male SP in a male career marriage ( $\bar{X} = 6.362$ ) was seen as more career-involved than the female SP in a male career marriage ( $\bar{X} = 3.969$ ), and conversely, the female SP in a female career marriage ( $\bar{X} = 6.531$ ) was seen as more involved than the male SP ( $\bar{X} = 2.244$ ) in such a marriage.

On ratings of likelihood of the marriage lasting another five years, there was a significant Sex of SP by Career interaction,  $F(2, 312) = 4.39, p .05$ . There were significant simple effects of career, with significantly higher ratings for dual career than for male career marriages, for ratings of female and male SPs' marriages,  $F(2, 312) = 17.58$  and  $38.37$ , respectively. There were no significant simple effects of Sex of SP, although Sex of SP had more of an effect for ratings of female career marriages (with female SPs' marriages rated slightly more likely to last than male SPs' marriages) and for ratings of male career marriages (with male SPs' marriages receiving slightly higher ratings) than for ratings of dual career marriages.

On ratings of expressiveness of SP, there was a significant Sex of SP by Career interaction,  $F(2, 312) = 5.343, p .05$ . Although  $F$ 's for simple effects of Sex of SP were not significant, male SPs in female career marriages and female SPs in male career marriages tended to receive lower expressiveness ratings than their career-involved counterparts, the female SPs in female career marriages and the male SPs in male career marriages. There was a significant simple effect of Career only for ratings of male SPs,  $F(2, 312) = 10.536$ . Tukey's HSD indicated that male SPs in female career marriages ( $\bar{X} = 4.138$ ) were seen as significantly less expressive than males in either dual career ( $\bar{X} = 4.7$ ) or male career ( $\bar{X} = 4.606$ ) marriages,  $p .05$ .

#### Career-Expressiveness Interaction

On ratings of how loving the SP seemed, there was a significant

Career by Expressiveness interaction,  $F(2, 312) = 3.58$ , with a significant simple effect of career,  $F(2, 624) = 15.287$ , for ratings of non-expressive stimulus persons. Non-expressive SPs in male career marriages ( $\bar{X} = 3.8$ ) were rated significantly more loving than non-expressive SPs in female career marriages ( $\bar{X} = 3.35$ ).

## DISCUSSION

### Summary of Overall Findings and Their Implications

#### Liberalism of Attitudes Toward Dual Career Marriage

Perhaps the most striking finding in the present study was the apparent liberalism of subjects' views regarding dual career marriage, possibly because couples were described as not having children, or possibly because the respondents were college students. Bernard (1974) sees the young and the educated as a vanguard whose attitudes can be used to predict attitudes of the general public in the future, and several recent studies indicate the greater liberalism of sex-role attitudes of youth. Brogan and Kutner (1976) found that younger subjects were most nontraditional on their Sex Role Orientation scale, and older subjects were most traditional (though age differences were not significant for females). Roper and Labeff's (1977) student subjects had higher feminism scores than their parents (although on some issues mothers scored higher than sons).

Ratings of the three different career patterns in the present study, the female career marriage, the dual career marriage, and the male career marriage, indicate that, at least in this sample, current attitudes regarding the male's role as the exclusive career-oriented partner are changing and do not coincide with the more conservative findings of previous research. On seven of eight dependent variables, the dual career marriages (or stimulus persons in dual career

marriages) received higher mean ratings than male career marriages (or stimulus persons in male career marriages). Although the differences were not significant for any of the individual ratings, the probability of the dual career marriages receiving higher ratings than the male career marriages seven out of eight times if attitudes toward the two career patterns did not differ can be calculated by the general equation of the binomial probability distribution as being  $8(1/2)^7(1/2)^1 = .03125$ , or less than the .05 level of significance.

#### Negative Attitudes Toward Female Career Marriages

Although their attitudes were favorable toward dual career couples, subjects in the present study continued to regard the female career marriages, where the wife is extremely career-involved and the husband is not, very negatively. In all cases, for both male and female subjects, ratings of female career marriages and stimulus persons in these marriages were significantly lower than ratings for the dual career and male career couples. Male subjects' lower ratings of female career marriages are not surprising in view of previous findings indicating the threat to males of a wife with superior career achievement (e.g., Komarovsky, 1973; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976). However, in view of the literature indicating the generally greater liberalism of females' sex-role attitudes (e.g., Osmond & Martin, 1975; Roper & Labeff, 1977; Valentine et al. 1975), the negative ratings of female career marriages by females in the present study was unexpected. One can only speculate as to the basis for these negative ratings by females. Perhaps the women's dire predictions for the female career

marriages were reflective of their perception of men as not being happy with a wife whose job achievement was superior to their own (which would coincide with the perceptions of Parelus' 1975 female subjects). Or perhaps the female career marriages were seen by both sexes as a marriage of a competent woman to an incompetent man. Hagen and Kahn (1975) found that both their male and female subjects preferred competent men to competent women and incompetent women to incompetent men. They suggest that their subjects were resolving the dissonance experienced in encountering violations of their traditionally held beliefs about the nature of men and women by punishing the competent women and incompetent men (their subjects were given a choice of whom to exclude in forming future groups). Perhaps subjects in the present study were punishing female career couples by giving them lower ratings. Or perhaps the negative ratings of the female career couples are merely a reflection of a belief that similarity of spouses is necessary for a good marriage ("It wouldn't work out. They're too different.").

An additional indication of the negativity of attitudes toward the female career marriage is the finding that male SPs in female career marriages received significantly lower expressiveness ratings than male SPs in male career marriages. (Expressiveness was very positively valued in the present study, with expressive marriages and SPs receiving much higher ratings than non-expressive marriages and SPs on all dependent variables.) Once again one can speculate as to the basis for this finding. One possible interpretation is just that this is an example of a negative halo effect—the negative feeling

about the career pattern in the marriage also pervades ratings of expressiveness of male SPs in female career marriages. However, the same negative spread was not found in ratings of female SPs in female career as opposed to male career marriages. Another possible interpretation is that the male SPs may be seen as remaining in female career marriages not for love but because they have no alternatives for support—at least in the same style—outside of the marriage, and are thus perceived as less affectionate and less expressive of their affection (Personal communication, G. Cowan, 1977).

#### Lack of Sex Differences

Another surprising finding was the overall similarity of the responses of male and female subjects. Hypotheses regarding sex differences in ratings of nontraditional career combinations were only partially supported. While women were more optimistic about dual career marriages than men (they gave higher likelihood of lasting ratings to dual career marriages and saw dual career expressive couples as more in love than did men), both sexes agreed in giving dual career couples the highest and female career couples the lowest ratings.

One can speculate whether men's attributions regarding relationships of hypothetical couples are reflective of attitudes which would influence their actual behavior in selection of a mate (only 30% of the present sample were or had ever been married). Komarovsky's (1973) interviews with her male subjects and Hagen and Kahn's (1977) finding that men liked competent women when observing them but not when personally involved with them suggest that men's attitudes when

evaluating hypothetical situations may be more liberal than their behavior in situations which specifically concern them.

The difference between attitudes about hypothetical individuals and one's own feelings about appropriate behavior for oneself might also be investigated in regard to expressiveness, as well as situational variables which make expressiveness appropriate or inappropriate. Outcomes in the present study regarding subjects' perception of expressive males vs. expressive females did not follow a pattern predictable from that of previous studies. It was hypothesized that expressive males, on the basis of the fact that they were exhibiting out-of-role behavior, would be seen as more expressive than expressive females. The responses of female subjects gave slight but non-significant support for this hypothesis. Male subjects' responses were in the opposite direction of that predicted but also did not differentiate significantly between ratings of expressive males and expressive females. Perhaps in the situation set by the scripts, where the stimulus persons were asked by a hypothetical interviewer to express their feelings about their spouse, expressiveness was seen as appropriate for both sexes and not out of keeping for either sex role. On all dependent variables there were dramatically significant  $F$ 's for main effects of Expressiveness, with expressive couples and stimulus persons receiving more positive ratings than non-expressive couples and stimulus persons. There is the possibility, also, that there was some confounding of the vocal expressiveness which was part of the characteristic styles of the various stimulus persons with the verbal



expressiveness vs. non-expressiveness of the message.

### Limitations of the Present Study

#### Between-Subject vs. Within-Subject Design Issues

The three career orientations and two levels of expressiveness were presented as within variables so that the subjects might have a basis for comparison in evaluating the career involvement and expressiveness of marital partners. However, this design also presented the problem of writing scripts which controlled the amount of information varying and yet did not sound too much alike to be perceived as authentic conversations. Several subjects asked if they were listening to "real" interviews and were requested to hold any questions not pertaining to the filling out of the questionnaire until everyone had handed in their questionnaires. As mentioned above, instructions were changed on the basis of the first class's comments so that they indicated that stimulus persons on the tapes had had an opportunity to think about and write down responses which they could read if they wished while being taped, primarily to explain the fact that some of the SPs sounded as if they were reading, but also with the hope of explaining the similarity of responses of the different SPs. (One subject who said she thought the SPs sounded as if they were reading said that she assumed they were reading questionnaire responses out loud.)

#### Tapes vs. Scripts

As mentioned in the discussion of the procedure, interviews with stimulus persons were taped in the hope that sex of stimulus person

would be more salient aloud than when it was indicated by a written name on a script. However, there were several problems with the tapes resulting from the personal styles of the stimulus persons: some, as mentioned above, spoke in much more expressive tones than others; and some, despite efforts to select the best tapings from several for each script, sounded unnatural and as if they were reading, particularly on the expressive scripts. In view of these problems and the possibility that sex of stimulus person might be as salient when a name is repeated over and over in a written script as it is on tape, it might be preferable to use only scripts in future studies of this type. (Of course, there are still the problems of writing realistic sounding scripts.)

#### Problems Involved in Group Administration

Because of spontaneous oral responses of some subjects in a class to particular SPs or statements on the tapes, it is likely that other subjects' reactions to the same material were influenced. For example, in several classes the statement by a non-expressive SP about his/her spouse, "I think s/he's a good wife/husband" elicited laughter from many subjects when a very expressive SP had preceded on the tape.

#### Problems in the Definition and Perception of Career Involvement

The label, "dual career marriage," frequently appears in the current popular and scientific literature and often does not indicate whether a wife is deeply involved in a particular field or is working primarily for financial reasons but feels more personally involved with

home activities. Thus it is difficult to make generalizations across studies. The scripts in the current study provided three indexes of high career involvement: the SP's self-rating of involvement on a scale from 1 to 10 (9 or 10 for career-oriented); the SP's answer to the question of how long s/he planned to continue working (whole lifetime); and the SP's description of self as spending a great deal of time outside of regular working hours in relation to her/his career (Ridley's 1973 definition). Indications of the home orientation of SPs were less consistent and may have led to the difference in ratings of career involvement of home-oriented male vs. female SPs. To avoid connotations of failure, laziness, or femininity, home-oriented male SPs were described as employed. However, they were described as more involved at home than with their jobs. They rated their job involvement as "3 or 4" on the 1 to 10 scale, they avoided extra hours of work, they expressed the hope of quitting as soon as financially possible, and they stated the importance to them of home activities. In contrast, home-oriented wives were described as traditional homemakers. Further confusion arose from a description of one of the home-oriented women as a "career homemaker." It would have been more consistent to define home orientation for wives in the same terms as it was defined for the male SPs: more involved at home than with their jobs, avoiding extra hours, and desirous of quitting as soon as possible. Such a definition would also make possible the differentiation of attitudes toward career-involved wives vs. wives who work for financial reasons.

### Future Research

Several areas for future research have been suggested by the outcomes and issues in the present study. Though expressiveness was included as a variable here primarily because of its previous association with the female sex role, further study of the relationship between expressiveness and marital success is suggested. The significant main effects for expressiveness across all variables indicate that expressiveness and marital success are certainly associated in the minds of the subjects in this study. Attributions of love in connection with both verbal and tonal expressiveness might also be studied. Situational variables affecting appropriateness of expressiveness for both sexes might also be investigated. Finally, attempts should be made to replicate the previous findings that expressiveness is considered a characteristic of the female sex role. Perhaps the male liberation movement and the popularity of sensitivity groups and "telling it like it is" have changed sex role norms so that expressiveness is now considered a neutral characteristic as likely to be found in males as in females.

Future research possibilities abound in relation to the career vs. home orientation of husband and wife. Measurement of attitudes toward career-involved wives vs. wives who work for financial reasons is one possibility suggested above. Effects of the career vs. work vs. home involvement of both spouses on the marriage and children might be investigated. Relationship of sex-role attitudes to actual behavior in mate selection and expectations of spouse is another area that needs to

be investigated, as suggested by Komarovsky's (1973) and Hagen and Kahn's (1977) findings.

Variables not considered in this study which might influence sex-role attitudes in regard to the career vs. family involvement of husband and wife are the age and marital status of respondents and whether or not couples with dual career involvement are described as having children (particularly children of preschool age).

Finally, Bryson et al. (1976) note that they have considered primarily the negative effects of dual career marriages (between husband and wife psychologists), although their findings suggest that greater productivity may be a possible positive effect. As our attitudes change, what we attend to may change. Subjects in the present study who expressed their views in discussions after administration of the questionnaires tended to focus on the benefits of the dual career relationship more than on its negative aspects. They saw both spouses in the dual career marriage as fully developed "individuals" who had their own interests and were not overly dependent on each other. Rapoport and Rapoport's (1976) dual career subjects also spoke a great deal about the positive aspects of the dual career pattern despite the problems they encountered. Laws (1971) brings up the question of why we have focused on "role strain" when a woman begins to work but have not used the same term to describe the birth of a new child in the family (she suggests that in the first case the husband has had to assume some of the "strain," while in the second it has fallen primarily upon the wife).

Awareness of the assumption we have made in the past that dual career marriages have negative rather than positive effects suggests that we may also be making other narrow assumptions, e.g., about the nature of marital adjustment. As Price-Bonham (1973) suggests, currently available measures of marital adjustment and satisfaction may not reflect today's values. Perhaps "the more togetherness the better" is not true for today's dual career partners, who might believe in "quality vs. quantity of time" instead. (Price-Bonham suggests investigation of number of problems couples have as an evaluation of marital adjustment.) The need for a measure of marital adjustment with multiple criteria was mentioned above. In short, from attitudes, to behavior, to revamping of assumptions, there are topics needing further investigation in relation to the career vs. home orientation of husband and wife and their influence on the family.

## APPENDIX A — SCRIPTS

### Scripts for Female Stimulus Persons

#### Lisa and Jim - Female Career Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular we're concerned with your and your husband's career involvement. Are you employed?

Lisa: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Lisa: Yes, definitely. I'm very involved with what I'm doing. I've been certain what I wanted to do since the second grade, and I think my life would be very empty without my career.

Int.: O.K. Now I'd like you to rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you.

Lisa: I'd rate it a 10.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Lisa: As long as I'm able to do a good job. I envy people like Picasso who can work even in their 80's.

Int.: One more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Lisa: Sometimes it does--if I have to attend conferences or do rush work to meet a deadline.

Int.: Now I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your husband's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention his specific job title, all right?

Lisa: O.K.

Int.: Does your husband work?

Lisa: Yes.

Int.: Do you think he would consider his job a career?

Lisa: Not really. I think he sees it as just a job--sort of a necessary evil. He's more of a home and family person than a career person.

Int.: If I asked him to rate his job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to him, how do you think he would answer?

Lisa: I don't know--not more than 4--probably lower.

Int.: And have you discussed how long he plans to keep on working?

Lisa: Well, the way the economy is, he'll probably keep on working for quite a while. If we can ever make it financially, he'd like to work only part time.

Int.: And the last job question--does his job involve much time outside of regular working hours?

Lisa: Well, he's pretty much of a 9 to 5'er, although he worked over-time a couple to times last year when we needed the money and he was offered time and a half.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your husband—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your husband very briefly in terms of your feelings about him?

Lisa: It's easy to talk about my feelings about Jim. I don't know how brief I'm going to be—I'm pretty emotional sometimes, especially when I get on the subject of Jim. I feel totally in love with him. I have absolutely no reservations about being married to him. I feel kind of exhilarated every now and then when it hits me that we're together. Sometimes I wake up in the middle of the night and he's there beside me and I just feel so rich—like I have everything.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

#### Tina and Mike—Male Career Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular we're concerned with your and your husband's career involvement. Are you employed?

Tina: No, I'm not.

Int.: Do you plan on working in the future?

Tina: Not at the moment, unless our financial situation changes drastically. I used to work before we were married, but I don't miss it. I really enjoy doing things at home—you know, decorating and cooking and stuff.

Int.: Good. Now I'd like you to try and answer some questions in regard to your husband's career. I'm going to ask you not to mention his specific job title, all right?

Tina: Yes.

Int.: Does your husband work?

Tina: Yes.

Int.: Do you think he would consider his job a career?

Tina: Yes, I'm sure he does. He really likes what he's doing. He's always telling me about everything happening at work, and he even dreams about his job. Sometimes he'll get up in the middle of the night and go write down an idea.

Int.: If I asked him to rate his job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to him, how do you think he would answer?

Tina: He'd probably say 10.

Int.: And have you discussed how long he plans to keep on working?

Tina: We haven't talked that much about his future work plans, but he's so involved in his work I guess I just take for granted that he'll continue on in the same kind of work until he's old enough to retire.

Int.: And the last job question—does his job involve much time outside of regular hours?



Tina: Yes, it does, if you add up the time he spends at home in addition to working late.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your husband—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your husband very briefly in terms of your feelings about him?

Tina: Let's see...Describe my feelings about Mike very briefly—that's a hard one. There are so many feelings that well up in me when I think about Mike, but I'll try to say it briefly. I just love him tremendously—you know, the kind of feeling where you could almost cry with tenderness when you think about someone. I always feel high when he's around, like we're having our own private party. I guess I'm not being very brief, am I? My friends say I get carried away when I'm talking about my feelings for Mike.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

### Maggie and Larry - Dual Career Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular we're concerned with your and your husband's career involvement. Are you employed?

Maggie: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Maggie: Yes—even financial considerations aside, I'm very involved with my work. It's not just a temporary thing. I can't imagine not staying in the same field.

Int.: O.K. Now, could you rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you?

Maggie: Ten, absolutely, no question. It's very important to me.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Maggie: 'Til I'm forced to retire, I guess.

Int.: And one more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Maggie: Well, I try not to let it, but sometimes I end up getting involved in evening conferences or bringing work home.

Int.: Now, I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your husband's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention his specific job title, all right?

Maggie: O.K.

Int.: Does your husband work?

Maggie: Yes.

Int.: Do you think he would consider his job a career?

Maggie: Absolutely. He's very work-oriented. He says his career is part of his identity.

Int.: If I asked him to rate his job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to him, how do you think he would answer?

Maggie: I'm sure he would say 10.

Int.: And have you discussed how long he plans to keep on working?

Maggie: He feels the same way I do. We both plan to be involved in our careers until we're old enough that we have to retire.

Int.: And the last job question—does his job involve much time outside of regular hours?

Maggie: Well, we both try to limit our overtime, but he does bring work home sometimes, and occasionally he's out of town weekends for conferences or conventions.

Int.: Thank you. And now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your husband—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your husband very briefly in terms of your feelings about him?

Maggie: My feelings about Larry? Now you're really going to get me started. Larry says I really express my feelings a lot compared to most people. You said briefly, didn't you? I'll try. I feel a very special love for Larry that I've never felt for anyone else—I just feel so close to him. We can just look at each other and feel all bubbly and tender and like our feelings and thoughts just flow between us. When we're apart, I always feel like I have something special to look forward to because I get to go home to Larry.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

#### Judy and David - Female Career Non-Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular we're concerned with your and your husband's career involvement. Are you employed?

Judy: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Judy: Yes, absolutely, I'm very involved in my field. My work is very important in my life. My husband says he can't understand how I can actually love working so much, but I do.

Int.: O.K., now I'd like you to rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you.

Judy: At least 9, maybe 10. Make that 10.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Judy: I can't imagine not working. I guess I'll keep on until I have to retire.

Int.: One more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Judy: Well, I try to keep down my overtime, but if I don't stay late at my office, I usually end up bringing work home with me.

Int.: Now I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your husband's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention his specific job title, all right?

Judy: Yes.

Int.: Does your husband work?

Judy: Yes.

Int.: Do you think he would consider his job a career?

Judy: No, we're different in that respect. I guess I'm lucky to have found something I'm interested in. David's working because we need the money, but he really doesn't care for his job. He likes doing stuff at home, and he's a fantastic cook.

Int.: If I asked him to rate his job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to him, how do you think he would answer?

Judy: Oh, I guess he'd say about 3.

Int.: And have you discussed how long he plans to keep on working?

Judy: I guess he'll keep on as long as we need the money. He's always trying to dream up some way to earn money at home, but so far he hasn't come up with anything.

Int.: And the last job question—does his job involve much time outside of regular hours?

Judy: He's worked overtime a few times when there was a lot of pressure on him to do it, but he pretty much manages to avoid it.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your husband—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your husband very briefly in terms of your feelings about him?

Judy: That's really a hard question for me to answer. I don't think of myself as the kind of person that expresses my feelings very much. I guess I sort of expect David to know how I feel without my having to say it. But...I think a lot of David. That pretty much sums up my feelings.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

#### Carrie and Mark - Male Career Non-Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples.

In particular we're concerned with your and your husband's career involvement. Are you employed?

Carrie: No.

Int.: Do you plan to work in the future?

Carrie: Well, I haven't got any definite plans. I suppose I might work part time some time if we need the money, but I really think of myself as a career homemaker. My home is really important to me, and I really enjoy things like cooking and sewing.

Int.: Good, Now I'd like you to try and answer some questions in regard to your husband's career. I'm going to ask you not to mention his specific job title, all right?

Carrie: Yes.

Int.: Do you think he would consider his job a career?

Carrie: Yes, Mark's got a job that he really likes. I always kid him that it's his hobby, too. Even when he doesn't bring work home with him, he thinks and talks work.

Int.: If I asked him to rate his job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to him, how do you think he would answer?

Carrie: Ten, definitely.

Int.: And have you discussed how long he plans to keep on working?

Carrie: The other day we were talking about a friend who keeps losing his jobs because he's not really interested in them, and Mark said he was glad he had a career he didn't mind working at until he retires.

Int.: And the last job question—does his job involve much time outside of regular hours?

Carrie: It has its ups and downs. Sometimes it's horrible and he goes in on weekends and gets up at crazy hours of the morning to work, then there are lulls when he has more free time.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your husband—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your husband very briefly in terms of your feelings about him?

Carrie: My feelings about Mark...Whew! I have a hard time expressing things like that. I guess I'm not a very emotional person...My feelings about him...Let's see...Well, I think he's an awfully good husband.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

### Ellen and Richard - Dual Career Non-Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular we're concerned with your and your husband's career involvement. Are you employed?

Ellen: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Ellen: Yes. It's more than just a job to me—I intend to stay with it. I guess I'm pretty lucky as far as my career goes. I know people who really hate their jobs, but I look forward to mine.

Int.: O.K. Now I'd like you to rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you.

Ellen: It's really very important to me—9 or 10—10, I guess.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Ellen: Until I'm old and can't do it any more, I suppose.

Int.: And one more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Ellen: Occasionally it does. When things get hectic, sometimes I have to stay at work evenings or come in on weekends.

Int.: Now, I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your husband's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention his specific job title, all right?

Ellen: O.K.

Int.: Does your husband work?

Ellen: Yes.

Int.: Do you think he would consider his job a career?

Ellen: Yes, I do. He feels the same way I do. He's very much a career person.

Int.: If I asked him to rate his job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to him, how do you think he would answer?

Ellen: I think he would rate it very high—probably a 10.

Int.: And have you discussed how long he plans to keep on working?

Ellen: I'm sure he plans to be involved with his career all his life.

Int.: And the last job question—does his job involve much time outside of regular hours?

Ellen: Well, his job's like mine. Sometimes everything's going along fine. Then there are times when we're swamped, and that means putting in extra hours.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your husband—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your husband very briefly in terms of your feelings about him?

Ellen: Well, I really don't know what to say...How do I feel about Richard?...I don't talk about that kind of thing much. I guess I'm not the mushy type. I think Richard's a good husband. I guess that kind of says how I feel.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

### Scripts for Male Stimulus Persons

#### Jim and Lisa - Female Career Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular we're concerned with your and your wife's career involvement. Are you employed?

Jim: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Jim: Not really. It's just a job as far as I'm concerned—sort of a necessary evil. I'm really more of a home and family person than a career person.

Int.: O.K., now I'd like you to rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you?

Jim: Oh, 3 or 4. Three, I guess.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Jim: Well, the way the economy is, I'll probably keep on working for quite a while. If we can ever make it financially, I'd like to work part time.

Int.: One more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Jim: Well, I'm pretty much of a 9 to 5'er, although I did work overtime a couple of times last year when we needed the money and I was offered time and a half.

Int.: Now I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your wife's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention her specific job title, all right?

Jim: O.K.

Int.: Does your wife work?

Jim: Yes.

Int.: Do you think she would consider her job a career?

Jim: Yes, definitely. She's very involved in what she's doing.

She's been certain what she wanted to do since the second grade, and she says her life would be empty without her career.

Int.: If I asked her to rate her job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to her, what do you think she would answer?

Jim: She'd probably rate it a 9 or 10.

Int.: And have you discussed how long she plans to keep on working?

Jim: We talked about that one day. She feels different than I do--she was saying how neat she thought it would be to be in your 80's and still be involved in your work like Picasso.

Int.: And the last job question--does her job involve much time outside of regular hours?

Jim: Sometimes it does--if she has to attend conferences or do rush work to meet a deadline.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your wife--which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your wife very briefly in terms of your feelings about her?

Jim: It's easy to talk about my feelings about Lisa. I don't know how brief I'm going to be--I'm pretty emotional sometimes, especially when I get on the subject of Lisa. I feel totally in love with her. I have absolutely no reservations about being married to her. I feel kind of exhilarated every now and then when it hits me that we're together. Sometimes I wake up in the middle of the night and she's there beside me and I just feel so rich--like I have everything.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

#### Mike and Tina - Male Career Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples.

In particular we're concerned with your and your wife's career involvement. Are you employed?

Mike: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Mike: Yes, I do. I really like what I'm doing. Tina, my wife, says I'm always talking about my job. Sometimes I even dream about work, then I get up in the middle of the night and write down ideas.

Int.: O.K., now I'd like you to rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you.

Mike: Ten. It's pretty important to me. I can't imagine life without it.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Mike: As long as I can do the job, I guess.

Int.: One more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Mike: Yes, it does if you add up the time I spend at home in addition to working late.

Int.: Now I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your wife's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention her specific job title, all right?

Mike: Tina doesn't work, so that won't be a problem.

Int.: Does she plan on working in the future?

Mike: Not at the moment, unless our financial situation changes drastically. She used to work before we were married, but she says she doesn't miss it. She really enjoys doing things at home—you know, decorating and cooking and stuff.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your wife—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your wife very briefly in terms of your feelings about her?

Mike: Let's see...Describe my feelings about Tina very briefly—that's a hard one. There are so many feelings that well up in me when I think about Tina, but I'll try to say it briefly. I just love her tremendously—you know, the kind of feeling where you could almost cry with tenderness when you think about someone. I always feel high when she's around, like we're having our own private party. I guess I'm not being very brief, am I? My friends say I get carried away when I'm talking about my feelings for Tina.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

### Larry and Maggie - Dual Career Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular we're concerned with your and your wife's career involvement. Are you employed?

Larry: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Larry: Yes—even financial considerations aside, I'm very involved in my work. It's not just a temporary thing. I can't imagine not staying in the same field.

Int.: O.K. Now, could you rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you?

Larry: Ten, absolutely, no question. It's very important to me.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Larry: 'Til I'm forced to retire, I guess.

Int.: And one more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Larry: Well, I try not to let it, but sometimes I end up getting involved in evening conferences or bringing work home.

Int.: Now, I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your wife's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention her specific job title, all right?

Larry: O.K.

Int.: Does your wife work?

Larry: Yes.

Int.: Do you think she would consider her job a career?

Larry: Absolutely. She's very work-oriented. She says her career is part of her identity.

Int.: If I asked her to rate her job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to her, what do you think she would answer?

Larry: I'm sure she would say 10.

Int.: And have you discussed how long she plans to keep on working?

Larry: She feels the same way I do. We both plan to keep involved with our careers until we're old enough that we have to retire.

Int.: And the last job question—does her job involve much time outside of regular hours?

Larry: Well, we both try to limit our overtime, but she does bring work home sometimes, too, and occasionally she's out of town weekends for conferences or conventions.

Int.: Thank you. And now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your wife—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your wife very briefly in terms of your feelings about her?

Larry: My feelings about Maggie? Now you're really going to get me started. Maggie says I really express my feelings a lot compared to most people. You said briefly, didn't you?—I'll try. I feel a very special love for Maggie that I've never felt for anyone else—I just feel so close to her. We can just look at each other and feel all bubbly and tender and like our feelings and thoughts just flow between us. When we're apart, I always feel like I have something special to look forward to because I get to go home to Maggie.



Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

David and Judy - Female Career Non-Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular, we're concerned with your and your wife's career involvement. You told me previously that you were employed. Do you see your job as a career?

David: No, I really don't. I'm working because we need the money, but I don't particularly care for my job. I like doing stuff at home. I'm really interested in cooking.

Int.: O.K., now I'd like you to rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you.

David: Oh, I guess about 3.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

David: As long as we need the money I guess I'll have to keep on working. I've been trying to dream up some way to earn money at home, but so far I haven't come up with anything.

Int.: One more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

David: I've worked overtime a few times when there was a lot of pressure on me to do it, but I pretty much manage to avoid it.

Int.: O.K.; now I'd like you to try and answer the same questions about your wife's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention her specific job title, all right?

David: O.K.

Int.: Do you think she would consider her job a career?

David: Yes, absolutely—she's very involved in her field. Her work is very important to her. I can't understand how she can actually love working so much, but she does.

Int.: If I asked her to rate her job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to her, how do you think she would answer?

David: I would guess she would say 10.

Int.: And the last job question—does her job involve much time outside of regular hours?

David: Well, she's been trying to keep down her overtime, but if she doesn't stay late at the office, she usually ends up bringing work home.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your wife—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your wife very briefly in terms of your feelings about her?

David: That's really a hard question for me to answer. I don't think of myself as the kind of person that expresses my feelings very much. I guess I sort of expect Judy to know how I feel without my having

to say it. But...I think a lot of Judy. That pretty much sums up my feelings.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

### Mark and Carrie - Male Career Non-Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples. In particular, we're concerned about your and your wife's career involvement. Are you employed?

Mark: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Mark: Yes, I've got a job that I really like. My wife is always kidding me that it's my hobby, too. She says even though I don't bring work home with me, I'm always thinking and talking about it.

Int.: O.K., now I'd like you to rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10 with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you.

Mark: I would say--have to say 10. It's really important to me.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Mark: Well, to me a career means work that you care enough to be involved with as a life work, and that's how I feel about my field.

Int.: One more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Mark: Oh, it has its ups and downs. Sometimes it's horrible and I go in on weekends and get up at crazy hours of the morning to work, then there are lulls when I have, you know, more free time.

Int.: Now I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your wife's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention her specific job title, all right?

Mark: O.K. My wife doesn't have a job—but I'm sure she'd object if I said she didn't have a career. Whenever anyone asks her what her career is, she answers that she's a career homemaker. And she—she's super at it, and she really likes things like cooking and sewing.

Int.: Does she plan on working in the future?

Mark: Well, I don't think she has any definite plans. I suppose she might work part time some time if we needed the money.

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your wife—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your wife very briefly in terms of your feelings about her?

Mark: Well, my feelings about Carrie...Whew!...I have a hard time expressing things like that. I guess I'm not a very emotional person...My feelings about her...Let's see...Well, I think she's an awfully good wife.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

Richard and Ellen — Dual Career Non-Expressive

Interviewer: We're interested in the life styles of married couples.

In particular, we're concerned with your and your wife's career involvement. Are you employed?

Richard: Yes.

Int.: And do you see your job as a career?

Richard: Yes. It's more than just a job to me—I intend to stay with it. I guess I'm pretty lucky as far as my career goes. I know people who really hate their jobs, but I look forward to mine.

Int.: O.K. Now I'd like you to rate your job on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being extremely unimportant and 10 extremely important, in terms of how important it is to you.

Richard: It's really very important to me—9 or 10,—10, I guess.

Int.: And how long do you plan to keep on working?

Richard: Until I'm old and can't do it any more, I suppose.

Int.: And one more job question. Does your job involve much of your time outside of regular working hours?

Richard: Occasionally it does. When things get hectic, sometimes I have to stay at work evenings or come in on weekends.

Int.: Now, I'd like you to try and answer the same questions in relation to your wife's career. Once again, I'm going to ask you not to mention her specific job title, all right?

Richard: O.K.

Int.: Does your wife work?

Richard: Yes.

Int.: Do you think she would consider her job a career?

Richard: Yes, I do. She feels the same way I do. She's very much a career person.

Int.: If I asked her to rate her job on a scale from 1 to 10 in terms of how important it is to her, how do you think she would answer?

Richard: I think she would rate it very high—probably a 10.

Int.: And have you discussed how long she plans to keep on working?

Richard: I'm sure she plans to be involved with her career all her life.

Int.: And the last job question—does her job involve much time outside of regular hours?

Richard: Well, her job's like mine. Sometimes everything's going along fine. Then there are times when we're swamped, and that means putting in extra hours..

Int.: Thank you. Now I'd like to switch from talking about your life style to a more personal question about your relationship with your wife—which might take some thought! Could you possibly describe your relationship with your wife very briefly in terms of your feelings about her?

Richard: Well, I really don't know what to say...How do I feel about Ellen?...I don't talk about that kind of thing much. I guess I'm not the mushy type. I think Ellen's a good wife. I guess that kind of says how I feel.

Int.: Thank you for sharing your feelings with us, and thank you very much for participating in our survey.

APPENDIX B -- QUESTIONNAIRE

Age: \_\_\_\_\_  
Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
Marital Status: \_\_\_\_\_  
Yr. in School: \_\_\_\_\_

INSTRUCTIONS:

We are asking your help in a study of marriage relationships. As you may have read, 1 out of every 2 marriages in California ends in divorce. Therefore, we are very interested in what people consider to be a successful relationship.

You will be listening to a tape with information from interviews with six women who took part in a survey of married people asked to discuss their marriages. Before this part of the interview that you will hear, these women were asked how long they had been married, and whether they would allow us to tape their interviews and use them in the part of the study that you are participating in. Since some of the interview questions require a good deal of thought, they filled out a written questionnaire which they were able to refer to during the taped interview. Although we asked a number of questions about their career involvement, they were instructed not to mention their or their spouses' specific job titles, as we were afraid these might influence any evaluation of their marriages. All of the people on the tape that you will hear had been married approximately a year and a half.

Some of the people who have listened to the tape told us that it was difficult to remember the six different couples after the tape is over. Therefore, we have included the written scripts for you to refer back to or follow along with the tape if you wish. After you have heard the entire tape, you will be answering questions about each of the couples and your impressions of their marriages.

MARKING THE ANSWER SHEETS:

To answer you will be circling a number from 1 to 7.

Example: How happy together do you think John & Martha are?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unhappy happy

The 6 is circled in this example, indicating that the marriage seemed quite happy but not extremely happy. For this item, the closer the number circled is to 7, the happier the marriage seems. The closer the number circled is to 1, the more unhappy it seems.

Please raise your hand if you have any questions about how to mark the answer sheet, now or if questions come up while you are filling out the answer sheets. If you have any questions or comments about the study itself, please save them until everyone has had a chance to finish filling out their questionnaires.

Thank you very much for your help.

(NOTE: The above instructions were included in the questionnaire for classes hearing the tape of female SPs. The word "women" was changed to "men" for classes hearing the tape of male SPs. In the questions that follow, the names of the couple were reversed so that the male's name came first for subjects who heard the male tape. The name of the male SP was also substituted for the name of the female SP in questions concerning the SP only. Other than these changes, the questionnaire received by subjects who heard the male tape was the same as the questionnaire which follows.)

(NOTE: The order of stimulus persons presented on tape and in the scripts was randomized and changed for each class. Therefore only one class received the questionnaire in the order in which it appears below.)

#### LISA AND JIM

1. How happy together do you feel Lisa and Jim are?  
 extremely unhappy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely happy
2. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another year?  
 extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely likely
3. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another five years?  
 extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely likely
4. How much in love do you feel Lisa and Jim are?  
 not at all in love 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely in love
5. How loving do you feel Lisa is?  
 not at all loving 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely loving
6. How sincere do you think Lisa is?  
 not at all sincere 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely sincere
7. How involved in her career do you feel Lisa is?  
 not at all involved 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely involved
8. How expressive of her feelings do you feel Lisa is?  
 not at all expressive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely expressive

## TINA AND MIKE

1. How happy together do you feel Tina and Mike are?  
 extremely unhappy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely happy
2. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another year?  
 extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely likely
3. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another five years?  
 extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely likely
4. How much in love do you feel Tina and Mike are?  
 not at all in love 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely in love
5. How loving do you feel Tina is?  
 not at all loving 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely loving
6. How sincere do you think Tina is?  
 not at all sincere 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely sincere
7. How involved in her career do you feel Tina is?  
 not at all involved 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely involved
8. How expressive of her feelings do you feel Tina is?  
 not at all expressive 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely expressive

## JUDY AND DAVID

1. How happy together do you feel Judy and David are?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unhappy happy

2. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another year?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unlikely likely

3. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another five years?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unlikely likely

4. How much in love do you feel Judy and David are?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
in love in love

5. How loving do you feel Judy is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
loving loving

6. How sincere do you think Judy is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
sincere sincere

7. How involved in her career do you feel Judy is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
involved involved

8. How expressive of her feelings do you feel Judy is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
expressive expressive



## CARRIE AND MARK

1. How happy together do you feel Carrie and Mark are?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unhappy happy

2. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another year?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unlikely likely

3. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another five years?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unlikely likely

4. How much in love do you feel Carrie and Mark are?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
in love in love

5. How loving do you feel Carrie is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
loving loving

6. How sincere do you think Carrie is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
sincere sincere

7. How involved in her career do you feel Carrie is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
involved involved

8. How expressive of her feelings do you feel Carrie is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
expressive expressive

## MAGGIE AND LARRY

1. How happy together do you feel Maggie and Larry are?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unhappy happy

2. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another year?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unlikely likely

3. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another five years?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unlikely likely

4. How much in love do you feel Maggie and Larry are?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
in love in love

5. How loving do you feel Maggie is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
loving loving

6. How sincere do you feel Maggie is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
sincere sincere

7. How involved in her career do you feel Maggie is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
involved involved

8. How expressive of her feelings do you feel Maggie is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
expressive expressive

## ELLEN AND RICHARD

1. How happy together do you feel Ellen and Richard are?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unhappy happy

2. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another year?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unlikely likely

3. How likely do you think it is that their relationship will continue another five years?

extremely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
unlikely likely

4. How much in love do you feel Ellen and Richard are?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
in love in love

5. How loving do you feel Ellen is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
loving loving

6. How sincere do you think Ellen is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
sincere sincere

7. How involved in her career do you feel Ellen is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
involved involved

8. How expressive of her feelings do you feel Ellen is?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely  
expressive expressive

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