

MARITAL EXPECTATIONS: A GENDER-BASED
PRECONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

By

JOHN STEVEN SMITH

Bachelor of Arts
Ottawa University
Ottawa, Kansas
1980

Master of Arts
Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff, Arizona
1982

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
July, 1985

Thesis
1985D
S 652 m
cop. 2



MARITAL EXPECTATIONS: A GENDER-BASED
PRECONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

Thesis Approved:

[Handwritten signature]

Thesis Adviser

Kathleen M'Kinney

Alfred Darloggi

Norman R. Murken

Dean of the Graduate College

C O P Y R I G H T

by

John Steven Smith

July 26, 1985

DEDICATION

To my father, John L. Smith,
who taught me patience and persistence

and

To my mother, Donnah Jo Smith,
who taught me to care about people

PREFACE

As work on this project began, friends, colleagues, and mentors strongly advised that I should be prepared to come to a point where I would "hate" this research project. As I begin to bring the project to closure, I find that their advice was incorrect. I have come to be more and more pleased with the design, actualization, and results of the effort. At times I have been frustrated because of my inability to develop the richness of the data, but once established, the concepts and descriptions have withstood the tests of validity and reliability. These tests consisted of readings and follow-up interviews with the subjects and others. The findings are well grounded in the data, and I am sure of the results.

I have been well pleased with the grounded theory methodology because it has provided the means to develop a very accurate clarification of marital expectations. Grounded theory is, without question, a most liberating method, and it has provided a unique opportunity for the understanding of the subject.

I have learned to appreciate the wise counsel of Drs. Kiser and McKinney because they have encouraged me to develop the topic on my own. I have a sense of personal ownership in the work, and I have pursued understanding. I appreciate the dramaturgical perspective of Dr. Charles Edgley--he is a good and wise friend. Dr. Alfred Carlozzi has helped me to apply my findings.

I have an interest in the field of Clinical Sociology, and I believe that this effort is a sound polemic for the continued development of that interest. The discipline is well served by the application of sociological principles to the "real" problems of our day.

I have concluded that much of the marital counseling which is currently being done in the cause of marital satisfaction is probably going to fail. I have indicated that neither gender is either a victim or a perpetrator of marital dissatisfaction. These findings will not endear this author to several friends and colleagues who have concluded otherwise, but I have meticulously attended to my craft, and I am willing to stand behind the conclusions based on the research contained herein. I may find my abilities inadequate to convince all skeptics and detractors, but this research effort is an exciting, valid, and reliable work.

I have enjoyed myself in this effort, and I feel that the work is a significant addition to the knowledge of the discipline.

There are so many who have helped me accomplish this program of study: my wife, Mary Ann, who has been a rock through so many difficult times; my wonderful children, Tamara and Paul, who understood my moods and the many hours locked away; and Barbara Adams for typing, reviewing, and correcting my spelling.

Finally I would like to thank the faculty and staff of the Sociology Department for creating a superlative learning environment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. DEMOGRAPHICS, THEORY AND THEORISTS	1
The Societal Function of Marriage	1
Indices of Marital Happiness	2
Divorce Rates	2
Extramarital Sexual Behavior	3
The Marital Counseling Industry	4
Theories on Marital Happiness	7
Summary	9
II. RESEARCH METHODS	10
The Data	10
The Analysis	11
The Sample	14
Phase 1: The Qualitative Phase	16
Phase 2: The Quantitative Phase	17
Phase 3: Description and Conclusions	17
Methodological Problems	18
Summary	24
III. THE FEMALE'S MARITAL EXPECTATIONS	26
The Female's Preconstruction of Marital Reality	28
The Princess' Expectations of the Prince	29
The Princess	44
The Princess and Her Castle	56
The Princess and Heirs to the Throne	57
Summary	59
IV. THE MALE'S MARITAL EXPECTATIONS	62
The Male Preconstruction of Marital Reality	62
The Good Provider Role	66
The Future Wife	70
Discussion of the Male Findings	74
V. THEORY BUILDING	80
Toward Theoretical Freedom	80
Exchange Theory	84

Chapter	Page
Systems Theory	87
Symbolic Interaction	90
Toward a Theoretical Blend	91
On the Marital Issue of Child Care	103
On the Dual-Career Marriage	106
On Romance	108
Summary	113
 VI. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS	 115
Incidence of Extramarital Affairs	120
The Marital Social Service Industry	122
Implications of the Research	124
Summary	129
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 132
 APPENDIXES	 137
APPENDIX A - QUALITATIVE DOMAINS AND FACTOR ANALYSIS	138
APPENDIX B - FEMALE AND MALE CASE STUDIES	148
APPENDIX C - GENDER-ROLE CASE STUDIES	154

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Qualitative Domains and Their Respective Items	139
II. First Factor Loadings on Items and Domains	143

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. The Female Marital Expectations	27
2. The Male Marital Expectations	63
3. Theoretical Model-General	95
4. Theoretical Model-General Attribution	96
5. Theoretical Model-Positive Attribution	97
6. Theoretical Model-Negative Attribution	101
7. Theoretical Model-No Attribution	102
8. Lewis and Spanier Model of Marital Quality and Stability	109

CHAPTER I

DEMOGRAPHICS, THEORY, AND THEORISTS

Understanding the forces which hold marriages together or encourage their dissolution is of great importance in this time of record high divorce rates (Lewis and Spanier, 1979, p. 268).

The Societal Function of Marriage

"Marriage is the locus of ultimate fulfillment" is a most prevalent social belief in modern society. The complexity and stress of modern life encourages the belief in some social structure which will provide the needed safety and solace that is perceived as so unavailable in the workplace and other social institutions. The specialized social function of marriage is to provide the social institution wherein the individual can find emotional fulfillment (Parsons, 1955).

In many modern culture, especially the United States, the emotional fulfillment of the individual is proposed to be the result of romantic love. Marriage and love are viewed as symbiotic. Modern couples marry because they are "in love." Modern society proposes that marital relationships are expected to last over extended periods of time and that the marital relationship is to be characterized by the "assuming of mutual and reciprocal rights and obligations between the spouses" (Eshelman, 1981, p. 82).

Those marriages that are not found to meet the standards of mutual fulfillment and permanence (at least relative permanence) are

characterized as filled with hate, fear, and confusion and usually end in either disillusionment or divorce (Lederer and Jackson, 1968, p. 15).

The major causes of marital "failure" (either in terms of dissatisfaction or in terms of divorce) are most often seen to be the result of either a failure to pick a suitable mate or the failure to adjust to the marital relationship (Lederer and Jackson, 1968, p. 15). The marital institution continues to be presented as the locus of fulfillment, but the individuals simply failed to implement the necessary or appropriate actions.

Indices of Marital Happiness

Divorce Rates

It is intriguing that there is such a large number of individuals who are unwilling or unable to actualize the ultimate fulfillment that is available through the social institution of marriage. The United States records close to 500,000 divorces annually, and there have been estimates that half of all recent marriages will terminate in divorce (Spanier and Lewis, 1979, p. 288; Lederer and Jackson, 1968, p. 15; McCubbin and Dahl, 1985, pp. 298-9). The incidence of divorce is an indication that there are at least some significant "antipermanence" forces at work in our society. It would seem dangerous to assume that almost half of the population are incapable or unwilling to develop a mutually agreeable social interaction which would provide for marital permanence. If, in fact, the marital institution is expected to provide emotional fulfillment, then individuals enter marriage expecting it to provide such. It would seem reasonable therefore to expect a certain willingness and ability (at least as perceived by the potential mate) to actualize the ultimate marital goal.

While a "sense" of permanence will probable reduce the divorce rate as would a process which provided a high level of marital quality, the statistics would indicate that there is at the present time an insufficient amount of these feelings because there is a significant level of divorce.

Extramarital Sexual Behavior

In addition to the high divorce rate there are other indices of marital dissatisfaction; and one of these, the high incidence of extramarital sexual behavior, is continuing to increase in frequency despite the strong negative feelings individuals have about infidelity (Dyer, 1983, p. 201; Bell, 1979, p. 425; Hunt, 1974; Glenn and Weaver, 1979).

In seeking to develop an understanding of the causes of extramarital sexual activities, social scientists have found that the best predictor of infidelity is the level of overall satisfaction with the marital relationship (Kinsey, 1953, pp. 432-435; Bell et al., 1975, p. 384). Viewing extramarital sexual behavior as the dependent variable for the independent variable of overall satisfaction with the marriage is interesting because the primary reason given for the marital dissatisfaction in divorce proceedings is sexual infidelity (Dyer 1983, p. 199). It would seem that there is a multidimensional process at work between the marital satisfaction and the incidence of extramarital sexual behavior.¹

¹Perhaps the use of linear models, which is so popular with social scientists, is simply inadequate to develop the understanding of the phenomenon of extramarital sexual behavior. These models are inadequate to develop reciprocal causation or third-variable causation. This work attempts to develop understanding and therefore avoids the imposed inadequacies of linear models.

Whatever the causal relationship, it is sufficient for the present purpose to note that the incidence of extramarital sexual behavior is significantly high enough to be used as an indicator of general marital dissatisfaction. Some scholars have estimated that the incidence of extramarital sexual behavior is as high as 50 percent of those married persons over the age of 40 (Dyer, 1983, p. 201; Rubenstein, 1983). This social phenomenon is another indicator that modern American marriages are not the happy and fulfilling things that they are expected to be.

The Marital Counseling Industry

A third indicator of marital difficulty is the industry which is designed to serve the individuals who find themselves in unfulfilling or unrewarding marital relationships. If such an industry is large and growing, it would indicate that many individuals perceive a need to seek assistance in increasing the level of marital satisfaction.

With the earliest beginnings of marriage counseling services in the 1930's, there has been a premise that the success of a family or marriage is based on the behaviors of the individuals involved. That counseling services can facilitate the development of happy and successful marriages regardless of the expectations that were in existence when the couple committed matrimony is obvious by the very lack of emphasis on such expectations in the clinical function.

The expectations of the individuals involved in a marriage are also a critical part of establishing the social context within which the marital acts are accomplished. Marital happiness and success is intricately intertwined with the social contexts of a marital relationship.

Informal efforts to strengthen the marital dyad have been around for quite some time. Pastors, lawyers, doctors, and teachers have found themselves placed in the role of counselor for the past few hundred years. These efforts fell outside their prescribed job duties, and at their encouragement there has developed an entire industry that is designed to serve the needs of families that have problems. Marriage and family counselors are people who individually have been found to be dedicated, hard working, and subscribers to the philosophy of "helping" (Phillips, 1970). The marital and family counselors are now open for business in almost every community in the nation.

The family court movement has become a common service agency in the country. This program of service grew out of the juvenile justice movement of the early 1900's. The objective of this court system is to provide a means of handling families that are experiencing crises in some sort of formal legal sense (Dyer, 1983, pp. 410-1). The first family court was established in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1914, and since that time the mandate of this legal system has grown to include ". . . a wide range of domestic problems, including annulment, divorce, legal separation, alimony, child custody, desertion, nonsupport, illegitimacy, and adoption" (Dyer, 1983, p. 410). To accomplish this mandate the court draws upon a wide range of practitioners including social workers, psychiatrists, probation officers, psychologists, and marriage and family counselors. The family court was designed to preserve the marital relationship and to increase the stability of marriages (Kephart, 1977, p. 510).

Started in the 1960's, marriage and family enrichment programs have become quite prevalent in the United States, seeing rather dramatic

growth in the 1970's (Dyer, 1983, pp. 411-2). Mace and Mace (1977) believe that this program of marriage enrichment can reduce the presently high rates of divorce. Marriage enrichment has been described by Otto (1975) as follows:

Marriage enrichment programs are generally concerned with enhancing the couple's communication, emotional life, sexual relationship, fostering marriage strengths, and developing marriage potential. . . . Family enrichment programs are generally concerned with enhancing the family's communication and emotional life (pp. 137-8).

Most family and marriage enrichment programs are organized by educational, religious, or social service agencies and could therefore be looked upon as a part of the overall marriage counseling operations of these agencies. The enrichment program usually occurs over a weekend and is operated by a trained professional usually a clinical psychologist or social worker. The participants are encouraged to divulge intimate feelings or thoughts with the expectation that the disclosure of one spouse will result in the intimate disclosure of the other thereby creating a symbiotic process which will foster open and intimate communication. This is viewed as a necessary process to increase the effectiveness of the communication between marriage partners. Improved and more effective communication will therefore result in the "ability to take charge of their relationship" leaving less to chance and to external circumstances (Dyer, 1983; Miller et al., 1975).

Another outgrowth of the marriage enrichment programs is a program known as marriage encounter. Marriage encounter weekends are not believed to be as effective as marriage enrichment programs and may even have negative effects (Doherty et al., 1978).

In addition to the various public and private programs for those who find themselves already married and are either experiencing difficulties

or who desire a more fulfilling relationship with their spouse, there has been an increase in the efforts of schools and colleges to reach those who are not married with a program of family life education. The programs, which are directed at the premarital population, developed in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries and were a response to the concerns about the social changes brought about by the declining societal emphasis on rural life and the increasing incidence of urban society. The National Council on Family Relations was formed in 1938 to respond to these concerns. Research continues on the role and operation of the family, and this research is devoured by thousands of practitioners and educators.

In conclusion, the marital service industry seems to be flourishing, and since there seems to be a market for the services which are designed to provide individuals with the ability to develop more rewarding marital relationships, it would seem logical to assume that there were many persons who perceived that their marriage was not what it should be.

Theories on Marital Happiness

There are forces that are at work in modern society which tend to support the existence and increase in the high divorce rate, the incidence of extramarital sexual behavior, and the need for a thriving service industry which ostensibly is designed to increase the levels of satisfaction within the marital arrangements. Lewis and Spanier (1979) have reviewed the empirical efforts of marriage theorists and have concluded that there is a list of unidimensional variables that are associated with marital happiness and marital stability (a full discussion of their work is included in the chapter on theory). They have come to

define marital quality as a term which includes "marital adjustment, marital satisfaction, marital happiness and marital integration" (Lewis and Spanier, 1979, p. 268).

Interestingly, however, there is a substantial body of scientific work that has been excluded from the work of Lewis and Spanier (1979). These excluded works are some of the most popular and profound works that have been done on the subject, and the authors have received world-wide acclaim for their efforts. Most notable of those works that were excluded from the Lewis and Spanier review were the works of several female social psychologists, including Lillian Rubin (1976, 1981), Judith Bardwick (1979), and Jessie Bernard (1973). These women take another perspective on the process of establishing marital quality and stability--they propose that the social processes at work in our society establish a set of marital expectations that are based on the gender differences that are established in the family of orientation.

These writers (Rubin, Bardwick, and Bernard) have focused on the qualitative aspects of marriage and have written extensively based on their own personal observations and understandings obtained through direct contact with married persons. These writers do not believe that the marital satisfaction that is experienced by males and females is the result of a series of linearly related unidimensional variables, as proposed by Lewis and Spanier (1979) or Lederer and Jackson (1968). These women believe that marital quality and marital stability are a part of the set of expectations that are developed in the family of orientation and as such are the basis for the individual's understanding of marital happiness. They propose that there are specific macrosocial processes

that are at work to assure the high levels of marital dissatisfaction that are currently prevalent in the society.

Summary

"The demands that men and women make on marriage will never be fully met; they cannot be" (Jessie Bernard, 1973, pp. 323-4). The marital expectations that have been accepted by persons prior to entering a marital relationship are critical in the understanding of marital happiness. This work will attempt to delineate those demands and expectations. This effort will describe the set of expectations held by males and females and will theorize about how those demands establish the basis for marital happiness and marital stability.

This work will additionally review the theoretical propositions of Lewis and Spanier (1979) in light of the marital expectations. Thirdly, this research will critically review the basis for the arguments that have been proposed by Lederer and Jackson (1968). Chapter V provides an extensive look at the theoretical perspectives proposed by these researchers and reviews the implications of this research effort.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODS

The Data

The focus of this research is upon the development of an understanding of how never-married young people have come to view the social institution of marriage. This research analyzes the written statements of the subjects and seeks to describe and understand how these expectations were developed and what impact such understandings have on the social services which concern themselves with marriage and marital success. Additionally, the theoretical implications of the findings are reviewed.

The data analyzed consisted of 369 written statements of college students in response to the following question "What my marriage will be like and why it will be that way." Although certainly not a representative group of the total number of young adults in this society, it is believed that the sample of students at a major state university come to that university from a wide variety of locations, the subjects have spent time thinking about their futures, and the subjects are involved (albeit to varying degrees) in a dating process which, in the majority of cases, is expected to result in the choice of a marital partner. This data was collected over a twenty-two-month period from August, 1983, through May, 1985.

The data-gathering techniques utilized in this study were chosen for several reasons: (1) the author's interest in the understandings of the

subjects, (2) the availability of subjects, (3) the universal nature of marital expectations, and (4) the relatively unobtrusive nature of the data.

The author has been interested in the understandings people have about marriage since entering his own marriage in 1969; I am reminded of a statement made by a former sociology professor: "If you haven't been there, you don't have anything to say." The author "has been there" and has found the marital relationship, on the one hand, supported by observations of other marriages and, on the other hand, often confounded by the observations of other marriages. While marriage is a social institution, it is unique in its intensely personal applications and its propensity for being individually created.

The data became available as a result of the author's personal involvement in college teaching. Over 400 students in introductory Sociology classes have been asked to write down their individual marital expectations. These writings are the basis for this study. There has been no transformation of the writing attempted and none is planned. The form and content of the subjects' statements have not been changed.

The research questions that concerned this author revolve around the issues of how the various writers developed a sense of marriage as a personally relevant institution and what constitutes that sense of the social institution.

The Analysis

The data studied had not been studied prior to this investigation; and no hypotheses were assumed, except that there would be linkages, commonalities, and other common properties contained in the writings of

the subjects. This investigation locates, describes, and theorizes about the properties of the writings studied (the data). After a review of the scientific methods that have been developed for such a purpose, it was determined that the best social science methodology for this particular purpose was grounded theory analysis. Grounded theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) utilizing a constant comparative method to develop theory directly from the data under study and grounding the resulting theory in the data.

This method has been described (Hadden et al., 1976; Hughes, 1979) as a set of comparative analytic procedures, by which a theory may be inductively generated from the data. The emphasis of the approach is on identifying and describing the fundamental social processes which are occurring within a particular setting.

The inductive analytic process was divided into a series of interrelated steps that, though they were specific in the actions taken, were often seen to overlap and even to occur simultaneously on occasion. The steps involved in this analytical process were as follows: (1) substantive coding, (2) theoretical coding, and (3) memo writing and sorting. Once the initial sequence of coding and analysis was completed, the three steps operated in a simultaneous fashion. The generating of theory couples with the notion of theory as process, requiring that all three operations be done together as much as possible (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Specifically, the process can be outlined as follows:

1. The data were read to get a sense of the types of information contained therein and to determine the appropriateness of the data for scientific study.

2. The data were analyzed on a line-by-line basis in order to determine the specific properties of the information contained in the written statements. This substantive coding was unstructured (so as to be able to entertain all possible items), and noted what was happening (the content of the thought) on each line. The coding was designed to note the behavioral statements and the structural occurrences and reoccurrences, and it was designed to isolate the basic patterns of the ideas expressed.

3. Once the coding was completed, theoretical questions were applied to the coding results. The theoretical questions or codes were then continuously compared to the previous and subsequent coding results.

4. The theoretical codes were then compared with each other and the integration of variables was established. In other words, the theoretical codes were related to each other and integrated where appropriate.

5. It should be noted that the above steps often occurred simultaneously and thereby allowed for testing as the coding continued. Memos were written as information was obtained during each step of the process. This constant comparison of the data allowed for the modification or change of the derived concepts as the work progressed and new data was analyzed.

6. The memos were then sorted between sections to identify the major properties or conditions of the properties. The memos were also sorted within the sections to determine the subproperties of the set (Hadden et al., 1976, pp. 5-7).

The work of Glaser and Strauss (1967 and 1971) was reviewed at length, and, as a result, their work was chosen as the best methodology for this work. They specifically address the utilization of documentary

materials as a means to help the researcher to "understand the substantive area he has decided to study" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 161). This work was designed to describe and to understand the data without the bias of theoretical "baggage" such as preconceived notions and personal biases. Grounded theory provided the research methodology which best met the research objectives of the author. (Samples of the data are included in Appendix B.)

The Sample

The sample consisted of 369 students enrolled in an introductory social science course at a major southwestern state university. Those that either were married currently or who had ever been married were excluded from the analysis.

The sample consisted of a group of college men and women with the following characteristics:

n = 369

Males: 50.5 percent; Females: 49.5 percent

Age: 19-22 years

Class in School: Freshman, 62 percent

Sophomore, 23 percent

Junior, 5 percent

Senior, 8 percent

Graduate, 2 percent

Race: American Indian, 2 percent (2)

Black, 6 percent (6)

Anglo, 81 percent (79)

Asian, 8 percent (8)

Other, 2 percent (2)

Ninety-seven percent of the respondents were not engaged at the time of the survey, and 75 percent of the respondents did not have a "particular someone" that they were planning to marry. Fifty percent of the sample was from either an urban area or a suburban area, and 84 percent of the sample described themselves as from the upper or upper-middle socioeconomic class.

A sample of college students was viewed as particularly appropriate for this study because they are future oriented, marriage is a salient topic for this group, most have not been married, and marriage is viewed as a desirable state. College students have spent time thinking about their future and have developed a "set of expectations" concerning how they think their lives will develop. Dating and engagement are common activities, and college men and women are "looking" for the special person for them. This set of expectations are "unspoiled" by the reality of marital life, and, as a result, marital expectations are uniquely "pure."

The research methodology can best be described as a three-part process with grounded theory methods at the core. Part 1 was a qualitative grounded theory exercise to develop the essence of the data. Part 2 provides a validity test which supported the qualitative findings. Part 3 was the "backbone" of the research in that it is the locus of the full description of the findings and the resulting conclusions and implications for future research.

Phase 1: The Qualitative Phase

Step 1. Respondents from the sample were asked to write a three-to-five page paper on the following subject: "What Marriage Will Be Like and Why it Will Be That Way."

Step 2. Ten of the papers (5 males and 5 females) were randomly chosen and exhaustively analyzed. This analysis consisted of writing the content of each sentence so as to capture in as complete a fashion as possible all ideas contained in the responses.

Step 3. Two independent judges were asked to conduct the same analysis and compare the results. The independent judges were in agreement with the items and domains as identified by the researcher.

Step 4. An indepth analysis was then conducted on another 20 randomly chosen papers (10 males and 10 females). These responses were compared with the listings of items noted in Step 2, and additional items were added as they occurred.

Step 5. After analyzing a total of 30 cases, it was noted that there were no new items being generated from the content analysis. The items were grouped into domains of marital expectations, and the items were noted under each domain.

Step 6. An additional 32 cases were analyzed and each case fit into the domains listed in Step 5, and the items were repetitive of previously identified items. At this time it was assumed that the data had been exhausted in terms of items and domains. The resulting list of the domains of marital expectation and items is noted in Appendix A.

Phase 2: The Quantitative Phase

Step 7. The domains were reviewed and their respective items were contained in the listing included in Appendix A. The qualitative data was again used to note the most appropriate wording for each of the items. These statements were then written in a Likert Scale format with quantified statements ranging from Strongly Agree (value = 1) to Strongly Disagree (value = 5). Whenever possible, the verbatim responses of respondents were utilized. When this was not possible, statements were developed which reflected the nature and tone of respondents' statements. This process resulted in a list of 93 Likert Statements, and an additional 12 questions on sociodemographic variables were added at the beginning of the questionnaire.

Step 8. The questionnaire was given to a similar group of students, and the results analyzed to determine the amount of agreement between the findings in Phase 1 and the findings of Phase 2. The number of students (97) was deemed sufficient to proceed given the preliminary nature of this study.

Step 9. To determine the comparison between the qualitative phase and the quantitative phase, it was decided to conduct a factor analysis on the results to support the domains that were identified in Phase 1 of the research. The first factor unrotated loadings are noted for each item, and the items are organized according to the domains noted in Appendix A.

Phase 3: Description and Conclusions

After determining by both a grounded methodology and by statistical methods that the descriptions were valid, the research returned to

qualitative methods for a complete review of the data. What follows in the remainder of this research effort is a complete description of marital expectations for both males and females, a theoretical analysis of the findings, and a chapter on the implications of the findings.

Methodological Problems

This research method has joined the effectiveness of BOTH the qualitative and the quantitative techniques. It has been argued that marital quality and marital happiness are functions of the value laden concept of marital expectations. These expectations are developed through the socialization process in much the same fashion as the concepts of male and female roles are developed. Because of their subjective nature, marital expectations have not been investigated extensively. This chapter has proposed a method to investigate marital expectations.

While some of the qualitative aspects and understandings are lost in translating the domains into a quantitative format, much can be retained which would justify continued effort in the development of a combined qualitative and quantitative research methodology. Three specific research concerns are worthy of note in this section.

First, the use of verbatim wording of subjects from the qualitative phase (Phase 1) may color the results in the quantitative phase (Phase 2). Many of the statements made by respondents in the qualitative phase were phrased in a rather absolute fashion. Examples are, "When I get married, my mate will definitely be a virgin" or "I will never get angry with my spouse." Such statements are less than ideal for utilization in a Likert scale because they tend to warrant disagreement with the absolute wording and not the concept being presented. Future refinements

of the methodology must account for these difficulties between the statements of the subjects and the requirements of the scaling format.

Another problem that is closely linked to the previous difficulty is the loss of color and tone between the statements of the subjects and the translation of those statements into Likert statements. A subject that focuses on the idea that there are many "bad things" that will not happen in his/her marriage is qualitatively different from the subject that suffers from a Pollyanna Syndrome concerning marriage expectations. The subjects that noted their marriage would not be characterized by sexual abuse (of either the spouse or the children), physical abuse, poverty, unemployment, nor a lack of food are certainly different from those subjects who proposed that they were going to spend their married life going to concerts, traveling to Europe, loving their children, and romancing their spouse. (Returning to the previous point for a moment: Perhaps college students' mental image of marriage is less reality based, and the reading and writing tend to clarify the image into a more realistic set of statements. If that is the case, then the research exercise may also have a certain therapeutic value.)

The third and fourth problems may be termed problems of selectivity and inductivity, different sides of the same issue. It is assumed that most subjects in the qualitative phase did not mention ALL of the marital expectations they have developed through the years. Each subject has developed his own personal definition of marital expectations, and this definition will naturally exclude some items that are viewed as less important. A quantitative research instrument will possibly obscure some items of greater import by giving them the same relative importance of lesser valued items. Additionally, by mentioning ALL of the domains of

marital quality, some domains may be included in the instrument that are not important to the individual respondent. This inducement to overrate items that were not previously even considered in the marital expectations is called "inductivity." Subjects are "induced" to note new items and thereby confound the understandings of an individual's marital expectations.

As has been previously noted (see comments about Lewis and Spanier in the literature review), the most popular method for analyzing the factors involved in marital quality and stability is developing a set of variables that are believed to be antecedent to the marital definition of marital quality and to statistically relate those variables to the perceived marital quality and stability of those who are married. This process results in a series of statistically based correlations which are then related causally to the incidence of marital quality (also known as marital satisfaction or happiness) and marital stability (defined as "staying together" by Lewis and Spanier (1979, p. 269)). The state of the art at this time is simply a great variable search. Social scientists attempt to reduce human life to variables and their statistical correlations. Lewis and Spanier (1979) have reached a pinnacle in this ability, and they have been highly praised by the academic community. (Their text is used widely as the basis for various family courses.) This style of variable analysis has become the "proper" form for sociological analysis (Burr et al., 1979; Blumer, 1956).

There are, however, shortcomings inherent in this method of analysis. Blumer (1956) lists several of these shortcomings and proposes that this method, though popular, is insufficient to explain the "vast interpretative process in which people, singly and collectively, guide

themselves by defining the objects, events, and situations which they encounter" (1956, p. 88). Later in that same section Blumer describes what the social scientists tend to do when they encounter such matters of human group life which involve the process of interpretation, ". . . it (the social scientific community) is markedly disposed to ignore it" (1956, p. 89).

This idea that in such areas of group life the independent variable automatically exercises its influence on the dependent variable is, it seems to me, a basic fallacy. There is a process of definition intervening between the events of experience presupposed by the independent variable and the formed behavior represented by the dependent variable (Blumer, 1956, p. 89).

The individual actor is ACTIVE in the relationship proposed by the dependent and independent variables. For example, it is a fallacy to propose that socioeconomic status is related to marital happiness/quality causally (as Lewis and Spanier do), because such a statement omits the expectation of the actor in the interpretation of the relationship. If the actor expects an upper-class standard of living and finds that such cannot be attained because of certain macrosocial factors, will he be more or less satisfied with his marital relationship? Without some understanding of the overall set of marital expectations and the relative importance of each part of such expectations, we simply cannot answer the question. The omission of the actor as an active definition giver to the social situations in which he/she is found negates the usefulness of variable analysis.

Certainly it is NOT possible for the social scientist to climb into the mind of the subject and determine what he/she is thinking at any given moment. It is important to note, however, that the subject/actor does, in fact, bring certain understandings to a social relationship.

Thomas's "definition of the situation" notes that the actor comes to define the situation that he/she is currently facing within the context of meanings that have come to his/her attention in the past (Thomas and Thomas, 1928). The past plays an important part in providing the contexts within which definitions are developed. It is this historical context that is of interest in this study. Each of the never-married subjects had developed an idea about how their marriage would be (a pre-construction of reality), and this idea becomes the basis for the understandings of marital actions (the marital definition of the situation).

Knowing what a person believes the new social situation will bring (in this case a marital relationship) is an important part of the understanding of the actions and reactions of the person once he/she enters the relationship. There is, without question, an adjustment process that takes place once the person enters a marriage. Berger and Luckman (1966) even propose that the marital dyad develops a "new construction of reality," and this new construction redefines not only the present but it also redefines the past. Such modifications are, however, based on the previously held construction of reality and are, therefore, best viewed as modifications of the previous reality construct rather than a totally new creation. It is not possible to understand the transformation process until we more fully understand the definitions of reality that are carried into the marital relationship.

This preconstruction of reality will set the basis for the later marital construction of reality, which will occupy the time and energy of the marital unit. A marriage will bring changes in this dyadic definition of the situation, but changes from what? AS WE MORE FULLY UNDERSTAND THE STARTING POINT, WE WILL BE MORE FULLY ABLE TO UNDERSTAND THE

CHANGES THAT OCCUR. In a sense, this work attempts to delineate the previous question, "what do never-married people bring to the relationship that is subsequently modified into a mutually agreeable new definition of reality?"

The marital couple does not enter marriage with a "clean slate." They enter with a slate that is full of their understandings, and these understandings are MODIFIED to fit the new situation. The previous understandings are not simply thrown out and new definitions placed in the vacancies. Previous understandings are modified and selectively removed. The process of marital reality construction is the object of study, but there is much work to be done on the "previous question" before we can understand the process. This is an effort to understand the previous question.

Alongside the instances where interpretation is made by merely applying stabilized meanings there are the many instances where the interpretation has to be constructed. These instances are obviously increasing in our changing society. It is imperative in the case of such instances for variable analysis to include the act of interpretation in its analytic scheme. As far as I can see, variable analysis shuns such inclusion (Blumer, 1956, p. 90).

This quote illustrates the basic purposes of this research effort: to place the initiation of the marital relationship into an interpretive context. While the marital dyad is involved in a redefinition, there is a point at which the marital partners bring their individual understandings into a unified understanding that is acceptable to each of the individuals. The persons begin where they are, and they bring their previously developed construction to play in defining the actions and reactions of others (particularly the spouse and the family of the spouse). The couple are certainly impacted by the unidimensional variables listed by Lewis and Spanier (see previous discussions), but these variables only

have meaning as they are assigned it by the constructed ideation of the persons involved. This understanding is the result of the marital expectations of the two individuals involved in the marriage. It is this initial construction (set of expectations) that are being investigated in this paper.

Blumer continues:

I think it will be found that, when converted into the actual group activity for which it stands, a sociological variable turns out to be an intricate and inner-moving complex. There are, of course, wide ranges of difference between sociological variables in terms of the extent of such complexity. Still, I believe one will generally find that the discrete and unitary character which the labeling of the variable suggests vanishes (1956, p. 92).

As he points out above, Blumer has established a basic premise of this investigation. Variables are seen as "intricate and inner-moving complexes." The understanding of the variable by the actor is the critical point and to understand the set of expectations that the person brings into the marriage institution will help to identify and clarify the complexity that is the context within which the variable is considered. The list of variables that have been described by Lewis and Spanier are actually an "intricate and inner-moving complex" (according to Blumer).

Summary

To develop an understanding of the subject matter, several different methodological activities have been utilized. First, the grounded theory methodology of Glaser and Strauss (1967) was employed extensively to develop a detailed "picture" of marital expectations. Utilizing a small subsample, a factor analysis was then conducted based on the qualitative findings to check on the validity of the qualitative findings. Thirdly,

the research again focused on the qualitative aspects of marital expectations and has drawn conclusions from the qualitative descriptions of both male and female marital expectations.

CHAPTER III

THE FEMALE'S MARITAL EXPECTATIONS

Marriage in our society is a DRAMATIC act in which two strangers come together and redefine themselves. The drama of the act is internally anticipated and socially legitimated long before it takes place in the individual's biography, and amplified by means of a pervasive ideology, the dominant themes of which (romantic love, sexual fulfillment, self-discovery and self-realization through love and sexuality, the nuclear family as the social site for these processes) can be found distributed through all strata of the society (Berger and Kellner, 1964, p. 310).

The marital expectations of females are an interesting mix of the old and the new. On the one hand, females indicate a set of expectations that are quite traditional, and on the other hand, they see the future as an opportunity to fulfill the modern role of career woman. These ideas are specifically described and categorized. In addition, the females in the study are quite specific in what they expect from their marriages. They KNOW what they want, and they are explicit about how their marriage will be. There are a great number of specific expectations that are held by these women, and they are illustrated graphically in Figure 1. The chapter focuses on the specific understandings of the females and utilizes direct quotations to illustrate the conclusions that are drawn.

It is important for the reader to understand that there is no attempt made to evaluate the expectations of either the females or the males. The evaluation of the reasonableness or correctness of the expectations is NOT THE ISSUE. The ideas of the men and women are theirs alone, and whether or not they are idealized or pessimistic is not only

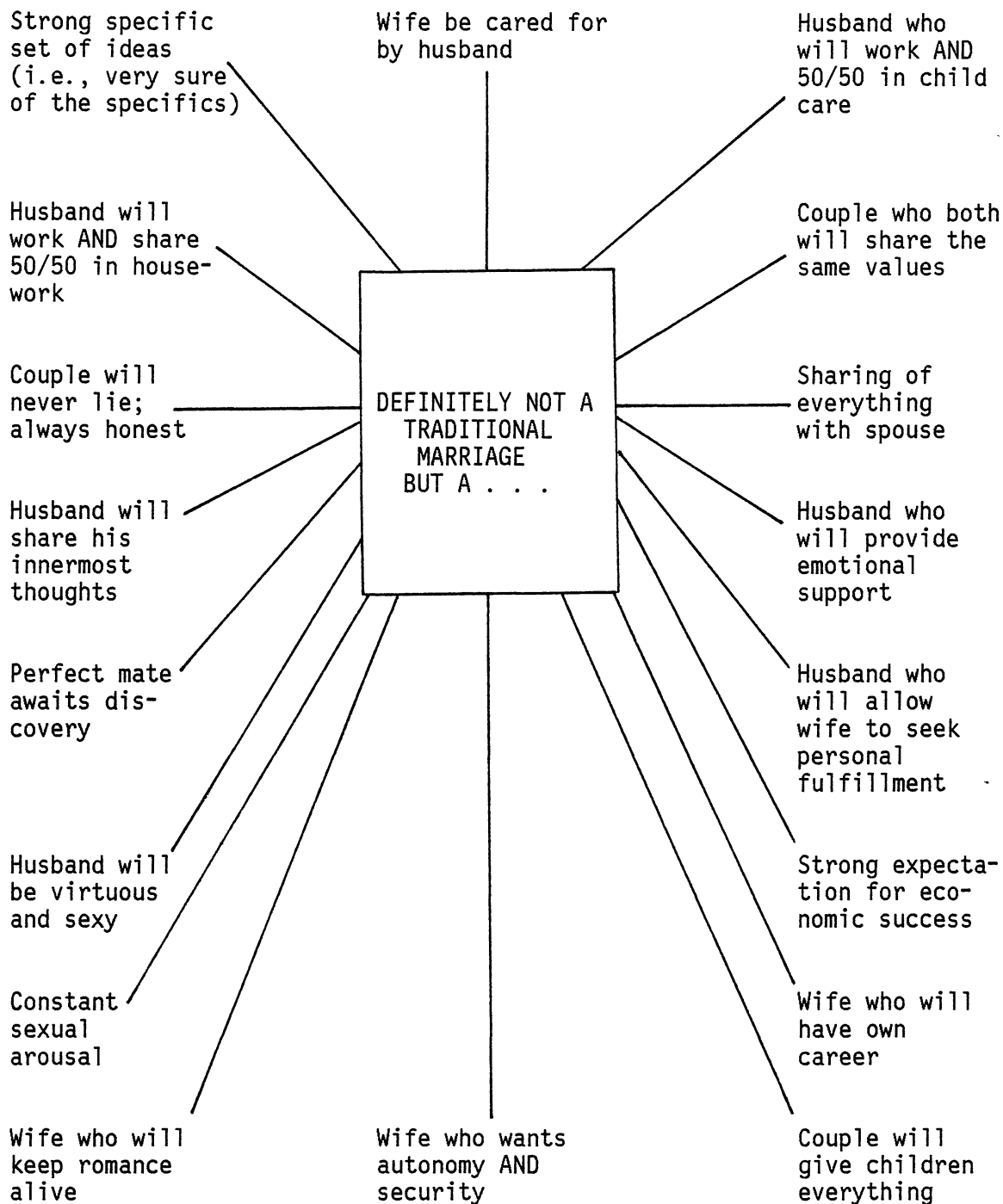


Figure 1. The Female Marital Expectations

irrelevant to the present purpose but also a violation of ethical research behavior. The expectations of never-married young men and women are a social creation, and these expectations will have a dramatic impact on the marital happiness. To understand the nature of these expectations is to gather a basis for understanding the marital demographics.

The Female's Preconstruction of Marital Reality

The never-married females of this study seem to portray their future marriages as if the marriages were made in the land of Nirvana. These ladies view marriage as an idyllic relationship that while infrequently problematic, for the most part will be social situations that enable them to seek self-fulfillment and personal rewards. The best characterization of these expectations would be a reference to Camelot. These young ladies are looking to the future and believing that the future will offer them the perfect marital relationship and that, in fact, they will achieve the ultimate fulfillment in their marital relationship.

The characterization of the marriage as a Camelotian exercise will be carried out to describe the marital expectations of these young ladies. The Princesses (the young ladies in the study) foresee their marital relationships in the following fashion: First, there is the expectations that relate to the Prince that they propose will become their spouse. Secondly, these young ladies have an understanding of how they will behave in their marital relations. Thirdly, the females have a set of expectations about their future homes (the castle). Fourth, the ladies propose that there will be certain norms for their children (the heirs to the throne).

The Princess' Expectations of the Prince

The Princess expects that the Prince will have certain specific characteristics. These characteristics are listed below and are explained in terms that come directly from the data.¹

The Prince Will Care for the Princess Financially. In each case that was reviewed the females projected that the males that were to become their husbands would have the financial responsibility for the household and the members of the household. Even in the cases where the female stated that she expected equality, the male was expected to manage the family finances. Females believe that the male spouse should be the one who manages the household funds. Most frequently the female commented as follows: "My husband will provide for the family financially." "My husband will support the family." "We will divide the household duties with my husband being successful and working while I take care of the house and the children."

In those cases where the female planned to pursue a career, for her own fulfillment, the comments were still centered on the fact that the male would take care of the financial issues. "I plan a career as a pharmacist . . . My husband will be responsible for the family finances." "My husband will care for me financially but I'll help by the income from my career."

¹Throughout the descriptive section, the subjects' quotations are faithfully reproduced. There are misspellings and verb tense mistakes but these have been included. Great care has been taken to report the exact responses of the subjects.

The overriding concern of each female centered on the need for security. If the lady planned on a career, she would also state that the husband's job was to provide for the financial security for the family. It was clear that the male's economic role was viewed very traditionally in that he was the provider of financial security, and such financial security was of primary importance to the female subjects.

The Prince Will Go into the World to Slay the Workworld Dragons and Will Return to Share in an Equal Proportion of the Child Care. It was proposed by the female subjects that it was critical for the male to be actively involved in the care of the children, and the females adamantly refused to be solely responsible for the child care activities. "My husband will share equally in the care of the children and he will not whine about the kids being too much trouble." "I expect my husband to share in the child care duties." "He will do one-half of the 2:00 feedings . . . after all these are his children too!" "When my husband comes home from work he will spend a great deal of quality time with the children." "I will NOT raise the children by myself!"

It is the opinion of this author that the emphasis placed by these women on the importance of the male's involvement in the child care process indicates that they believe such activities are not often found in males. The subjects are adamant in stating that the male will provide a substantial level of child nurturance. Though the literature that is popular indicates a slight involvement of males in the care of children, these females strongly state that their marriages will be different. Their husbands are going to be expected to fully participate in the care of the children.

The Prince Will Go into the World to Slay the Workplace Dragons and Will Return Home to Share in the Household Chores. The female subjects propose that their future husbands will cook, clean, and vacuum as a part of their regular duties. This idea is particularly strongly stated by those ladies who are planning to work outside the home. "My husband will support me and he will share in the household duties. He will clean the house, do the dishes, do some of the cooking and will be responsible for the yardwork."

"There will be set procedures for the household tasks. I will make my husband's bed but I will NOT pick up his dirty socks and his dirty underwear. We will work out the duties based on whose career pays the best with the decision based on who makes the most money."

"The household tasks will be shared based on our career demands."

"I'll be a career woman so he'll have to vacuum and cook."

"Regardless of the situation, I will expect my husband to help with the cooking and cleaning."

"I'll do the house work but my husband will help. He will take out the trash, clear the table, and pick up after himself."

"I'll probably have to do the housework because he'll (the husband) just keep getting under foot trying to 'help'."

The females in the study focus on their own personal concerns relative to the traditional marital roles. They tend to talk about the household chores, and they seem to have come to an understanding that they will be primarily responsible for the traditional female role. This is the case even under the most liberated of conditions. The female subject has been socialized into the traditional wife role. This is evident

by the fact that the females tended to focus their thoughts on the household and the traditional duties of the female.

Yet at the same time, the females have added additional demands for personal fulfillment to the traditional roles. There is a strong traditional base for their expectations, but they also expect more from their spouse.

The Prince Will Hold the Same Values and Beliefs as the Princess.

Females expect their spouses to hold similar values and beliefs concerning religion, child care, and the goals for the family.

"My spouse must be an avid churchgoer . . . preferably Presbyterian."

"Marriage is a very special bond that makes two people one."

"My husband will adore me and will do anything for me."

"My husband must support all of my decisions."

"For my marriage to be successful my husband only has to be loving and reasonable, share my interests, and be willing to have open conversation with me."

"My husband will respect my decisions and support my ideas . . . I expect to come first in my husband's life."

"My husband will respect me for everything I do."

"If I'm going to be stuck with someone for the rest of my life, we will have to be compatible."

"The key to a successful marriage is getting along with each other. I will only marry a man with similar values and beliefs. My husband must be a Christian."

"Not only will we be husband and wife but we will be best friends."

"Both sets of parents must approve of the marriage."

"There are several people who must approve of him before we get married. He must have the same ideas about life as my friends and I do."

The Prince Will Never Lie to the Princess. In everyone of the subject's responses there is a reference to the necessity of open and honest communication. The females in the study stated that communication was the most important factor in a happy and successful marriage. The importance of communication and the insistence that there would be no secrets nor lies, along with the idea that these women felt that they should know EVERYTHING that their husbands were thinking and that they plan to share every aspect of their husbands' lives, combine to provide an unrealistic expectation about the nature of human relationships.

"Our marriage will have extreme trust."

"When I spend the evening out with my girlfriends he won't ask me where I've been, he'll trust me."

"We will share our feelings and will be able to discuss any subject."

"We will have no secrets from each other."

"When we have arguments and disagreements we will talk them through with self control and honesty."

"We will each admit when we are wrong."

"We will have complete trust in each other."

"We will share everything together, his job, his hobbies"

"Since we are sharing our entire lives together we should share all of our interests."

"I'm easy to get along with so I should have no problems in my marriage. My husband will be happy with me because I will be nice to him."

"We will always be able to solve conflicts by communication and compromise."

"When we get married we will stop being self-centered and will think of ourselves as a team."

"A marriage will work if there is enough talk."

"In my marriage we will be open and honest with each other all the time."

"We will be able to talk about the good and bad points of our marriage."

"Complete honesty is the basis for a good marriage."

"A good marriage must be characterized by open and honest communication."

"There will be straightforward communication in my marriage."

"There will be no lies or cheating in my marriage."

"Communication about the good and bad parts of sex will lead to a happy and fulfilling sex life."

"The most important part of a good marriage is communication. We will talk about everything. We will always tell each other the truth. We will be mature and will discuss our problems openly and honestly. There are no problems that can't be talked out."

"My spouse must be honest and trustworthy."

"There will be no secrets in my marriage except for surprise parties and Hawaiian vacations."

"My spouse must include me in everything."

"We will have daily talks about his job."

"I want to know everything he thinks about. There will be no secrets about anything."

From the above comments, it is obvious that the females in the study believe that the amount and intensity of marital communication is a

critical aspect of the successful marriage. These women believe that communication is the "magic pill" for a successful marital relationship. It is interesting to note that for the most part marital relationships are regularly spiced with half-truths in order to protect the spouse from hurt feelings. An example of this kind of protective lie could be the following scenario:

As the Prince comes home from his first full day "at the office" following the honeymoon, he is greeted at the door by his new bride who is dressed in a clean dress and beautifully quaffed. She has prepared her first dinner as a housewife and she is obviously proud of her ability to take care of her husband (just like she had planned to). The dinner however is not what his mother used to make and is less than perfect. Towards the end of the dinner comes the fatal question "What did you think of the dinner Honey?" Does the husband truthfully respond (she has told him that she expects complete honesty in everything) or does he state a protective lie. Any male will state that the dinner was at the least adequate and at the best simply terrific.

The statement of Winston Churchill comes to mind here when he said: "The truth is so important that it must be protected with a rhetoric of lies" (Bynum, 1984). To believe that a marital relationship can exist with complete and total honesty in all of its aspects is naive. People cannot live together without at least protective lies, or selective conversation which is designed to avoid certain topics that are viewed as "dangerous."

The above discussion about the communication that is expected by females in their marriages is also related to another concept that is popular among the female subjects, THE PRINCE WILL SHARE EVERYTHING WITH THE PRINCESS. The females are proposing that there are to be no secrets and no area of their lives that are to be separate. The female subjects believe that the marital partners are to be one. In order to achieve the desired state of oneness with their spouse, the female subjects propose that there will be no secrets and no lies.

The Prince Will Adore the Princess and Will Do Anything for Her.

This expectation of the females in the study emphasizes the Camelotian nature of the expectations of the never-married woman. This particular expectation of the Prince includes several areas, but each is based on the expectation that the husband will remain faithful to the romantic notion that his wife is the center of his life.

"I must be sure that the man I marry will take care of me forever."

"My husband will be concerned with my needs."

"My husband will always be patient and understanding concerning my needs and desires."

"My wedding day will be the start of happiness ever after."

"My husband will adore me and will do anything for me."

"My husband will be kind and generous and will not try to change me."

"My husband will support all of my decisions."

"My husband will respect my decisions and will support my ideas."

"I expect to come first in my husband's life."

"My husband will never stop pampering me."

"My husband will turn me on constantly."

"My husband will support me in my career."

"My husband will never take me for granted."

"My husband and I will be best friends."

The Prince Exists and Awaits Discovery by the Princess. This

expectation about the future husband is couched in the wonder of the story about Sleeping Beauty. She must simply await the arrival of her own special Prince Charming. This idea conveys some sense of Fate or Divine Intervention. There is certainly no rational reason to believe that

somewhere out there in the big, wide, wonderful world is someone that has been chosen to be the Mr. Right for each individual female. This particular expectation is a good example of the idea that women, particularly young women, are in love with the institution of marriage and therefore attribute certain spiritual aspects to it that encourage them to await the chosen one for them.

"I will not marry until I find the perfect mate for me."

"My sisters have found super husbands and I'm sure I will find one too."

"With a little luck I should find the kind of husband I want."

"I will wait for the right husband to come along."

"I won't compromise on my choice of mate so no bad choice is possible."

"I know that out there somewhere Mr. Right is waiting for me."

"I'll just wait for the right man to come along."

"At this stage in my life I must prepare myself for that special man so that I will be worthy of him when I finally meet him."

"I know I will fulfill my dream one day . . . I must be patient."

"Somebody somewhere will be the right man for me. If I keep looking someday I'll find him."

The Princess Will Allow the Prince to Be Dominant Under Certain Conditions. This expectation of the husbands is very interesting. The females in the study propose that the husband should be dominant but, after saying that, the females place conditions on his authority. The conditions range from a statement that the male can dominate only when he is being reasonable to statements that if the male reserves the right to be dominant then the female's opinion must be considered of equal weight in

the decisions that are made by the family. The following statements illustrate the conditions under which the females will allow the male to be dominant:

"I expect my husband to provide me with lifelong security and we will provide mutual support to each other."

"I will not be dominated by a husband. I will make decisions for myself. My husband will not make decisions for me . . . My family will be traditional and we will regularly attend the Baptist Church." (Note: Baptist doctrine strongly supports the dominance of the husband in family matters.)

"We will share equally in the responsibilities of the family. My husband will provide for the family financially and I will do the cooking and the cleaning . . . We will jointly share the decisions about the family."

"My husband will provide the leadership for the family . . . He will respect my decisions and support my ideas."

"My husband will have the final authority but I expect equal say so in the family decisions . . . My husband only has to be reasonable and loving."

"My husband will be in charge of the family finances and will take care of me . . . he must support all of my decisions."

"My husband will provide financial security for me and I won't work after we are married . . . My husband will be the highest authority in my family."

"My husband will be the highest authority in the family as long as he is being reasonable."

"My husband is the one who will have the highest authority in the family because I believe that the wife should go along with her husband's judgment if it is reasonable."

"I believe in male dominance but I want equal say in family matters."

"I must be sure that the man I marry will take care of me forever . . . We will have a give and take, equal relationship. There will be consensus on all major family decisions."

Females in the study indicate a willingness to submit to the authority of their husbands but they are willing within certain limits. They do not feel that their husbands should have absolute authority. They are placing limits on his authority. The action of placing limits on his authority indicates that the females are placing themselves in the position of authority. The females believe that they should have equality with their husbands but they also are interested in the societal norm of security derived from the male. The females want the "up side" of both the traditional and the modern. They want to be taken care of and they want security. At the same time they are interested in self-development and their own careers. The development of their individual career leads them to believe that they should have an equal part in the decisions that are made in the family. They do not feel that they should be obliged to accept the authority of the male concerning their personal career.

The Prince Will Be a Former Boy Scout With Certain X-Rated Characteristics. A most interesting thing occurred as this author was looking over the list of adjectives that were used to describe the future husbands of these females. The list of adjectives was a replication of the qualities that are expected of Boy Scouts! When this author was a Boy Scout many, many years ago, he memorized the qualities of character

that were to be the typification of a Boy Scout. These same qualities were those that were desired by the females in the study:

A Boy Scout is	My husband will be
trustworthy	trustworthy
loyal	loyal
helpful	helpful
friendly	friendly
courteous	courteous
kind	kind
obedient	willing to meet my needs
cheerful	cheerful
brave	brave
clean	clean
reverent	reverent

Though the above lists were virtually identical, the women in the study added three additional characteristics that were not a part of the Boy Scout credo. In addition to the above they also expected their future husbands to be passionate, sexy, and sexually unpredictable. The point of fact in their expectations was that the ladies desired Boy Scouts for husbands in everything except the bedroom.

The Prince Will Be Economically Successful. The ladies all desired a financially successful husband. They expected that their husbands would be in a position to support them in an upper-middle class lifestyle. The model for their lifestyle was derived from their parents' lifestyle, and since these subjects were drawn from a population of major university students it would seem logical that they would be expecting an upper-middle class life for themselves, patterned after the life they

knew in their families of orientation. The females were usually expecting their husbands to be the ones to provide for the financial security of the family. The following quotes are illustrative of the expectations regarding the financial ability of the husband:

"My husband will have a professional position."

"We will live well and will be successful."

"Once we are economically set we will have children."

"We will constantly have new experiences."

"We will go out to eat regularly."

"We will have enough money so that we can buy everything our children might desire."

"We will give our kids everything, nice clothes, nice house, enough food and a good college education."

"We will have a solid financial base for the family."

"We will be wealthy."

"We will travel around the world after the children are raised."

"We will have a comfortable home and will not have to do without things we really want."

"A high class lifestyle is important to me."

"Our marriage will be characterized by love, smiles and wealth."

"My husband will provide security and money for the family. I will not work after we get married . . . We will have a home in the country with lots of land. It will be custom made. We will always have a new car. We will have all of the material things we want."

"Security is the most important thing for me. My husband must make a good living and be able to support us."

"My husband will care for me financially"

"Financial success is the most important aspect of a marriage."

"My husband will be a good provider."

"He will be responsible for the money to provide for the family."

"My husband will make enough money so that we can be active in the community . . . We will throw a lot of parties for our friends."

"Security is very important to me."

"My husband and I must agree on the following things in the following priority. First, A Personal commitment to the Lord. Second, A High standard of living is very important. Third, we must desire to achieve success. Being idle is sinful. It is important to me to have nice things."

"The most important factor in a successful marriage is to have enough money."

The Prince Will Be Regularly/Constantly Sexually Aroused by the Princess. The females in the study propose that the sex life their marriage will provide will be rather continuous and will be always fulfilling. They propose that there will be adventure and constantly exciting sexual encounters with their spouse. Though this is often attributed to the ideation of the males, these women were significantly interested in a rather constantly exciting sex life. These women are feeling that their marriages will be filled with romance and will be typified by the idea that the romance that existed during their dating (or if their dating did not provide the romance they felt it should have) will be obtained in the marital relationship. The females that were the least attractive proposed that romance would be more intense and more frequent during their marriages.

"Marriage will be filled with a lot of romance."

"If romance slips out of a marriage the marriage will die."

"My husband will turn me on constantly."

"We will grow more in love every day."

"I will continue to look and act my best till I die."

"If I do not look my best all the time, then my husband will lose respect for me and unfaithfulness will be the result."

"My marriage will be always filled with adventure."

"Our relationship will be characterized by an active sex life, and we will never take each other for granted."

"Trust, romance and adventure are the ingredients of a great marriage."

"I love romance."

"My husband will pamper me."

"Sex and romance will be daily activities."

"We will have complete trust in each other, and our love will never die."

"We will have a good sexual relationship and will regularly talk about our problems and difficulties."

"We will have an active and adventurous sexual relationship, and our marriage will be fun."

"The second priority for my marriage will be romance. Romance will never leave our marriage."

"I'll meet him (husband) daily at the door all fixed up."

"A good sexual relationship may be the most important priority for a good marriage."

"Who says sex isn't everything?"

"Sex will always be exciting."

"My husband will want me all the time."

"My husband will be fun loving, passionate, sexy, exciting, unpredictable, and should want me."

"My relationship will pay constant attention to romance."

"In a marriage love is all that really matters."

"There will be no secrets between my husband and myself except for surprise parties and Hawaiian vacations."

"Boredom will never set in . . . There will be constant new experiences . . . My marriage will be constantly adventurous."

"My husband will be romantic."

"Every week we will go out for dinner and dancing."

"I will always dress well and be fashionable."

"Though I am not an expert on sex, I know how it should be and how I want it to be."

"Sex should be the best part of the lives two people share."

"Sex should not be play but very serious and special."

"The male should initiate sexual activities."

"Sex only works with total love."

The Princess

The ladies in the study also discuss the behaviors that they expect of themselves in their marriages. The women discuss their feelings and their attitudes in the context of the future marital relationship. They have obviously thought out the expectations relative to themselves in a marriage because they are very complete in their beliefs and many of the ideas expressed are phrased in strong terms. These women KNOW what their

marriages are going to be like. The following statements sum up the feelings of the women in the study relative to their expectations of themselves in a future marriage.

The Princess' First Priority Will Be Her Career. These women, as college students, are interested in careers, and they indicate that they intend to pursue those careers while they are married. This is the most frequently mentioned first priority, but there were a large number of women (about 35 percent) who indicated that once they were married they would not work or they indicated that once the children came they would place their careers "on hold" and stay home with the children. Since most of the women studied stated that they felt that their careers should come first, this is the first priority listed. This goal of career success is seen to be closely related to the idea of self-fulfillment. The females in the study felt that their own personal self-fulfillment was of primary importance to them. (Strong support was noted for the ideas proposed by Yankelevich in New Rules.)

The comments of the subjects follow:

"I expect my husband to support me in my career."

"The household tasks will be shared based on my career demands."

"I will continue my career after we are married and I will make decisions for myself. My husband will not make decisions for me."

"My husband will support me in my career and will share in the household duties."

"The most important career (mine or my husband's) will be the one that brings in the most money."

"My husband and I will both work and will have equal responsibilities around the house."

"I will have a career too until the children come and I will also be successful."

"I will be a pharmacist and my husband will support me in my career."

"I will be a school teacher and my husband will support me."

"I will be independent and successful in my own right."

"I'll be a career woman . . . He'll vacuum and cook."

"My professional career will have to come first and my husband will have to help around the house."

The Princess Will Keep Romance Alive in the Marriage. The women studied proposed that they would take the responsibility for the continuation of romance through the life of their marriage. They proposed that there were things they would do to keep romance alive, and they proposed very few things that the males were expected to do to keep romance alive. Though not specifically stated by the subjects, it would be reasonable to assume that the ladies did not expect the males to do very much to keep romance alive. The ladies believed that they were the ones to keep romance alive.

"My marriage will be one of those very special relationships that makes two people become one and is for all time. I will never let our love die."

"I know my marriage will work because I am able to understand other's views."

"I know that I am independent and can overcome adversity."

"I believe this marriage will prevail and I won't be one of the 50 percent which get divorced; therefore my marriage would be successful and maybe thought of as being made in heaven."

"I will make sure that my marriage is filled with adventure and excitement."

"My wedding will be the start of happiness every after."

"The biggest day in a girl's life is her wedding day."

"We will maintain the same level of happiness as when we were dating."

"I will pay constant attention to romance."

"Love is all that really matters."

"Romance will never leave, I'll make sure of that."

"I'll meet my husband daily at the door all fixed up."

"I will provide lots of quality time together for my family."

"We will spend a lot of weekends alone in romantic locations."

"my husband will be tall dark and handsome and will be in great shape."

"I will be easy to get along with so there should be no problems."

"My husband will be happy with me because I'll be nice to him."

"Our love will never die because I don't let it."

"It (my marriage) will work because I want it to."

"I love romance and expect it to continue for the rest of our lives."

"I want to be happy . . . we will never take each other for granted."

"My marriage will be filled with a lot of romance."

"If the romance slips out of a marriage, the marriage will die."

"I will continue to look and act my best until I die. If I don't then respect is lost and the result is unfaithfulness."

"We will grow more in love every day."

The Princess Will Be Sure That the Man She Marries Will Be the Right One for Her. Though not specifically asked to address the issue of how

they would know that the man they married would be the right one for them, the women felt that this was an important issue, and they addressed it in the following ways:

"My marriage will be the way I've described it because my mind is made up. I've found a prospective mate who will do what I want and we have been dating for months."

"I will make a sensible and rational choice of a mate . . . I will be older than the average when I get married so I will make a rational choice. I will not compromise on religion or equality . . . I'm not dreaming this is reasonable."

"My marriage will be like I have described it because I am a high achiever . . . I will follow my intuition about selecting a husband, it's never been wrong before. If I truly strive for them no goals are too high."

"My marriage will work well because my sisters' marriages are like this, and my parents' marriage was like this."

"Mr. Right is out there I just have to find him, and with a little luck I will."

"I won't be one of those who get divorced because I will be careful to select the right man for a husband. He will need to promise to never get a divorce."

"Somebody, somewhere will be Mr. Right, if I keep looking, someday I'll find him."

"Marriage is a very special bond that makes them (the couple) become one . . . marriage will last forever."

"The man I marry will have to be approved by my parents and my friends, this way I will be sure that the man I marry is the right one for me."

The Princess Wants Autonomy and Security. One of the most interesting facets of the marital expectations of the females in the study is their desire to be taken care of by a man (security) and their simultaneous desire for independence and a successful career (autonomy). The desire to be taken care of is a very traditional value for the American female. It is surprising that these modern women are so interested in that idea. They believe that their husbands should take care of them, and the male should manage the money in the household. Several of the subjects stated that security was very important to them and that the need for security was a major factor in the anticipated marital relationship.

The fact that the females desired to be taken care of also establishes the status differences between the female and the male. In order for one to take care of the other one of them must be viewed as the care giver and necessarily of a higher status. The care giver (or security provider) is the more powerful of the two in a dyadic relationship.

The desire for autonomy was also found to be a strong desire of the female subjects. These women desired to have careers of their own, they desired to have an equal say so in the decisions of the family, and they were interested in self-fulfillment. The ideas expressed by the female subjects were inconsistent with their desire to be taken care of. The females wanted to "have it both ways" simultaneously. Some examples follow:

"I must be sure that the man I marry will take care of me forever . . . He must be concerned with my needs . . . I'll be a career woman . . . Our relationship must be a give-and-take equal relationship . . . there will be consensus on all major decisions."

"I expect my husband to be the final authority in my marriage but I want equal say in family matters."

"I will be independent and successful in my own right but my husband will be the final authority in the family."

"Prior to marriage I will be independent and after marriage I"

"My husband will be the highest authority in my marriage as long as he is reasonable and loving."

"My husband will provide me with financial security."

"Security is most important to me . . . Divorce is awful because of the instability and the loss of security it causes."

"My husband will provide security for the rest of my life."

"My husband will care for me financially and I'll help with the funds from my career . . . I want to be taken care of . . . The male should be in charge of all the money of the family . . . I will be a school teacher."

"I will have my own career . . . My husband will have the final authority but I expect equal say so . . . My husband will be a good provider . . . My husband will support me both financially and in my career."

"My husband will respect my decisions and support my ideas. I expect to come first in my husband's life . . . I will have my own career. We will share in everything equally."

"Like most other couples in the 80s we will both work. We will have equal responsibilities at home . . . We will talk though all decisions . . . I will have a husband that will take care of all my needs."

"We will share equally in the decision making. I will not be dominated by a man. I will make decisions for myself. My husband will not make decisions for me. I will continue my career . . . My husband will support me financially and he will support me in my career."

"Security for me is very important . . . My personal career will provide my personal security . . . There will be mutual support for our individual careers and hobbies . . . My husband will have to provide for the family."

The Princess Will Give Her Children Everything. The women who addressed the questions of children, and most of them did, proposed that they felt that they should provide their children with all the things that they (the children) might want. First, it is interesting that when the women in the study were asked this question: "What will your marriage be like?", they responded with a discussion of the children which will be a part of the family that results from the marriage. It is the feeling of this author that there is very little distinction made in the minds of the females in the study between the social institution of marriage and the social institution of the family. Women see marriage and the family as synonymous! This is a most significant finding because it shows that there is only one concept in the female "picture" of relationships. Women do not distinguish between their marriage and their family. THESE TWO INSTITUTIONS ARE THE SAME FOR THE FEMALE!

The second facet that is worthy of note is that the women propose that they will provide EVERYTHING for their children. They seem to

believe that the parental responsibility includes the provision of a significant amount of material goods. The female subjects did not want to have children until after they had been married for some time (the usual comment was "several years"), and they did not want to have children until they were economically prepared for the costs of raising children. This was necessitated by the desire to provide a significant level of material goods for the children, and the subjects believed that they must have the economic resources to purchase those goods.

The following comments about the having of children and the provision for those children are indicative:

"Our decision to have a baby, after several years of marriage, will be carefully thought out. We should be physically, emotionally and economically prepared before we give life to a child."

". . . when we have children, I want to be able to give my kids everything they need. I want to be able to provide nice clothing on their backs, a roof over their heads, and enough food for them to eat. I also want to be able to provide a good education for them to college and everything that goes with it. Such as, I want to be able to give them enough money for everything they might need, clothing, room and board, books, supplies, personal needs, and entertainment such as dinner out or a movie."

"I want my children surrounded with love and happiness always."

"My husband and I will plan the family after determining when we will be economically stable."

". . . I would want to wait a few years before deciding to have children. My husband and I would also want to be financially stable (sic) before having children."

"Our marriage will be high class and our children will have everything they want."

The Princess Will Not Be "Suzy Homemaker." The female subjects reject the idea that they will be solely responsible for the home and the household. They view themselves as active in the work force and feel that the males are required to share equally in the household activities and the household chores. Included in these ideas are the facts of refusing to be solely responsible for the children and an expectation for an equal sharing of the household tasks (cooking, cleaning, and vacuuming) by the husband. These women see themselves as career oriented and, at the same time, bound up in the traditional role of woman in the marital relationship. They propose some interesting sets of behaviors for themselves, and the following quotations are illustrative:

"I'll be a career woman. He'll (the husband) vacuum and cook . . . We will have an equal give and take relationship . . . My marriage will be just like my parent's marriage."

"I'll do the house hold chores but husband will help. It will be my job to keep the family healthy and happy. Since I do not plan on working after I get married, I will take the primary responsibility for the household, but I expect my husband to help with the chores, take me out regularly, and to spend time with the children after work."

"I will have my own career because I believe that it is important for a woman to show her family and herself that she can be an independent and successful lady."

"Women are no longer sitting at home with the household chores. I do not want to be a 'Suzy homemaker.' I still have the traditional concepts that the male should be dominant but not as severe as in the past."

I plan to have my own career, and I expect my husband to support me in my decisions."

"My husband will care for me financially but I'll help with the salary from my teaching career, so he'll have to help equally with the household chores."

". . . since I intend to be a pharmacist some day, I will need a lot of moral support from my spouse. I want him to be supportive of my job, but I too will do my part as a wife . . . When I eventually have children, I might possibly work less and begin a more 'housewifely' life."

"I will have a career too until the family comes then my family will become my career."

"My spouse and I will both work . . . My marriage will not be a conventional one . . . we will share equal responsibility at home . . . I expect my husband to take part in all child-birth and child care classes with me . . . When the baby is born I expect my husband to be extremely helpful from the very beginning throughout the child's life. We will share each aspect of child rearing"

"I will continue my career and my husband will support me by sharing equally in the household duties."

"Chores and household duties will be shared based on the career demands of each of us."

The Princess has found herself caught in a changing social definition of the modern woman and has as a result developed an expectation that focuses on the "up sides" of both the traditional and the modern ideals. The modern female wants to be an equal partner in the marital union and expects that her mate will share in the tasks of the relationship equally. She wants to have her own career and she wants that career

to have the same level of support from her husband that she foresees herself providing her husband. She wants equal say-so in the family decisions, and she does not want to be solely responsible for the household and the children. She feels that she should have the same opportunities for self-improvement and self-fulfillment that are available for the males in the society. She would not be surprised if she made more money than her husband, and she sees no problems for the family if she did. She is interested in a "high class" lifestyle which includes the American dream of home ownership, materialistic consumption patterns, and travel. She is willing to work for these things, but she is still accepting responsibility for the family; and the support of the husband is usually phrased in terms of "he will help." She is tradition bound to take the primary responsibility for the household, the children, and the emotional intimacy for the relationship.

Traditional female roles are strongly supported in the expectations of these women. They believe that the male is the primary source of security in their futures, and they fear divorce as the ultimate loss of security. They refer to their families of orientation and their socialization as emphasizing the traditional male/female roles, and they are often looking for marriages that are "just like Mom and Dad's." The holding of both traditional and modern view of the role of the female and the male in a marital relationship is best described as societally induced schizophrenia. These women hold both definitions of self simultaneously. They are at the same time accepting the traditional role of wife/mother, the care giver, and the modern definition of self as the dynamic self-actualized career woman. These definitions of self are mutually exclusive and if carried into the marital relationship will result

in the depression and disillusionment that is so characteristic of the majority of newly married women. With this schizoid set of marital role definitions, the females are doomed from the start of their marriages. There is no way that the marital relationship can provide the opportunity for behaviors that are consistent with both of these definitions of self. Certainly the marital expectations are constantly changing as we develop and learn, but the "traditional modernity" of the females can only result in marital frustration and discord. The American female is changing, but she is changing relative to her set of marital expectations in such a way as to assure greater marital difficulties rather than more satisfaction.

As the marital expectations of the Princess are delineated, it becomes clearer and clearer that these women are actively promoting a set of expectations that cannot help but cause marital disappointment.

The Princess and Her Castle

The female subjects in this study provided a rather detailed description of the home they intended to live in during the period of their marriage. Generally they proposed that they would live in a home that would be consistent with their intended upper-middle class lifestyle. Again it is noteworthy that the traditional ideals of a "nice" home in the suburbs with an average number of children and a Chevrolet station wagon are brought to mind. These women believe in the American dream of home ownership and conspicuous consumption.

"Although a family is a priority in my life, I must be honest . . . I love materialistic things . . . I want a home in the country that sits on a lot of land. I want the house to be one that my husband and I have designed. I would like to have a new car, but not every year. I want to

be financially secure not necessarily rich. I want money in the bank and not have to live from paycheck to paycheck."

"I place a lot of importance toward my securities."

"I would like to provide my family with a comfortable middle class life style which would allow us to have the things we want, and to travel."

"Financial security is most important to me."

"The standard of living I want to achieve is to have nice things that we are personally content with."

"I want to live out in the woods and be able to maintain an active, outdoor, adventurous life, taking camping trips, fishing, hunting, and traveling."

"I feel financial stability will be important to keep the stress down. I want to be taken care of financially . . . I want a husband who will be able to manage the money well enough to keep us comfortable financially."

"I want my family to be well educated and wealthy . . . I prefer to work to build a solid financial background for my marriage so that we will be able to travel and live in a very nice house."

". . . Owning a ranch would be nice . . . We will have a big ranch style home In the summer time we will spend our time traveling to the mountains or sitting on a beach somewhere."

The Princess and the Heirs to the Throne

The women in this study have very definite ideas about their children and the behaviors that are expected from them. They propose that the children will be cared for and will be given the opportunity for

their fullest achievements. These women believe that the choice to have children will be a joint decision with their spouse having an equal say in when they will start a "family." As has been mentioned earlier, women expect their husbands to fully participate in the child rearing activities. Most of the women surveyed stated that they would expect their husbands to share in child care at least 50 percent of the time. This area is a major indicator of the modern attitudes of the women in the study. They reject the notion of child care as a feminine enterprise.

The females propose that the children will not come to the family until a financial level is reached wherein they will not cause a financial hardship for the couple. The financial ability of the family will be for the benefit of the children. The children will be provided a middle-class lifestyle, and they will have all of the material comforts that will be needed.

The parents will provide a loving and happy home for the children, and the children will respond by accepting responsibility. They (the children) will go to college and will be successful. These women proposed that they want more than anything that their children will be happy.

Though the women state they are modern in terms of their careers, they also universally bring up the issue of child care. Every woman that was asked about her MARRIAGE responded with statements about her children and her FAMILY. The issues of marriage and the family seem to be strongly related to one another. Women think of marriage in family terms. Children are as much a part of their orientation to marriage as they are related to their ideas of family. Marriage and family are the same for the women in this study.

Summary

The ideation about the marital reality-to-come in females has its root in the socialization of the females. The fact that they may have an understanding that is idealized or even incorrect (as viewed by some) is NOT the issue. Females come to understand the coming marital reality in the terms of the experiences and understandings that they have been given over the years.² Everyone gathers their first understanding of the marital relationship in the family of origin. Simply, they watch their parents, and they identify with the parent of the same sex primarily to determine the probable future role given their particular gender orientation. Females are socialized into the adult roles, and this understanding includes an understanding of the social situations that are included as the setting for their role enactment.

A major finding identified in the previous sections is that modern young women are still being socialized into the traditional wife/mother roles that have been the norm for the past few decades. It is clear in the findings that there is a strong expectation for marriage to provide the opportunity for traditionally oriented fulfillment for the females. Females desire SECURITY in their marital relationship. They expect males

²In the opinion of this author, there is a grave danger inherent in this chapter. It would be a mistake for any researcher to focus intently on the idealization that is so obvious in the female expectations. The women in this study are NOT suffering from a Pollyanna Syndrome. They are simply proposing the preconstruction of marital reality as they have come to understand it. They have seen the emphasis on the self-actualized career woman, and they have internalized this expectation. They have also paid attention to the social forces that have emphasized the "joys of motherhood." These women believe that these two goals are the means to personal happiness. They believe there is not a basic dilemma for them in the fulfillment of these marital objectives.

to "take care" of them. They expect to have the primary responsibility for the care of the children and the household, BUT THEY DO NOT FEEL SUCH A RESPONSIBILITY IS FAIR. As a result, they are strongly expectant that the males will share in these duties. The females expect to live well, and they expect their husbands to be dominant under certain conditions. In short, females expect their marital roles to be rather traditional, and they feel that they are willing to be reasonable but they expect to be cared for and cared about.

At the same time the females have been socialized into an expectation of AUTONOMY. They feel that they have an equal right to their own careers, and they are expecting to be able to have full charge of their own careers. They do NOT feel that the husband has a right to dictate their actions relative to their own professional development. Females desire to implement their own career objectives, and they plan to remain self-sufficient in terms of their economic role. The females in the study believed that their careers should have equal importance in the marriage, and they are unwilling to allow the male to make decisions that might adversely effect their career development. The females expect equal say-so in the family decisions. They believe that it is not enough for the husband to simply "allow" her to work, he MUST provide the same level of support to her career that she provides to him in his career.

The critical aspect of these findings is NOT how accurate a picture of married life these women have developed but that they have been socialized into a "socialization induced marital schizophrenia." These women have been the "victims" of a socialization process that promotes autonomy AND security. These are often mutually exclusive goals. It is not possible to have both the security that comes from being taken care

of by a dominant male and the autonomy that comes from the risks of making one's own decisions. It would seem apparent that the females are locked into a set of expectations that are destined to fail in either the autonomy or security aspects.

The dual socialization of the female (into BOTH autonomy AND security) is the result of a pervasive belief in the fact that it is possible to "have it all." Females have come to believe that these are in fact compatible goals for a marriage, and they believe that males either currently have these ideas or that they will come to understand these ideas and accept them over time.

Females have spent a great deal of time thinking about marriage, and they have very strong ideas about how it will be. They do not need to review their papers when asked months later what they wrote down. THEY KNOW HOW THEIR MARRIAGES WILL BE. The women in the study are sure, and they are adamant that their marriages will not result in divorce because they "will make sure" both of their mate and the various important aspects of their marriages. They believe that open and honest communication will be sufficient to overcome any marital problems that might be encountered. They believe in love, marriage, and the family, and they are sure that they will not be one of the ones who are disappointed with the results.

CHAPTER IV

THE MALE'S MARITAL EXPECTATIONS

The Male Preconstruction of Marital Reality

Like the females the males are also surprisingly unified in their expectations of their marriage, but the males are unified in a very different ideology. The male marital expectations are centered on the economic provision for the marital partner and the family with ALL other issues viewed as being of tertiary importance. The males use the same language to describe their marriages, but they feel that their marriages will be satisfying if they are able to provide well for the family's economic desires (Figure 2).

At the core (and the central issue for all the males) is an understanding by the males that they are responsible for the breadwinning in the marriage. They believe that this is the role prescribed for them in a marriage, and they intend to fulfill it to the best of their ability. If the male is successful in the good provider role, the males believe that the remaining issues concerning the marital relationship will either take care of themselves or will be addressed in a practical and pragmatic fashion.

For males, the provision of economic resources is the male pursuit. This is consistent with their socialization in the family of orientation. The males have come to view themselves in terms of their employment success, and this idea carries over into the marital relationship.

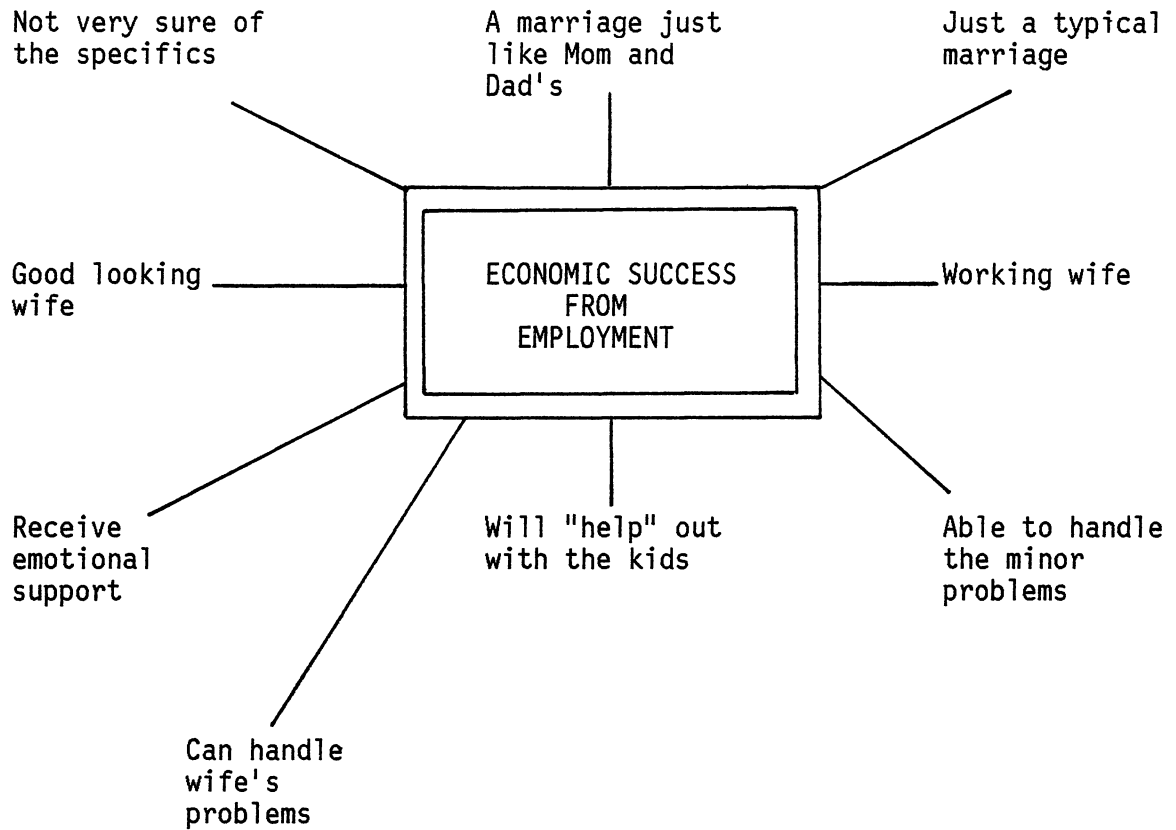


Figure 2. The Male Marital Expectations

Whereas the females viewed marriage as a Camelotian experience, the males view marriage as a part of their employment and professional development. Males see a successful marriage as an opportunity to show their job success (conspicuous consumption) and as the provision of a support system which will promote job success. For the males then, marriage is just another consequence of their economic efforts.

In general, the males in the study were much more undecided in their understandings of the marital experience. They are hopeful and wishful in that they know what they would like to have happen relative to their marriages, but they are MUCH less definite as to how their marriages will operate. They tended to use words like "I hope, I would like to . . . , I'd like, I want, and I wish." The females (which have been previously described) are much surer in their ideas about marriage. Males are much less likely to speak in the determined tones that characterized the females.

The foundation for the male expectations for marriage are quite obviously grounded in their parents' marriages. The males in the study unanimously referred to their parents' marriage as the ideal they would pattern their marriage after. (There were about 15 percent of the cases that noted that they were from divorced families, and they were sure that their parents' marriages were failures because they were not together enough.) Those men from intact marriages were quite sure that their marriages would be of a high quality just like their parents'.

"I have a great marriage planned just like my parents'."

"My marriage will be like my parents', a typical American marriage."

Several of the males in the study (25 percent) stated that they had not given the idea of marriage much thought. They felt that when the

time came for them to get married, they would know it and they would get married at that time to the woman of the moment. There were several men who responded with statements like the following:

"Truthfully, I haven't thought much about marriage until this paper."

"The idea of marriage appeals to me but I haven't given marriage much thought"

"I guess marriage is just like a job, a challenge."

The men seem to have rather vague ideas about marriage compared to the certainty of the females. They tend to rely on their ideas of what the average is like and then assume that their marriages will be slightly above average. This is most likely due to their socialization within the family of orientation and the ascribed status that they have grown to assume. If the young man has not given much thought to the idea of marriage, and he has grown up in an upper-middle class family of orientation, he would tend to fall back on his upper-middle class understandings and observations if faced with the question, "What will your marriage be like?"

The responses of the males in this study must be viewed with this idea in mind. These young men have not spent a great deal of time thinking about marriage, and they tend to assume that they are going to have marriages just like their parents' marriages. This idea of the American Dream that they have developed through their family of orientation is even acknowledged by some of the young men:

"I want to settle down with a wife and kids in a nice house in upper-middle class America. The American Dream does exist."

"This is how the average American family is and mine will be slightly above average."

It seems that the young men have not given much thought to marriage when compared to the specific and detailed descriptions of the females in the study. Is this due to the male view that marriage is less important? Are males more actively involved in other thoughts and just don't have time to think about marriage? Or are there simply basic differences in the interests of males and females? In a discussion with one of the respondents, he stated that marriage was the least of his worries because he had to worry about a job and his career, "Without a successful career, my marriage will be a mess anyway." It would seem that the males are most interested in a career and career success and that the marital relationship is viewed as dependent upon their employment success. A good indication of this emphasis is the overwhelming emphasis that the males placed on the financial side of the marital relationship.

The Good Provider Role

Males feel that they are expected to provide well for their families. Every male in the study discussed in some detail his personal understanding of the good provider role. For many (about 45 percent) the role of the good provider begins before marriage is entered. They felt that they should have the financial ability for an upper-class lifestyle prior to marriage. They did not believe that the male should marry prior to the development of the financial ability to provide well for their spouse and family.

"I am not going to get married until I get out of college When I get out of college, I plan on getting a good job with some large company in a management or business position. I plan on making a lot of money as I get promotions in this company. After I have had my job for a

little while, I plan on getting a new car, a condominium, and a new wardrobe of suits."

"When I get settled with a steady, full-time job, I will be ready to get married"

"I plan to be financially set before marriage."

The male expects to provide the financial wherewithal for the family, but he would be delighted with a wife who would assume the role of secondary breadwinner. The males intend to have financial success, and they do not believe that there are any real obstacles hindering that success. They think that there is a market for them in their chosen careers, and they are going to be successful. They do not believe there will be any significant impediments to their success.

"The male provides the money for the family . . . I will provide everything my family needs or desires, a dog, a nice home, a boat and two new cars."

"The husband is the primary breadwinner, and is responsible for the most money and the financial stability of the family."

"There will be no financial hardships for me or my family . . . The male should support the female . . . I will provide well for my family."

"Job success is critical to the following: family well-being, family safety, health for kids and entertainment A successful marriage requires job success."

"Males should be successful in their careers, if they fail to do so they are considered 'lazy bums!'"

Concerning their wife's careers, they are willing to permit their wives to work but the male ego is risked if the female attempts to make more money at her career than he does.

"We will probably both work but her career will be secondary."

"We will both be professionals as long as we can have compatible schedules if not then my wife will stay home to care for the family."

"My wife can have a career if she wants to, but my career will be primary."

"My wife can work after the kids are in school."

The males in the study expect that their marriages will be "typical" of the upper-middle class marriages that they have seen (particularly their parents' marriage). See later comments on the importance of the parental models for the males. This is perhaps one of the most interesting findings about the male subjects. The male's idea about "the average marriage" is much like the female's idea about the existence of "Mr. Right." Males felt that most marriages were pretty much the same, and their marriages would probably be pretty much like everybody else's. Marriage for the males would just sort of "happen" to them, whereas a job would be something they created. The role of husband was much the same as the role of employee, something that a man did in order to be successful. This average is obviously drawn from the picture that is portrayed in the mass media and the popular literature.

Fatalism is not a part of the set of expectations. Only one male subject indicated any anticipation of economic difficulties, and he was rather unconcerned about them:

"There will probably be some bad times, but we should have no major financial problems."

All other male subjects felt that they were going to be quite successful and as a result would provide their families with a "nice" lifestyle.

Lifestyle issues brought out the most specific and unanimous ideas from the males in the study. They felt that nice houses, new cars, vacations, and comfort were in their futures.¹

"We will have some luxurious items . . . We will begin saving for retirement early . . . I will pay for my kids college . . . We should have a new car and a nice house of our own. We will not rent."

"We will have a nice comfortable lifestyle, and will be able to do whatever we want to."

"We will both be professionals so our lifestyle will be quite comfortable."

"Our marriage will be in the style of today--fast paced, and we will buy each other gifts often to show our love."

"We will be financially set before marriage . . . I'll buy my wife lots of gifts . . . women need lots of reassurance."

"I will provide well for my family . . . we will move to a big city, and will own our own home."

"My ideas about an average American family are what an average American family are like and mine will be slightly above average."

"I want to settle down with a wife and kids in a nice house in upper-middle class America. The American Dream does exist."

"I will have a decent job and a comfortable lifestyle . . . We will have annual vacations and we will travel a lot."

"I will provide everything my family desires."

¹The anticipated married life for the males was patterned after the lifestyles portrayed nightly on weekly television shows. The males seem to believe that television portrays life as it really is.

The Future Wife

Males have an interesting set of mixed emotions about females that will become their wives at some future date. On the one hand, the males desire nice looking, smart, and home-loving females. While on the other hand, they seem to believe that females are dependent, emotionally driven, and prone to lose their beauty over time. They believe that they should be the primary financial support for the wife, but they feel that the wife should be their primary emotional support system. They seem to feel that if they provide an adequate lifestyle, then they should expect their wife to provide them with emotional support. They do not see themselves providing emotional support to their wives. They see a trade-off between the financial support and emotional support, and they believe that these support functions are linked to the male and the female marital roles.

The first important attribute of a wife is looks. Men want a woman who "takes care of herself" and one that would "make me the envy of all my friends." Men want to be married to a good-looking woman, but not one of the males mentioned that he expected to marry a beautiful woman. They speak of being married to a well-proportioned woman, but they are not referring to an exceptionally beautiful one.² Most men emphasize the

²The dating gradient proposes that because males must risk a fragile male ego in asking for dates from females, the males tend to seek dates with females who are most likely to accept. Males attempt to date the nicest possible females while at the same time attempting to minimize the risks of rejection. Males, therefore, tend to seek dates with females slightly below their social station (Bernard, 1973).

importance of being married to a woman who is shorter than they are. The only male subject that indicated that it was OK to be married to a woman who was taller was one that was already involved and planning to marry a taller woman. Fully 75 percent of the subjects indicated that a woman should be a minimum of 2-4 inches shorter than her male spouse.

"I expect my wife to have a good sense of humor . . . She should have the same interests that I have: sports, fishing, and camping."

"My wife should get along with others well . . . she should be decent looking and I prefer Brunettes . . . she should have a good body."

"I would like a wife who is blonde and about 5'9" tall . . . she should have a good body but I know that over time her beauty will fade."

"My wife should be decently good looking and should take care of herself."

"I want a wife that is good looking, blonde, with sparkling eyes and a sensuous voice."

"I would like to have a wife who is blonde, as tall or shorter than me, cute, well proportioned"

It is interesting that no male mentioned the desire for a beautiful wife, but every male mentioned that their wife should be cute or good looking. Looks are important to the males, and they use much the same criteria that they use for the dating relations for the criteria. This may be because they are currently evaluating females based on a dating requirement, and they are simply transferring the present evaluation criteria into the future relationship.

Males believe in the traditional feminine attributes. They want a wife who will take care of them and who will be willing to soothe the be-draggled male as he returns from a "hard day at the office." In this

aspect, the males want a woman who will be willing to provide all of those support services that mother used to provide. No male in the study mentioned washing clothes and washing dishes. By not mentioning these activities, they are indicating that these activities are not of a major concern to them and that they have not brought such issues to conscious acknowledgement. (I believe that they don't think much about such things and simply assume that these things will get done by whoever is their support person.)

Support is more specifically mentioned in the male's list of wifely attributes. Wives are expected to be "kind, loving, giving, caring, understanding, and gentle." They are expected to be the person who will hold and care for the male as he returns from the battles in the work world.

"My wife will have several other important qualities such as love, kindness, honesty, caring, understanding, gentleness"

"She (wife) also needs to be devoted to me"

"She (wife) would have to be sensitive towards my problems, needs and wants."

Males want someone who will focus on their (the males) needs and will see to those needs.

"If I am tired after a long day at work, then I will expect her not to demand much during the week . . . The quiet hours I spend at home will be respected and not violated by what my wife thinks are most important to her."

"I want a woman who can understand me . . . a good listener."

Concerning child care and the responsibility for the raising of the children, the males in the study were clearly expecting the females, who

would become their wives, to be primarily responsible for the care and the nurturance of the children. The males in the study felt that they had a role to play in the raising of children beyond the sex act, but they were unanimous in their feeling that the female should assume the primary responsibility for the rearing of the children. In 25 percent of the cases the males did not even mention the fact that children were "part of the bargain." These men seemed to focus on the marriage as something separate from the family and therefore did not feel the need to mention them as a factor in the marriage.

Those males who considered themselves "modern" in their outlooks indicated that they felt an obligation to help with the children, and many of them felt that they would be able to share 50/50 in the child-care responsibilities. These men felt that because they would be pursuing careers that allowed them to set their own schedules (i.e., lawyer, management, etc.), they would be able to schedule their family responsibilities into their lives with little or no difficulty.

"I am going to be a lawyer so it will be possible for me to rearrange my schedule to take care of the children. My wife will also have a professional degree, so we will be able to split the child-rearing fifty/fifty."

The other "modern men" felt that they would be able to hold down their positions and could be available to assist on a 50/50 basis with the child-care activities. These men did not address the difficulty in scheduling of work responsibilities and their share of the child-care responsibilities. They simply stated that they intended to do both.

The males tended to distance themselves from the females and the family in their expectations of their future marriages. While they

believed that they would get married someday and they universally believed that their marriages would be successful, they also believed that the wives they would pick would place unreasonable demands on them and that women as a group were problematic by nature. The emotional stereotype of women was clearly in evidence, and the males were concerned with these dimensions of their marriages. These problems were viewed as a part of the male-female relationship, and they seemed to feel that there was little that could be done to prevent these because females were "just that way."

"Females need constant attention and reassurance in every aspect that affects them i.e. looks, dress, personality. There is always some form of reassurance that they need or want. I will have the laborious duty of figuring out what she wants or needs at any particular time."

"A girl needs and wants to be reminded how her husband loves her much more than a man does, and a man should try not to forget this."

"A man should support his wife because God knows they find thousands of problems to need sympathy for . . . Women want too much and don't understand all that success requires."

"My wife should be rational and calm not an emotional, screaming, babbling idiot like most women."

"The problem with most women is that they can be talked into almost anything, they tend to not think independently and my wife will need to rely on my judgment so that we can make the right decisions."

Discussion of the Male Findings

The previous description of the males in the study and how they have come to understand the marital institution is obviously quite different

from the understandings of the females. There are several marked differences and these center on the core of the marital roles. Males are socialized to believe that their main marital duty is to provide for the family in an economic sense, the good provider role. The men felt that they should provide for their families and that they were the primary source of economic gain for the family. This idea was the only universal consideration of the male ideation. From this point, the males were eclectic in their approach to the subject of marriage. There were several ideas that were popular, but these were not universal. Finding the theme in the male responses was difficult. There was no other singular theme that could be easily developed for their thoughts. The conclusions that were drawn, however, provide an interesting perspective. The confusion and the wide-ranging thoughts of the males in the study are the themes of the male ideation about marital relationships. Whereas females focused on Camelotian patterns, males focused on an economic marital model.

The male has been socialized to focus his energies on the development of a career and the development of an economic capability. The males are convinced that the major and most important requirement for them in a marriage is the provision of economic resources. The males feel that they are obligated to provide for their families, and they are intent on doing just that! They believe that the marital role for the male is primarily the provision of money and becoming economically successful. Other issues (and the males indicate that there are other issues) are tertiary issues, and they believe that they can be handled without any real problem.

The emphasis on the economic aspects of family life has allowed the males to come to the understanding that the male role is an economic one,

and therefore the males have equated their career success with their marital success. As the males succeed in the business or economic life, they believe they will succeed in their marriages. The males feel that they are expected to provide for their families, and they intend to do just that. They will work hard, and they will focus their efforts on the making of money. They will attempt to meet the other needs of their families, but they realize that there will be limited time and personal resources for such endeavors. They realize that success has demands and that they are going to have to deal with those demands if they are to be successful. They are willing to accept those terms for their marriages.

There is additionally the issue of the sense of "self" that males carry with them. The male defines himself in terms of the economic position he holds. So not only does the marital role demand that he emphasize the economic aspects of his ability but his personal sense of self-worth also is intimately tied to his ability to succeed in the workplace. "A good man is one who provides well for his family and one that is successful in his work" seems to be the primary message from the males in the study.

The males in the study seem to have a genuine desire to succeed at their marriages, and this desire is no less sincere or dramatic than is the desire expressed by the females. The males want a loving and caring relationship with their spouses, and they are interested in a long and stable marriage. They feel that the way to attain such marital goals is to work hard at their jobs so they can provide well for their families.

Since the emphasis for the males is to provide for their families, the other marital expectations are viewed as markedly less important for the success of their marriages. For the males, success in marriage is

very specific: job success = marital success. They seem to believe if they provide well for their family the rest of the incidentals will fall into place. They come to define marital success as being a good provider and "a lot of other little things." If they are successful in conquering the major issues of economics, they feel they will be able to overcome the other "little" things. The males feel that they will be able to accurately measure their marital success in terms of the money earned and the lifestyle they attain. This makes the marital relationship a rather rational and logical enterprise for the men. They can measure in an empirical fashion their marital success. They will know whether or not they have a "good" marriage by the same economic factors that they use in their careers. Such a rational base provides the males with no need to emphasize the emotional and other nonrational aspects of marriage.

The emphasis on rationality is noticeable in the responses of the males. They word their responses in a more reasoned manner, i.e., the "hoping for" and the "I would like." The males realize that there are many different ways that their marriages could be organized, and they feel that these different ways are not nearly as important as the economic factors. There is room for a great deal of diversity in their families because the major emphasis for the male is economic.

The males are much less definite about family organization because they realize that their major effort for the marriage is economic. They feel that the marital organization is something that will be rather easy to adapt to, if the career goes well.

The males feel that the female must provide emotional support to them because they will need such support after working hard at their careers. The males realize that they will be pressed to succeed in the

workplace, and they want a wife who enjoys and is capable of providing the necessary emotional support. The males do not feel the wife is unworthy of their emotional support, but they do believe that they will probably need more support than they give because of the demands of success.

Surprisingly, the males in the study were not found to emphasize beauty in their mate. They emphasized that they did not wish to marry an ugly female, but they did not once mention that they were interested in marrying a beautiful woman. This phenomenon could relate to the idea of "the dating gradient," but more likely it reflects the reasoned approach to marriage that is characteristic of the males in the study. They seem to realize that they are more flexible in the area of spousal beauty because they are interested in other things. They have come to understand that having a woman that is capable in the home and a "good" mother is more important than beauty.

In summary, the males have developed a singular focus on their role as provider for the family, and they believe that the other issues that are related to marriage are tertiary and can be "worked through." The males have a single focus in terms of the male marital role, economic provision for the family. They do not have hidden agendas, and they do not feel that their marriages will fail. The "other little things" that go into a marriage are widely varied, and the males do not have many important items for the marital agenda outside of their intention to support the family well and they desire the family's support in such efforts. The males are not "sure" of the actual operation of their marriages, and they do not hold strongly to a list of marital requirements. By way of example, one of the males in the study was asked to participate

in an interview to investigate further the male concept of marriage; and the first comment he made after sitting down was, "Let me see what I wrote so I can remember what I said." After seeing the paper, he remarked, "That sounds pretty good, let's go." The males do not have a specific and definite idea of what their marriages will be like, and aside from the good provider role they are undecided about the details.³

³The females that have allowed follow-up interviews have not asked to review what they wrote. Each female has shown a remarkably firm set of expectations.

CHAPTER V

THEORY BUILDING

Toward Theoretical Freedom

The Merv Griffen show broadcast on March 5, 1985, out of an Oklahoma City television station included a discussion between David Birney and his wife Meredith Baxter-Birney. They had recently celebrated 11 years of marriage and also given birth to twins and were invited on the show to discuss their lives with their children. David remarked, "Marriage isn't about romance. Romance is the first thing to leave a marriage. Marriage is the process of accommodating and working through the problems of living." His wife Meredith responded quickly and with great emotion, "I don't agree! Marriage is filled with romance and it can't work without it. Marriage is not a cold calculation about the ways to work things out. I came into marriage with high expectations and I'm still trying to fulfill them." This brief interchange illustrates the basic differences between the male's expectations about marriage and the female's ideas of what a marriage is all about.

Males are interested in the practical and the rational aspects of marital relationships, and females on the other hand are fighting to develop and maintain an emotionally satisfying relationship that allows those involved to "feel warm and comfortable." This differing basis for the relationship goes a long way to not only explain why marriages are often unrewarding and unfulfilling exercises but also it provides an

understanding of the rationale for the courting and decision to marry in spite of the "great gulf" of interests and expectations.

The differences between the male's idea of a proper marital behavior and the female's understanding of the same behavior can be illustrated by referring to the issue concerning the amount of hours a male devotes to his career and his office. The male sees his marital role in a unidimensional priority: economic provision.

Other spousal requirements are of much lesser import and are therefore relegated to a minimal amount of time and energy. The issues surrounding Camelot as perceived by the female are not nearly as important as is the mortgage payment on the castle and the chariot. The male believes it is his job to provide for the family, and the workplace demands a great deal of his time and energy if he is to succeed. He will work weekends, nights, and early mornings if it will please his superiors and will further his ability to provide for his family well. He is forced to be practical and pragmatic in his relationships, and the socialization into task-oriented roles has (in most cases) prepared him to focus on the practical and rational aspects of an issue and to avoid the emotional and nonrational parts of motivation. He feels that the most beneficial thing he can do for his family is to work long and hard to provide for their financial needs. To do this he works extra hours and is absent from the family often. (It is important to note that many fathers would welcome a chance to spend more time with their families, but the demands of the workplace are not changing so as to allow such a priority for the family.) So in this example the male is out doing his family duty and is feeling that he is performing his family duty well or at least as well as he can.

In this example, however, the resulting marital satisfaction is NOT dependent on the acts of the husband. The resultant marital satisfaction relative to the actions of the husband are dependent on the meanings that are given to his acts by the wife. ACTS DO NOT DETERMINE SATISFACTION; MEANINGS DO! The wife may conclude that the reason he does what he does is such that it will result in her satisfaction or she may conclude that he acts in such a manner as to bring her great dissatisfaction.

The marital expectations of young adults are definite and relatively universal. Both males and females are remarkably gender specific about what their marriages will be like. The interesting and useful aspect of this work is, however, not in the descriptions of the marital expectations of the two genders but the propositions that are developed concerning the possible future marriages of the subjects. The males view marriage as an extension and support unit for their economic efforts, while the females believe that marriage is the source of personal intimacy.

The males and the females use the same terms to describe their marriages, but they are quite different in terms of the priority they place on the various aspects of marital life. This priority differential is the key to the future marital satisfaction for the individuals.

By comparing the marital expectations of the males in the study to the marital expectations of the females in the study, it is possible to develop a series of propositions that will predict marital satisfaction; and, in addition, such propositions will provide a framework for the social scientist and the family counselor/therapist in terms of helping those individuals who come to realize their marital dissatisfaction.

The following general proposition is proposed: The male's definition of his appropriate role in a marital relationship is positively related to his marital behavior, and his behavior (marital role enactment) is positively related to the wife's marital satisfaction when the wife attributes positive meanings relative to his intentionality and are negatively related to the wife's marital satisfaction when the wife attributes negative intentions. If no attribution is made by the wife regarding the intentions of the husband, then the behavior of the husband is not related to the marital satisfaction of the wife.

The rationale for this proposition is found in the symbolic interaction theory's emphasis on the social act. In a social act, the behavior of an actor towards another is meaningful only as it (the act) comes to be understood by the other. According to Hewitt (1984, p. 69), "The interpretation of others' acts generally focuses on their intent." When we are involved in conversation with someone, we come to understand the actions of that person by attributing certain motives to their actions. An example of this process might include holding the door for a lady. If that lady views that behavior as an indication of male superiority, she will probably resent the behavior and will react in a manner consistent with the meaning she has placed on that act. If, on the other hand, she feels honored that the man would consider her worthy of such a nice gesture, then she would act in such a way so as to extend appreciation to the male. It is important to note that the particular behavior has not changed, only the attribute that was assigned by the female.

Exchange Theory

Spanier and Lewis (1979) propose an exchange theory basis in their review of the research efforts concerning marital quality and marital stability. Their article is by far the most complex and comprehensive published to date (Burr et al., 1979, Vol. 2, p. 66), but the utilization of exchange theory narrows the conceptualization and removes the individual actor from consideration. To propose that the state of marital quality is the result of a "cost-benefit analysis" assumes that the marital dyad will function as a rational structure and the individuals will base their behaviors on the ends that they desire.¹ This is simply not the case. The marital relationship is fraught with emotional traps and non-rational pressures. The married couple do not, indeed cannot, develop a rational mental process from a relationship that is so emotionally charged. Rationality requires distance, and the marital union is the closest of emotional relations. This is perhaps the most obvious situation for the much abused cliché: "One cannot see the forest for the trees."

In Volume II Burr et al. (1979, p. 67) proposes that the term "quality" that is used by Spanier and Lewis should be changed to the concept of "satisfaction." They believe that it is the individual actor's

¹It is interesting to note that Spanier and Lewis are males and the theoretical propositions in their delineation of exchange theory are closely related to the pragmatism that is inherent in the male notion of marriage.

The major works of understanding the marital interactions with an emphasis on the individual actors have been done by females (Rubin, Bernard, Fox). Their ideas are closely related to the qualitative aspects of the female ideation.

Gender-based reality construction is quite a pervasive influence!

subjective evaluation of the marital situation which is the critical phenomenon in their model. It seems that the concept of satisfaction is indeed a more useful one, in that the idea of quality seems to denote an objective criteria; and in terms of marital relationships it would seem to be more appropriate to discuss the more subjective idea of marital satisfaction.

Lewis and Spanier (1979) have reviewed the research efforts of social scientists concerning the topic of marital quality and marital stability. They have brought together the efforts of dozens of researchers and have attempted to develop an overview of the state of the art at this time. They have done a very complete job of reviewing the empirical findings and proposing a series of propositions at different levels of abstraction. One of the critical areas that they have reviewed is the area of premarital factors which have been found to effect marital quality or marital stability. They conclude that "the greater the social and personal resources available for adequate marital role functioning, the higher the subsequent marital quality" (p. 275). They found that specific variables have been found to correlate with marital quality and that marital quality is associated with marital stability (defined as simply "staying together," p. 269). Included in the list of social and personal resources are the following:

race	value consistent premarital sexual behaviors
religion	
age differential	lack of precipitating problems prior to marriage
neurotic behavior	intelligence
age at first marriage	status differential
depth of acquaintance	level of education

emotional health	high social class
physical health	interpersonal skills
childhood happiness	positive self-concept
parental approval	quality of family of orientation
support of friends	parental relationships
socioeconomic status	liking of inlaws
no premarital pregnancy	conventionality

These variables were considered in a number of studies and in almost all cases the variables were considered independent of other variables either interactively or convergently. The variables were viewed as independent predictors of marital success, and therefore the results are of little help in explaining the high percentage of high quality and stable marriages that violate the propositions. In my experience alone, I cannot think of any marriage that was begun under the favorable circumstances listed by these authors as requisite for a quality marriage. Independent variables are not adequate to explain the dynamic and complex relationship that we call marriage.

Lewis and Spanier (1979, p. 277) conclude the section of their work on the premarital factors associated with a high-quality marriage with the following statement: "Thus, it can be suggested that the more resources acquired before marriage, the higher will be the marital quality." They note that there are undoubtedly other resources that contribute to the stability and quality of a marriage, but the ones they list (see above) are the ones that have received "the greatest empirical documentation." Receiving the greater attention does not attest to the validity of the concept! Just because the researchers agree that these are the most popular may only indicate that these are the easiest to measure.

This work will go against the "popular" thinking among the researchers and will attempt to place the marital expectations of college students in a framework that reflects the complex nature of the minding process.

Systems Theory

The general systems approach to the family is a recent reorientation of family theory (Broderick and Smith, 1979, p. 112). This theoretical orientation proposes that the family functions as a system and as such it operates by the imposition of mutually agreed upon rules and procedures. The marital dyad begins by each spouse exhibiting a set of random exchanges in a wide variety of behaviors (Lederer and Jackson, 1968, p. 95). These random behaviors are then sorted by trial and error, and the remaining behaviors are mutually acceptable because they continue to exist (analogous to the principle of Darwinian natural selection). The behaviors that the couple find that seem to work for them are then viewed as a set of systemic rules which form the basis for homeostasis (Lederer and Jackson, 1968, p. 92). Homeostasis is defined by Lederer and Jackson as "the tendency for a family system to remain stable once the system of mutually defined rules have been established When both partners are in a state of satisfaction, there is present an emotional and psychic balance, a homeostasis" (1968, p. 92). So, systems theory proposes that there are rules in a relationship and those rules are established by a trial and error method with the ones that "work" being kept and the rules that fail to achieve the desired results discarded.

When people marry, the first important action which takes place is the attempt of each spouse to determine the nature of the relationship; that is, each wants the system to be satisfying to himself, and would prefer to achieve this end without changing his already established behavioral pattern (Lederer and Jackson, 1968, p. 92).

Because of the above process, Lederer and Jackson propose that "almost all marriages--at least at first--have friction" (1968, p. 92). They propose that there is a process of action-reaction-reaction that takes place in this initial period and therein lies the basis for initial difficulties of the marriage. They assume that the marital satisfaction is a function of the effective development of mutual understanding in this initial process.

They propose that there is also a process of exchange that is present in the marriage. The marital dyad is involved in a series of "quid pro quo's" and that these exchanges of personal value are the process of implementing the rules of the marriage (Lederer and Jackson, 1968, p. 188). They believe that the couple is capable of understanding and acting upon the desires and understandings of the other in these exchanges (see exchange theory).

All of the above propositions are based on several "Mirages of Marriage" that are listed by Lederer and Jackson (1968). One of these "myths" (as they refer to them) is the following: "THAT THERE ARE INHERENT BEHAVIORAL AND ATTITUDINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FEMALE AND MALE, AND THAT THESE DIFFERENCES CAUSE MOST MARITAL TROUBLES" (1968, p. 60). These authors ostensibly devote an entire chapter to the discussion of the fact that there are no behavioral and attitudinal differences between females and males. They in fact, however, devote the chapter to a discussion of the traditional views of male supremacy. They propose that there are no biological reasons for the assumption that males are biologically designated to be dominant (Lederer and Jackson, 1968, p. 62).

Additionally they propose that one source of the "myth" is the dominance of the male gender in the study of male/female relations.

Lederer and Jackson conclude their chapter on the "myth of male/female differences" with the following paragraph:

In summary, it is debilitatingly erroneous to believe that there are vast differences between the male and the female and that these differences cause the most of the troubles in marriage. There are no vast, innate differences. The behavioral patterns, attitudes, and temperaments of the male and the female are not inherently rigid. Despite the habits and cumulative forces of society, the man and woman can determine for themselves what role each will have in marriage. When they are unable to do this, then the marriage either will fail, or will be merely a numb, routine affair. Trouble is caused not by vast differences (which don't exist), BUT BY THE INABILITY TO CHOOSE AND ACTIVATE THE DESIRABLE OR NECESSARY ROLE (1968, pp. 66-7).

In the opinion of this author, while the above quote is perhaps an adequate argument for the position that there is no biological rationale for the dominance of the male, it is quite bothersome that they do not include reference to the societal influences that do, in fact, establish different definitions of the marital situation for the males and the females. In the previous findings of this work there is ample evidence that the male and female sets of marital expectations are genuinely different and a source of significant concern. Certainly there are few biological reasons for the views about marriage that are held by the subjects, BUT it is imperative to acknowledge that males and females are socialized into very different people during the childhood and adolescent years. TO IGNORE THIS SOCIAL FACT IS TO DEVELOP A DEBILITATINGLY ERRONEOUS VIEW OF SOCIAL REALITY.

It is interesting that Lederer and Jackson acknowledge that society makes males and females different through the socialization process (1968, p. 63), but they are so concerned with the development of their own value bias, namely the position that males and females are equal, that they fail to understand the awesome differences that the gender-based socialization process develops.

Symbolic Interaction

Acts come to have meaning only as they are given meaning by the other. This is a basic tenet of the symbolic interaction conceptual framework and is basic to all human communication. At the outset of marriage the individuals are forced to redefine their definitions of reality so as to "fit" with their spouse's definitions (Berger and Kellner, 1974, p. 313). The interesting fact that this new nomic process happens without the knowledge of the protagonists places a great importance on the understanding of the previously understood meanings of the individuals. Marriage tends to propel individuals into an "unintended and unarticulated development" (Berger and Kellner, 1974, p. 313). How the process of this new nomic understanding comes to be utilized by the couple is of great interest to symbolic interaction theorists, but there has been little empirical research done on the process.

Berger and Kellner (1974) have proposed that the marital union has a dramatic effect on the construction of reality that is developed, maintained, and modified in the minds of the marital partners. They begin with a general sociological proposition: "The plausibility and stability of the world, as socially defined, is dependent upon the strength and continuity of significant relationships in which conversation about this world can be continually carried on" (p. 310). From this base they proceed to develop an ideal-typical analysis of marriage. Socialization of the emerging generation is therefore critical in the process of becoming a marital union in that the socialization process produces the basis for the understanding of one's behavior in a marriage, the understanding of spousal behavior in a marriage, and the satisfaction that an individual received within the marital relationship. To use the words of Berger and

Kellner ". . . the act is internally anticipated and socially legitimated long before it takes place in the individual's biography" (1974, p. 310).

Society provides the individuals with a "taken-for-granted image of marriage" (Berger and Kellner, 1974, p. 313). The marital union of the two individuals is anticipated as the process whereby these anticipated roles are actualized and lived through. It is this process of living that is specifically delineated here.

Hewitt (1984) outlines the process under consideration well in his section on the cognitive bases of role-making and role-taking.

The symbolic interactionist perspective places considerable emphasis on the Cognitive foundations of human conduct, treating it as dependent on the content of individual minds as they confront and act within a given environment . . . what people know and what people do are very interdependent (Hewitt, 1984, p. 151).

Toward a Theoretical Blend

The entire subject of marital satisfaction is elusive and has been defined by many in a myriad of ways. A favorite conceptualization of this author is to view satisfaction as an equation which balances the expectations with the actual experience. This has been described by several of my colleagues as a question of the ideal versus the real. What you want and what you get are not usually the same. This comes from a basic interest in exchange theory and the idea that man is at core a rational creature and able to evaluate rationally the amount of unrealized expectations and then to determine, based on the amount of unrealized expectations, the level of satisfaction currently experienced. This concept allows the person to be seen in a positive light, and the researcher can develop a series of "either/or" questions which will quantitatively measure the level of satisfaction. While convenient for the researcher,

this concept does not allow the researcher to understand the subject's view. The researcher assumes that he/she is able to design a series of questions that will accurately and completely gauge all of the pertinent domains of the subject's level of satisfaction.

The development of an idea of satisfaction based on a concept of subjective experience became clear as this author worked with the families of juvenile delinquents in a group home project in the southwestern United States. The families that were contacted were usually openly dissatisfied with the family relationships and were seeking to make the family life more satisfactory. These families all felt that the family situation changed from unsatisfactory to satisfactory overnight commencing with the removal of the delinquent child. This perception of subjective experience was dramatically changed because the child was removed. Yet removing the child did not change the fact that the family was facing eviction, could not pay its bills, and the marital partners were very dissatisfied with each other. Overall, the entire family felt much more satisfied once the delinquent youth was removed. In most cases everything remained the same except for the perception that things were much better after the offender was removed. IT IS NOT NECESSARY FOR AN ACTUAL QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT TO OCCUR IN ORDER TO GENERATE AN INCREASED LEVEL OF SATISFACTION!

This realization about the subjectively experienced phenomenon of pleasure versus displeasure, contentment versus discontentment, or happiness versus unhappiness has fostered a belief that the idea of satisfaction, particularly marital satisfaction is of necessity something that must be studied qualitatively and with care. The definition of marital

satisfaction that seems most appropriate for the purposes here was developed by Hawkins (1968, p. 648):

. . . marital satisfaction may be defined as the subjective feelings of happiness, satisfaction, and pleasure experienced by a spouse when considering all current aspects of his marriage . . . Marital satisfaction is clearly an attitudinal variable and, thus, is a property of individual spouses . . . It is a global measurement.

Burr (1967, p. 369) defined marital satisfaction as ". . . variation in the subjectively experienced contentment or gratification with the marital situation as a whole."

To effectively understand the general concept of marital satisfaction as it has been defined for this purpose, it is necessary to understand the set of marital expectations that an individual brings into the marital relationship. What are the expectations that a never-married male brings to the marital relationship? What do never-married females expect from their marital experience?

The answers to these questions provide a basis for understanding marital satisfaction at the outset of a marriage. Certainly marital expectations are dynamic and difficult to specifically identify, but as a spouse gauges his/her marital satisfaction they are involved in a general exercise. Perhaps the spouse is dissatisfied with certain aspects of the relationship, but there are other facets which compensate for such dissatisfaction.² Certain aspects of marital satisfaction are more highly prized, and if these more-valued desires are satisfied then other unmet

²Several examples of marital dissatisfaction are included in Appendix C. These are samples from already married students which delineate the marital dissatisfaction of already married or previously married students.

expectations can be tolerated. The following series of examples concerning the number of hours a husband might work are illustrative.

Figure 3 shows graphically the understandings of the symbolic interactionist perspective. The symbolic interactionist is concerned with the use of symbols and how those symbols (i.e., language or mental images of meaning that have been internalized through the socialization process) are utilized to convey meanings in the accomplishing of a social act. The model proposed in Figure 3 is a more generally applicable model of social acts. It must be understood, however, that the model is dynamic in that the other and the actor are each feeding into the everchanging definition of the situation held by the social partner. This effort will not attempt to show this dynamism but will note the process as a "snapshot in time." (The encapsulation of Figure 4 into the more general model of Figure 3 is graphically shown in Figure 5.)

This model demonstrates the earlier quote from Hewitt (1984, p. 151):

The symbolic interactionist perspective places considerable emphasis on the cognitive foundations of human conduct, treating it as dependent on the content of individual minds as they confront and act within a given environment what people know and what people do are very interdependent.

Figure 4 provides a graphic depiction of the process of this theory in a marital situation. The male in the relationship has been socialized to understand the male role within the marriage through contact with several, perhaps even dozens, of sources. The sources of socialization for males in our society would include his family of orientation, school, books, friends, relatives, families of friends, mass media, and certainly his spouse. Early socialization provides a storehouse of ideas about how a man acts within a marriage, but this storehouse is constantly gaining, losing, and modifying the ideas stored therein, as new information and

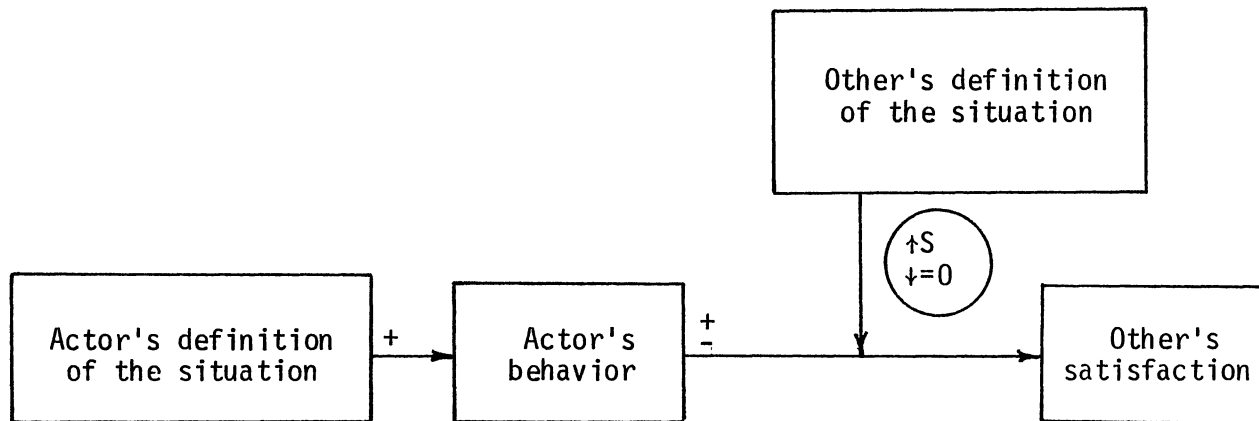


Figure 3. Theoretical Model-General

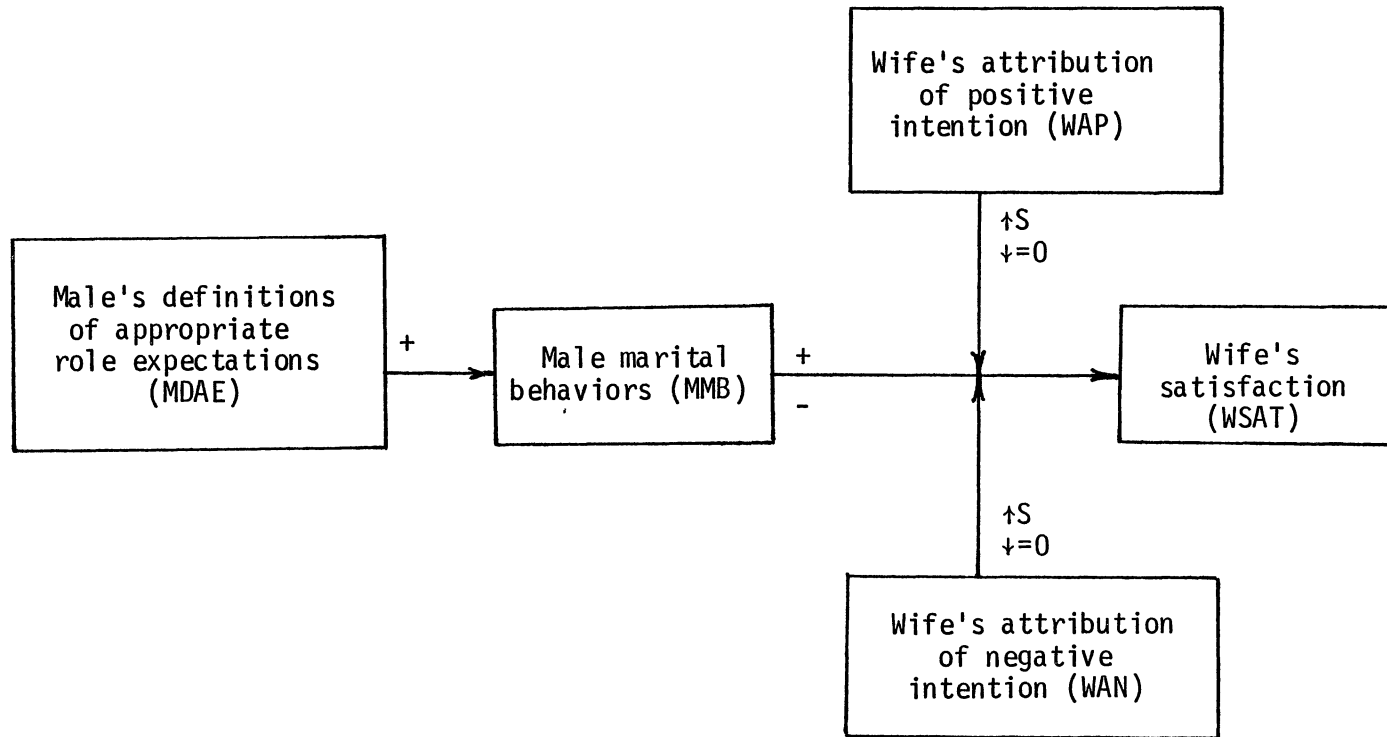


Figure 4. Theoretical Model-General Attribution

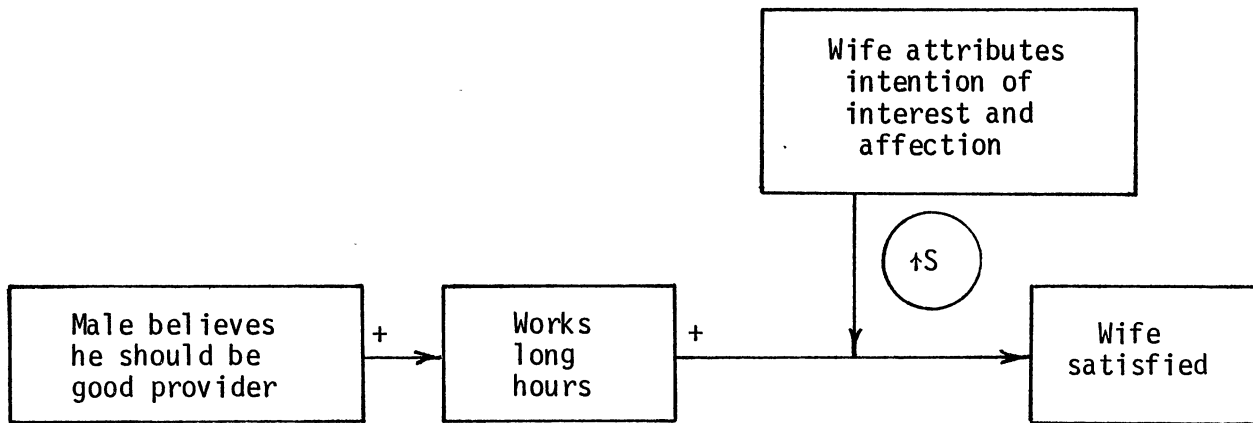


Figure 5. Theoretical Model-Positive Attribution

experience is encountered. The process of socialization is a lifelong one, and one major change point is entry into marriage. It is marriage that forms a dramatic break with the old understandings and the entry into a new set of understandings that are correlated with the understandings of the spouse.

There is a strong case to be made for viewing the marriage as a "nomic rupture" where each partner's biography and all they may have learned about what a marriage should be and how to act within one are ruptured, and a new nomic (understanding) process is begun in concert with the spouse (see Berger and Kellner, 1964, p. 313). The socialization, however, has been established for several years (since the person first became aware of others in the family of orientation) and the understandings that are gathered during the critical younger ages are, if not blinders to much of the new nomic process, at best filters through which the new information and understandings are processed. The understandings prior to marriage are a major basis for the later understandings that come from the marital interaction.

In an effort to bring the propositions into better focus, this section will focus on the more specific, behaviorally related aspects of Figure 3. For example, let us propose that the male in a marital relationship sees the definition of the situation as a "traditional marriage" wherein the male is expected to occupy the "good provider role." Based on the male's understanding of a masculine set of behaviors (as he understands them to be), the male spouse exerts a considerable amount of effort toward his instrumental role as the economic provider for the family. To be successful he believes it is appropriate for him to spend

many hours on the job. He seeks out overtime assignments and often works late or on the weekends.

Whether or not the wife feels that the behaviors are conducive to her marital satisfaction is based upon her understandings of the situation (definition of the situation) NOT THE BEHAVIORS OF THE SPOUSE! The fact that the husband often works late or works on the weekends is only related to the wife's marital satisfaction as she has come to understand the intention of the husband's behavior. What he means by acting in a particular fashion is the critical factor in her marital satisfaction. Certainly if she has an accurate understanding of her husband's intention and if she sees his behavior as an expression of care and nurturance and care and nurturance is what she desires, then the behavior of the husband will positively impact on her marital satisfaction.

If the wife believes that the incidence of husband's frequent late hours for work is a positive expression of interest and affection, then such behavior will result in an increase in marital satisfaction for the wife.

It is interesting that we can come to an exactly opposite conclusion about the relationship previously described based not on the actual intentions of the husband nor on the behaviors of the husband but based only on the attribution of meaning applied by the wife. For example, let us again assume that the husband holds the same understandings about his role as was previously stated: He believes that the husband should occupy the "good provider role." Because of these understandings (his definition of the situation), he works many long hours to fulfill the demands of his role.

However, in this scenario the wife attributes another meaning to his behaviors (one with negative value given her understandings of his intention). She believes that the reason he works so many late hours is because he does not like to be with her. She feels that his job is more important to him than she is. In this case she becomes dissatisfied with the marital relationship because she has negatively valued his behaviors. This situation is proposed in the following hypothesis and is graphically presented in Figure 6: If the wife believes that the incidence of husband's frequent late hours for work is a negative expression of interest and affection, then such behavior will result in a decrease in marital satisfaction for the wife.

The third testable hypothesis that is to be considered with this mid-range theory is that situation wherein the wife does not negatively or positively value the behavior of the husband. Consistent with symbolic interaction theory which states that the behaviors of the actor (in this case the husband) are dependent upon the other (the wife) for their meaning, so if the wife does not feel that the behaviors are of sufficient importance for her to value, then the behaviors of the husband would be termed meaningless in terms of the wife's marital satisfaction. If the wife does not believe that the behaviors of the husband are related to her marital satisfaction, then she will simply not value the behaviors of the husband. This case is illustrated in Figure 7 and is stated in hypothesis form in the following statement: If the wife believes that the late hours of the husband in relation to his work are unrelated to her marital satisfaction, then the behaviors will have no relation to her marital satisfaction.

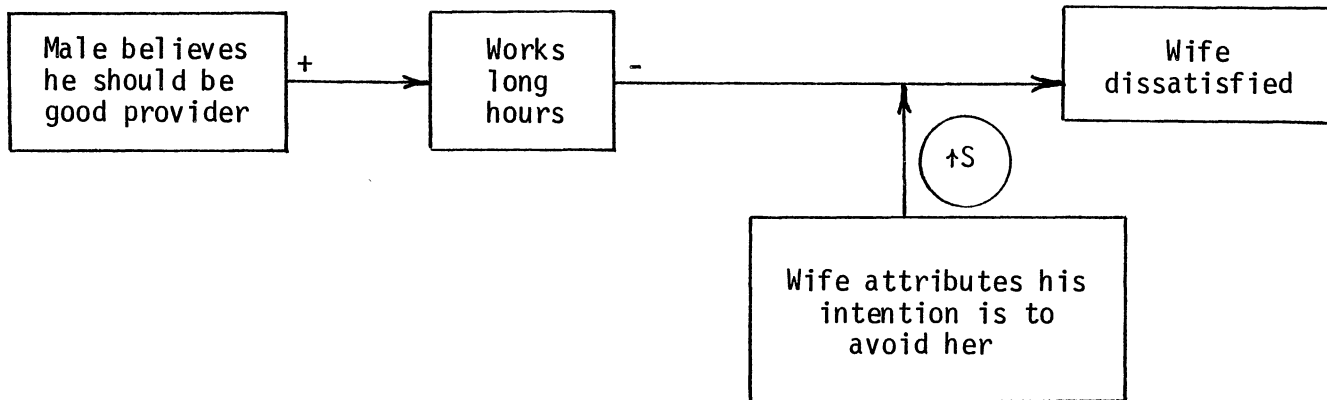


Figure 6. Theoretical Model-Negative Attribution

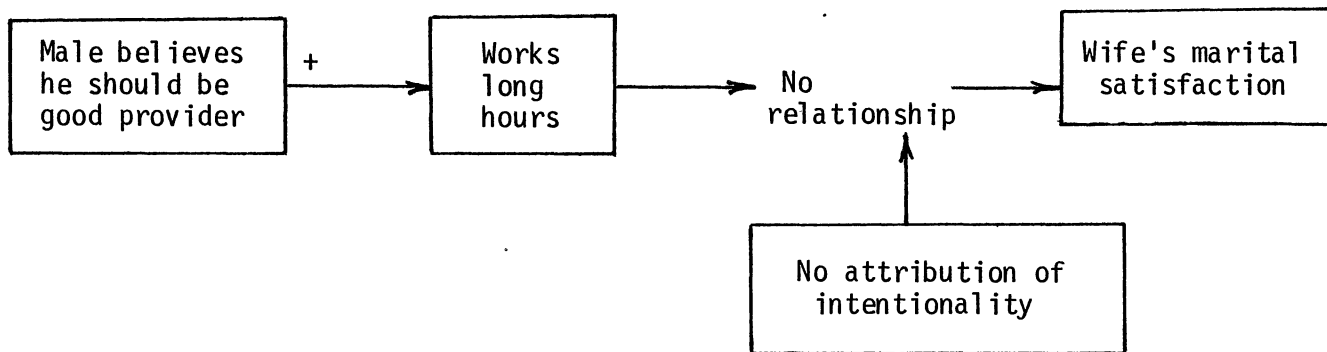


Figure 7. Theoretical Model-No Attribution

While the previous set of propositions address only one possible scenario out of hundreds of possibilities in a marital relationship, they are adequate to illustrate the theoretical orientation being proposed. Utilizing the general theoretical propositions of the symbolic interactionist conceptual framework, propositions can be developed for each of the possible scenarios. Extensive theoretical development must await further study, but in this work the theoretical basis has been established.

Given the sets of marital expectations by gender, it is possible to delineate the possible outcomes as has been done with the example previously given. With the great gender-based differences in marital expectations it is reasonable to assume that dissatisfaction is not only likely, but probable.

On the Marital Issue of Child Care

Another area of significant marital difference is the arena of child care. Males believe that the care of the children that are the result of the marriage is the responsibility of the female. Females believe that the male is equally responsible for the care and the nurturance of the children. There is a basic difference in these two positions, as evidenced by the findings in the previous chapters.

Males enter the marital relationship with the understanding that their wives will provide the child care that is required for their offspring. In the marital "bargain" that is a part of the male ideation, it is clearly the responsibility of the female to care for the children while the male does his family duty, economic provision. The male realizes that he has a duty as a father but he sees himself in the father

role as was performed by his father in the family of orientation. The first and primary duty of the father is to provide for the family. This traditional view is strongly in evidence in the male marital expectations.

For the male this issue (their role in child care) is like so many others, just one of those things that will work itself out if he provides well for his family. It is easy to understand his dismay when she says: "It's your turn to change him/her," or "Tonight YOU get up with the baby, I'm tired." His initial reaction to these demands is to conclude that she is not doing her job. After all, he's got to be at the office early and work all day, and there is no way he can do his best to provide for the family if he is expected to do part of her job too. She is viewed as handicapping him in his efforts to do his marital role.

The above scenario compounds the feelings of alienation that so often accompany the birth of the first child for the male. He is no longer the center of attention for the affections of the wife. He is expected to share the affections that previously were his alone. This adjustment is confounded by the demands placed on him by the wife to share equally in the care of the child. He believes this is an unreasonable demand by the wife and the result is resentment. He is again faced with the internal dialog.

"What should I do?" "How can I get my wife to realize the reality that the care of the children is her job?" Once he presents his concern about her lack of adequate role performance and receives the full force of her understandings of reality, he again resorts to the internal dialog. "What am I to do about this woman who obviously does not understand what she is supposed to do and only only does she not understand but she is convinced that her liberated ways are the right way for things

to be." He is faced with the consideration of his options at that time. He may have chosen a career woman for a mate and may conclude that that was the wrong choice and set out to find a more traditional mate. Given the set of marital expectations that have been previously described in this work, it is hard to believe that many men will modify their expectations of the female sufficiently to allow them the opportunity to care for the children on a 50/50 basis with the female, and it is almost inconceivable to assume the male will reject the good provider role for the role of child nurturer. The male has been socialized into one marital role, that of good provider, and to expect him to reject years of socialization and his basis for self-image is to expect the highly improbable.

Likewise, the women in the study are equally adamant about the duty he has to share in the child-care duties. The females are absolutely sure that the male marital role includes an equal share in the care of the children. "He will do one-half of the 2:00 feedings . . . after all these are his children too!"

When her husband comes home from work, she will assume that his time has come for the care of the children thus giving her a break from the responsibility that she has had all day long (if she does not work outside the home). As has been mentioned in the previous section, he views her insistence as an intrusion on his relaxation time. She cannot understand his reluctance, and he cannot understand her insistence. ONCE AGAIN THERE IS NO EXCHANGE BECAUSE THERE IS NO COMMON UNDERSTANDING OR BASIS FOR AN EXCHANGE.

The male and female expectations are the basis for the construction of marital reality because the socialization of each into gender roles has provided a preconstruction of marital reality that is so qualitatively

and quantitatively different for either gender that there is simply no basis for an exchange. Males and females are not operating in the same constructed realities and as a result they can be said to have different marriages.

On the Dual-Career Marriage

The one idea concerning marriage that was universal was the male expectation that he would be the provider for the family. Every male believed that the economic provision for the family was his marital role. This provider role was critical to the success of the male's marriage, so much so that many males found that they needed job success in order to assure marital success. For the males the issue centers on their ability to adequately provide for the family. Many understand that their wives will have a position outside of the family, and the males even allow that their spouse might have a professional career. This is no problem for the males as long as their role as the primary provider is not threatened! They propose that their wife's career will be secondary to theirs. If problems arise because of the dual careers, they expect their wives to give up their careers. They also expect that their wives will not make more money than they do.

Again a review of the findings contained in the previous chapters illustrates the diametric opposition of the male and the female marital expectations. The female expects to have an opportunity to pursue her career with a fervor equal to the male's opportunity. She does not plan to "stay at home"; she plans to aggressively enter the work force and to actively pursue a professional career. She expects to have her career treated with the same primacy as the husband treats his career. She

expects her husband to support her in her career with the same vigor he expects her to support his career. Some examples from the data will serve to illustrate the point:

"The most important career (mine or my husband's) will be the one that brings in the most money."

"I will be a pharmacist and my husband will support me in my career."

"I will continue my career after we are married and I will make decisions for myself. My husband will not make decisions for me."

"The household tasks will be shared based on my career demands."

"My professional career will have to come first"

Females are planning on careers in their own right. They have been socialized into the role of an equal economic partner in the marriage, and they expect the males to support their career efforts. Again the incapacity of social exchange is noted. This inability is a direct result of the socialization of the male and the female. As has been previously pointed out, the males and the females are socialized into very different people with different views of reality (especially marital reality). Neither gender is to blame for the difficulties, it is simply the natural outcome of gender-based socialization.

Lederer and Jackson (1968) point out that there is no inherent difference between the males and the females BUT THERE IS A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE IN THE SOCIALIZED MALES AND FEMALES. Jessie Bernard (1972) pointed this out at the same time that Lederer and Jackson were making their assertion of nondifferentiation. Bernard points out that "wives and husbands are not adjusting to the situation they find themselves in" (1972, p. 314). She postulates that the reason for this is not that marriages are getting worse, but "mainly because it is getting better and because

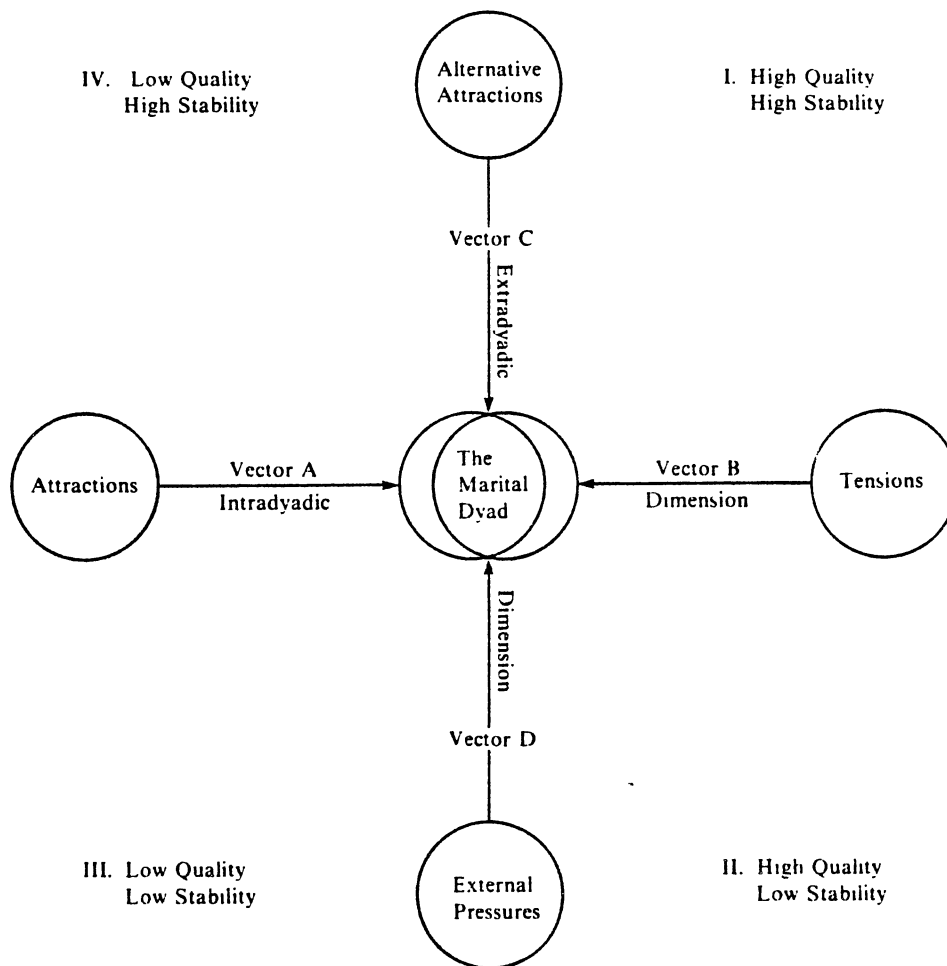
we face a revolution of rising expectations" (Bernard. 1972, p. 314). It is reasonable to conclude from Bernard that the quality of married life is getting better; and as a result of the improving marital quality, the stability is getting worse.

The assertion that the marriages are of high quality and low stability would also seem to indicate that Spanier and Lewis have perhaps missed a critical facet of modern marriage when they state that the high-quality, low-stability marriage is a rarity (1979, p. 288). It has been noted in the previous examples that the marital expectations of the male and the female are sufficiently different so as to cause some major theoretical problems for the exchange theory of Spanier and Lewis and the systems theory of Lederer and Jackson.

On Romance

Considering the male and female differences concerning the issue of romance in the exchange topology of marital quality and stability that have been proposed by Spanier and Lewis (1979, p. 186), it is quite obvious that the marital expectations of both the male and the female are located in "Quadrant I" (expectations of a high-quality and high-stability marriage) (Figure 8). As the couple date and begin their marital relationship, they have few alternative attractions which tend to draw them away from their new spouse. Attractions outside the marital relationship are minimized as the couple begin to do most activities together, and there is significant external pressure to present themselves as the "blissful, young newlyweds."

According to Spanier and Lewis (1979, p. 288), "couples in Quadrant I represent the ideal." They propose that most couples can be found in



Source: Robert A. Lewis and Graham B. Spanier, "Theorizing about the quality and stability of marriage" in Burr et al., eds., Contemporary Theories About the Family, p. 286.

Figure 8. Lewis and Spanier Model of Marital Quality and Stability

this quadrant at some time in their marital career, "most likely in the early years" (Spanier and Lewis, 1979, p. 188). Based on the research findings of others (Spanier, 1976; Hicks and Platt, 1970; Rollins and Feldman, 1970), it would seem quite plausible that initially the marital relationship could be viewed as most likely in this quadrant.

Spanier and Lewis continue to predict over the life of the marital relationship by proposing that marital relationships tend to move from the first quadrant over time. An increasingly greater number of marriages move into Quadrant III and end in divorce. They propose that these marriages are characterized by "conflict, tension, disenchantment, unhappiness, and poor adjustment" (1979, p. 288).

Quadrant IV marriages are marriages that are characterized by many of the same adjectives that were used to describe Quadrant III marriages, but the couple has not been able to "cross the threshold to separation or divorce" (Spanier and Lewis, 1979, p. 288).

It is interesting to note that Spanier and Lewis (1979) do not propose that there are many marriages that can be characterized as Quadrant II marriages. They believe that this type is rare but that there are considerable indicators that this type will increase in the future (p. 288). They believe that there may well be an increase in the number of persons who even though they do not have great conflict and maladjustment in their marital arrangement, they will "opt for termination of the relationship due to even more attractive alternatives" (Spanier and Lewis, 1979, p. 288). The intriguing aspect of the Spanier-Lewis model of exchange is their assumption that most divorces are a means of release for the maladjusted. (They assume that marriages are constituted so as

to only allow "out" those who are in some way incapable of developing the needed skills for marital success.)

Returning now to the example drawn from the present research effort, let us look at the relationship between the males and the females as they attempt to develop an acceptable exchange process concerning romance. The females are MOST INTERESTED in marital romance, and they expect their spouse to pay a great deal of attention to them and to, if not initiate romance, at the least be a willing romantic companion. She acts so as to encourage romance each evening, dressing up for him, fixing candle-lit dinners, wine, soft music; in short, she does all she can to keep the romance alive in her marriage. SHE BELIEVES HE HAS A DUTY TO RESPOND IN KIND!

The male on the other hand, returns from work content that he has done his ONLY marital duty, that of economic provision. He has earned his relaxation time. He can now have a beer and relax, watch the ball game, read the paper, or pursue his hobbies. He genuinely loves his spouse and has done his husbandly duty. He is simply incapable of understanding the anger and resentment she presents when he turns on the television. Later that evening he attempts to be "romantic" and proposes sexual intercourse. He is angry and resentful at the treatment he receives as she explodes about his insensitivity and chauvinism.

These two individuals have nothing to exchange because they have vastly different definitions of marital roles/marital reality. THERE IS NO EXCHANGE! It is irrelevant whether or not these two individuals have a marriage that is of high quality in that it presents the opportunities for self-fulfillment and happiness in many aspects of life. The issues of marital stability depend upon the internal dialog of the individuals.

She has a discussion with herself concerning the marital relationship. (This is not unlike the distinction that Mead makes between the "I" and "me.") She discusses the issues of romance with herself, and she may determine that there is nothing "wrong" with her expectations of the relationship relative to romance and decide to divorce this male and continue her search for the "right" one, or she may come to redefine the relationship in terms of priorities, i.e., maybe he flunks romance but he does have a good job and he provides an adequate lifestyle, so I'll stay. There is a myriad of possible adjustments she can make, but each of these adjustments is independent of the behavior of the spouse. This dialog is internal and has to do with her mental debate concerning the possible options available to her. Given the differences between the male and the female marital expectation and the reality that results, there is virtually nothing that can be exchanged or negotiated because there is no common understanding and value system relative to the issue of marital romance.

The male also has this internal dialog with himself concerning the issue of marital romance. He finds himself frustrated with the confusion he experiences. "What does she expect from me? I've done my job--I work hard and bring my paycheck home for the maintenance of the family and no matter what I do she seems to expect more." He is frustrated with the unacceptable level of sexual frequency, and he may well develop a disinterest in the initiation of intimacy and the refusal of his mate. He can put up with the marital dissatisfaction for a longer period than can the female because he can expend greater energies at the work site and receive rewards for those efforts. The marriage is not critical in terms of his self-image, his job is. If the perceived lack of sexual

fulfillment becomes intolerable, he has other options available to him in the form of extramarital affairs or professional services. He has a great deal of time that is unaccounted for in his marital relationship, and he can choose to fulfill his needs in other ways.

Like the female the male has an internal dialog with himself and considers the available options once the dialog has concluded that there is dissatisfaction. He can lower his expectations at that time or he can develop an alternate set of priorities. The critical element in his internal dialog (like the critical element in the female's dialog) is the definition of marital expectation and the definition of the marital reality. Given the male definition of the situation, he will develop a logical set of conclusions or at least a set of conclusions that fit with his emotional and rational understandings of the situation.

Both the male and the female make the "right" decisions based on their perceived expectations and understandings of the situation. MARITAL QUALITY IS A PROCESS BASED ON THE UNDERSTANDINGS EACH INDIVIDUAL HAS OF THE IDEAL AND THE REAL REALITY. Marital discord is not the result of poor marital adjustment and conflict. It is the result of the separate worlds of the male and the female. Therefore, it is proposed that the individuals in a low-stability marriage may in fact experience the low stability as a result of a high marital quality.

Summary

In this chapter it has been proposed that the two most popular theoretical orientations to the study of the family are based on erroneous assumptions either that there are no basic differences between males and females (systems theory) or that there is some basis for an exchange

process between the males and the females based on some rational economic value model (exchange theory). It has been proposed that the basis for marital instability is an increasing ability of the marital institution to provide more of the unbounded happiness that is a part of the "revolution of marital expectations."

It has been further argued that the differences between males and females are "worlds apart" as a result of gender-based socialization practices, and that without significant changes in the ideation that marriage is the locus of complete fulfillment there will be no advancement in the study and application of social scientific efforts.

The gender-based preconstruction of marital reality is the basis for marital satisfaction, and this basis is mutually exclusive between the male expectations and the female expectations. This dichotomy of marital reality will provide the basis for the conclusions which follow.

In this chapter it has been shown that the marital expectations are critical to the development of marital happiness. Examples have centered on the need for marital theorists to discard single-theory orientations for a more comprehensive grounding in the reality as perceived by the individual actor.

This research explains how individuals come to develop a sense of unhappiness with marital relationships. Concurrently it is important to note that the research can also provide a basis for explaining why many marriages work and result in, if not happiness, at least stability. The proposed grounded theory not only explains the incidence of divorce, extramarital affairs, and counseling errors, but also explains why many marriages stay together and are happy.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The findings in this study indicate that there are significant differences in the expectations of never-married males and never-married females. These gender-based pre-constructions of marital reality are grounded in the gender-based socialization process. Indeed, "boys will be boys and girls will be girls."

It is important to note at the outset of this discussion that the theoretical conclusions which follow are a "good people" model. THERE ARE NO VICTIMS AND NEITHER GENDER IS THE OFFENDER. The marital expectations which are described and the conclusions reached are simply the natural outcomes of a social system which raises the emerging generations to expect that true fulfillment is available through the social institution of marriage. In no other institution do we find such a monumental expectation.

The American public realizes that total personal fulfillment cannot be attained through our careers nor our political or government institutions. We have realized that knowledge is insufficient (however freeing) to provide total personal fulfillment. Even religion is not expected to provide all a man or a woman needs to be satisfied. The social institution of the family, with the frustrations of child rearing and the struggle to pay the bills, is not expected to meet all our needs. ONLY

IN THE MARITAL INSTITUTION DO WE EXPECT ALL OF OUR NEEDS AND DESIRES TO BE MET.

Helen Gurley Brown's monumentally popular novel Having It All states that women can indeed have all of their needs and desires fulfilled. She has simply stated the popular thinking of both genders. Both males and females have concluded that in only one institution can all of their individual needs and desires be met. In marriage and in marriage alone will one find true happiness.

In past generations complete personal happiness in the marital relationship was viewed as a rare item, something that was certainly desired, but something that was not often found in marital relationships. Since there were few alternatives for the woman who found herself in a marriage that did not provide happiness the marriage remained intact, and she found contentment in other relationships (i.e., her children or her church).

Now we find that happiness has come to be expected not as a rather unique gift but as a right (see Yankelovich's New Rules). Our society has come to expect happiness, true personal contentment as a right. "I'm supposed to be happy!" No longer is happiness something we can live without--we are entitled to it! We now are permitted to seek after happiness with a fervor that has never been seen before. Since marriage is the only social institution that is expected to provide true happiness and fulfillment, it (marriage) has suffered under the demand for the right of happiness.

One of the major conclusions of this work is that it should be no surprise at all that the level of dissatisfaction in American marriages is as high as it is. The expectations described in the previous chapters

show dramatically that males and females expect very different things from their marriages, but both men and women expect the end result will be complete personal happiness. Each one has been socialized to understand complete fulfillment in different ways but both expect that from marriage.

Lilian Breslow Rubin (1983) proposes that the essence of the marital relationship of males and females centers on "being" and "doing." For the female marriage is a sense of "being." The marriage is the focal point of a woman's being. She has been socialized into a belief system which proposes that interpersonal relationships are very important for her sense of self. Woman (much more so than man) is centered on sociableness and relationships. With this emphasis on interpersonal relationships she enters the ultimate personal relationship, the marital relationship. This is the "big enchilada" of interpersonal relations. This is the interpersonal relationship because this relationship (marriage) is the one that will bring true and complete happiness. For the female marriage is an integral part of her "being"--she is fulfilled in a marital relationship.

Males, on the other hand, have been socialized quite differently. For them, marriage is something you "do" much like you "do" a job. Males are socialized to view themselves as instrumental leaders. They are trained to think in terms of "doing what needs to be done" to get the job/task completed. As a result, males view marriage in the same terms. A male "does" husbandly duties just like he "does" work duties. He believes he has a role to play in his job and a role to play in his marriage. Both of these roles center on the same fact, economic success. The male has learned that success in one arena will lead to success in

the other. He has understood that marital success is dependent upon his ability to adequately provide for the physical needs of his family.

The males in this study indicate that they are as unaware today as their fathers and grandfathers were unaware in their days of the extensive and critically important marital expectations of females. Males have been socialized to understand marriage in terms of economic provision.

In summary then, we find women expecting their right to personal happiness fulfilled in the marital relationship through the deepest interpersonal relationship. While males believe true happiness will be achieved in marriage through adequate economic provision. IT IS NO WONDER WE FIND GREAT DISSATISFACTION IN MODERN AMERICAN MARRIAGES.

To fully understand the implications of the previous discussion we must return to the indices of marital dissatisfaction which were listed earlier in this paper. Divorce statistics will certainly be substantial among the subjects studied. The stage is set for divorce in the socialization process long before individuals actually enter a marital relationship. Certainly there are subjects who should fit together well--the traditional males and the traditional females. It is reasonable to expect these marriages to be fulfilling enough to insure stability, but these marriages are by far the minority. A review of the two sets of expectations will quickly show that both males and females "want to have it all." The males as a group are quite traditional; they are seeking the same things that their fathers and grandfathers sought. If they indicate a willingness to have a wife with a career, they fully expect her to fulfill the role of a traditional wife as well. They have not internalized any significant change in marital norms and as a result they will be

disappointed. They will most probably deal with their disappointment in the same manner that the previous generations of males have, by focusing on the work role for partial fulfillment. A male can tolerate a great deal of dissatisfaction in a marital relationship by seeking personal rewards in the workplace.

Females also are seeking to "have it all." They want to have the same options open to them as males have. They expect to be a modern woman who does more than "simply" keep a home for a man. Women want careers and self-fulfillment in the workplace but they also want the intimate and extensive marital relationship that they have been socialized to expect. They realize that to have such a full marital relationship the males will be required to add duties to the good provider role.

The female expects a husband who will not only provide economically but also cook, clean, care for children, and accept the inherent role strain and role conflicts that accompany such responsibilities. Women want men who will be tender, emotionally supportive, good providers, and men who will gladly take on the additional duties of the household. Women will also be disappointed.

The importance of the marital relationship in the "sense of self" for the female will not allow her to continue a bad marital relationship for very long. If other options are available, she will choose to terminate an unfulfilling relationship long before a male will. She will continue to believe in the institution of marriage and will seek to enter into another marital relationship. The social institution of marriage is incredibly strong for both males and females. Neither will reject the institution but will propose that they just picked the wrong person.

Both males and females will continue to believe in marriage and will remarry again and again (see Elaine Fox's, The Marriage-Go-Round).

Divorce rates would be expected to continue at the present high percentage of marriages entered or would be expected to climb as other economic alternatives might come available for women.

Incidence of Extramarital Affairs

Based on the information contained in this study, there is every reason to expect the incidence of extramarital sexual relationships to continue at the present high levels and perhaps increase in frequency.

The reasons for such a projection are as follows:

1. Increasing dissatisfaction with the marital relationship.
2. Sexual difficulties caused by overwork (exhaustion).
3. Increasing opportunities for male-female interaction/contacts in the workplace.

As has been noted throughout this paper, the sets of gender-based marital expectations are establishing the criteria for marital dissatisfaction and disillusionment concerning the present marital partner. As has been noted in the previous section, individuals continue to believe in the institution of marriage even when dissatisfied with the present marital arrangements.

If individuals continue to believe in marriage as an institution, then they will seek another partner who will fulfill the set of marital expectations. The prevailing idea is, "I just got an inadequate mate and Mr./Mrs. Right is still out there for me." As the person continues to search for the "right" mate, they will be open for extramarital involvements. Given the high levels of marital dissatisfaction due to unrealistic

expectations of the institution itself and without a change in the institutionalized expectations, the incidence of extramarital affairs will continue at present high levels or will tend to increase.

The increasing interest of women in careers in the workplace is the basis for two interrelated reasons for the continuation of significant levels of extramarital involvements. On the one hand, women are presently experiencing marital role exhaustion. They are attempting to "have it all" and as a result they are simply too exhausted to regularly participate in the marriage act. The demands of a career, the household duties, taking care of the male and the children leave her little time for romantic bedroom encounters. It was suggested in a recent television documentary on career women (NBC White Paper, 3/16/85) that they should have a bumper sticker for the career woman which reads: "career women do it less due to exhaustion!" The overwork and stress of a career will tend to increase the sexual dysfunction due to exhaustion and time limitations (see Appendix B for a young wife's statement about her role strain).

This limiting of sexual fulfillment combines with the increase in opportunities for male-female interaction in the workplace. As women become more involved in professional careers, the opportunities for interaction and interpersonal relationships between males and females increases, and with an increase in opportunity comes an increase in frequency. Within the work setting, it is easy to develop close relationships that can quickly lead to extramarital involvement for even "happily" married individuals. Relationships can seem to take on a "life of their own" once two persons develop them. The increasing numbers of women in the workplace increases opportunity, and the exhaustion of the working

woman tend to strongly support the notion that the incidence of extra-marital affairs will increase over the next decade.

The Marital Social Service Industry

For the reasons previously discussed in this chapter, it would seem logical to note that the service industry designed to meet the needs of marriages which are unrewarding and unfulfilling will continue to expand. Even in the present age of social service reductions, this social service should expect significant continued expansion.

One major reason to expect expansion of services to dysfunctional families is the great number of dual-career marriages (as opposed to the blue collar phenomenon of dual-paycheck marriages) who have the family resources with which to pay for services. The dual-career marriage has the luxury of two income sources both of which could be expected to be above average. These families can afford to pay for service and thereby immunize the marital counseling industry from the reduced funding in the public sector.

The cutbacks in other social services will result in the shift of focus from the poor to the affluent. The care-giving professionals will seek to serve those previously unserved masses, the wealthy. After all, the dual-career marriage is a particularly problematic institution, and individuals will seek out the competent service provider.

Just in the last two to three years there has developed a new service for families called conflict or dispute resolution. This is a new training package for the professional care giver which opens a new area for services. It would seem reasonable to predict that this particular area of the social services will continue to expand dramatically.

Based on the findings in this study a major concern regarding the provision of marital services centers on the expected success rates of such services. If success is defined as a greater sense of happiness and marital fulfillment, then what is being proposed by these services to impact on the causes of marital unhappiness, the gender-based preconstructions of marital reality?

Lederer and Jackson (1968) have written a very popular text for professionals involved in marriage and family counseling. This text was suggested by no less than twenty academics, marriage practitioners, and scholars when they learned of this author's interest in family dissatisfaction. The book was proposed as having laid the groundwork for the latest state-of-the-art marital/family counseling techniques.¹

Lederer and Jackson (1968) devote one entire chapter in this book to the myth that there are differences between the attitudes of males and females. Based on the findings contained herein, such a statement that gender differences are nonexistent is patently rejected and a cause of greatest concern relative to the anticipated success of marital counseling efforts. There are indeed gender-based differences and such differences warrant the statement that males and females are not only different, but so different concerning the marital institution that they have entirely different images of marriage.

¹Because this research methodology is grounded in the actual data, Lederer and Jackson was not read until after the findings had been written. Without such a procedure the findings might have been colored by the imposition of bias on the part of the researcher.

The exchange theory that is espoused by a great number of social scientists (Nye, 1979; Thibaut and Kelly, 1959; Homans, 1961; Blau, 1964; Levi-Strauss, 1969) is based on an economy model ("cost-benefit analysis"). This system of thought is based on the premise that individuals decide on their behaviors based on the perceived rewards that they believe will result.

Like Lederer and Jackson (1968) this is a model based on the rational model of human behavior. It is assumed in exchange theory that individuals will attempt to rationally decide on those behaviors which will result in the desired ends, and they will not exhibit those behaviors which will result in undesirable consequences. This model discounts the emotionally charged marital arena. While such a theoretical orientation might well serve the corporate executive or the legal scholar, it is simply not suited to intimate personal relationships like marriage.

The divergent gender-based reality constructs would also hinder the effectiveness of exchange theory because the understandings and expectations of males and females would result in grave misunderstandings. Again the gender-based ideological differences that have been described in this effort would seem to indicate that a basic understanding between the males and females is difficult if not impossible to attain. Without a common valuing process, there is nothing on which to base a quid pro quo (exchange) arrangement.

Implications of the Research

In this effort, the cultural ideas about marriage have been explored and the understandings of males and females have been compared. It has been noted that the cultural ideas about the social institution of

marriage could be viewed as a major source of marital dissatisfaction and could be the basis for not only the high incidence of divorce, but also the rate of extramarital sexual behavior and the growth of the marital counseling/therapy industry. In this section some implications concerning these areas will be explored and discussed.

When we consider the problems that occur between people, such problems seem to be a normal part of (and result of) culture (Cohen, 1985). Defining culture as the composite of ideas and materials that are the products of man, it is reasonable to propose that people come to understand their lives in terms of the cultural system. In this work it has been noted that the culture has much to do with the understandings people have about what to expect from a marital relationship.

The understandings people have about their marriages are dynamic. They are constantly being modified as a result of new situations and social information. Once entering a marriage, individuals are forced with a number of options about how to use the marital expectations they hold. They may hold them tenaciously and refuse to modify them, or they may choose to begin a new set of expectations. The individual is free to modify them or even establish new priorities. They may seek out assistance from family, friends, or professionals. They are free to change as they choose to do.

The persons in this study have developed a set of expectations from the culturally based ideas which have been established in our society. It is tempting to say that in order to have stronger marriages we, as a society, should lower our expectations of marriage, i.e., "We need to become more realistic in our expectations." There are many who propose that in order to have a happy marriage one should have a lowered set of

expectations. The idea here is that if one has a lowered set of expectations then one will be much more likely to have those expectations met and thereby be happier. This idea is unrealistic. The culture has the strongest of holds on man, and to expect people to go against the cultural ideas of a society is akin to expecting the sun to reverse its east-to-west movement in the sky. So what is to be done?

The most important implication of this research is to understand the pathology of normalcy (see Cohen, 1985, pp. 44-45). The culture has established a set of expectations concerning marriage that cannot be met. Therefore to experience marital dissatisfaction, extramarital affairs, and the need for marital counseling is a normal process! With the culturally based expectations, it is reasonable (normal) for there to be the problems that have been noted within the marital institution.

If the problems of marriages are normal, then the current emphasis on medical models in the care and nurturance of the persons experiencing marital dissatisfaction is a basic fallacy. A major implication of this research is that people who are experiencing problems in their marriages are NORMAL not abnormal. The present idea that everyone can have a wonderful and fulfilling marriage if they are willing to work at it are fallacious. The idea that there is some flaw in the individual that causes the marital dissatisfaction is wrongheaded. The cultural ideas about marriage will lead almost everyone into some state of dissatisfaction because we simply expect too much from the institution of marriage.

The result of such unrealistic expectations is a sense of disappointment and disillusionment, which once established will lead to a negative spiral or a negative track. People begin to attribute intentions to the spouse which are negative and so even when the mate is doing the

right things, the spouse is perceiving negative reasons for the behavior. Counseling efforts must focus on the building of positive spirals and positive tracks if they are going to be successful in increasing the level of marital happiness.

The first major implication of this study then is that there is every reason to believe that the culture of our society has given us an overly optimistic view of what a marriage is supposed to be. It is "normal" to experience marital discord and unhappiness. Since most people will experience such problems in their marriages, the medical models which propose that there is some flaw in the person who is experiencing such difficulties is wrong. New methods of intervention must be developed which avoid the doctor-patient models and instead focus on the empowerment of persons to take charge of their own lives and to make the changes they feel are necessary for their own happiness.

It is the belief of this author that the discipline of sociology has much to offer in the development of new counseling orientations. First, sociologists have a high tolerance for diversity among lifestyles, and they believe that there are many different ways to the "right" one. This allows the sociologist to view the person who is dissatisfied with marital conditions as a capable, competent, normal person who possesses the ability to make choices in his/her own best interests. The role of the sociologist in such a relationship is to be a person who facilitates the development of additional options for the behaviors and attitudes of the person. SOCIOLOGISTS DON'T HAVE CLIENTS/PATIENTS, THEY HAVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEOPLE. This is critical if we are to avoid the imposition of pathology on the many "normal" people who are experiencing "normal" marital problems. [The present emphasis on the medical model for people

problems inherently assumes that the person is flawed (pathological) and is therefore less capable of self-determination.] There is a place for the medical models of psychology and counseling, but these models are only appropriate for the few who are actually pathological.

In the previous section it has been proposed that the sociologist is uniquely qualified to address the needs of people who find themselves in an unrewarding marital relationship. There are many basic sociological principles that can be employed in the facilitation of marital problem resolution which will, on the one hand, avoid the label of pathology and, at the same time, leave the individual in charge of his/her own life. One excellent example is the idea proposed by William and Dorothy Swain Thomas: "If people define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (1928, p. 572). To facilitate the development of a more satisfactory marital relationship, the sociologist may assist the couple to a better understanding of their individual definitions of the situation. It seems that with the great differences between the male's and the female's sets of marital expectations, it would be a good idea to assist them to better understand their definitions of the marital situation. As individuals come to redefine their situation, the consequences of others' behavior takes on a different meaning. This idea is well defined in the section on theory building (Chapter V).

In summary then, the practice of Clinical Sociology seems to have an important role to play in the alleviation of the marital dissatisfaction and marital unhappiness that is so prevalent in our society.

With all of the study that has been done concerning the family and marriage, it is interesting to note the lack of "Verstehen" (defined as deep understanding by Max Weber, 1946). We do not have a deep

understanding of the marital processes; and, as a result, much of the remedial work that is done concerning marital relationships is based on half-baked theoretical foundations and a limited view of the social world. The sociologist is trained in the development of a world view and the necessary levels of verstehen with which to facilitate real change. The sociologist is very much needed in the clinical arena.

Finally returning to the cultural aspect, it is the opinion of this author that as people come to better understand the culturally generated marital expectations, they will be better able to develop an understanding of not only the marital institution but also the marital expectations of their spouse. Information is critical if people are to assert control over their own lives. The development of a clear understanding of the culture provides people with necessary information. Once armed with such information a person will be able to make better decisions, ones that will result in increased happiness. It is the goal of this research to begin to develop an understanding of the culturally defined marital expectations and to provide the basis for further study.

Further study of this sample is planned over the long term. Addresses have been gathered for the subjects, and they are to be followed over the next years concerning their perceived levels of happiness with their future marriages. It is hoped that such a longitudinal study will further clarify the changing marital reality and expectations toward the end of verstehen.

Summary

The study has identified significant differences between the male set of marital expectations and the female set of expectations. It has

been proposed that these expectations are learned through the socialization process and that such a socially sanctioned and powerful process relieves either gender of blame or praise concerning the most correct set of expectations. It has been stated that the sets of expectations for males and females are comprised of certain identified qualities and that these qualities are demonstrably different.

The institution of marriage is unique among the social institutions because it is the only one which is expected to provide fulfillment for the individual. Marriage is the institution within which our personal desires are met and the institution within which we can "have it all."

Whereas in the past, personal happiness was seen as an added bonus, today we find that happiness has become viewed as a right. Believing that we have a right to be happy, modern men and women have begun a search for self-fulfillment and marriage is the focus of such a search. Great dissatisfaction with marriage has resulted from this personal search for marital happiness.

With dissatisfaction running high due to unrealistic expectations, several extensions of this work are proposed. The divorce rate will continue at high levels or continue to increase. The emphasis on "being" among females and "doing" among males is at the root of marital dissolution.

The study indicates reason to believe that the incidence of extramarital affairs will not decrease in the foreseeable future. Marital dissatisfaction, exhaustion, time constraints, and increasing opportunities are seen as contributors to a continuing high level of extramarital involvements.

The marital counseling/social service industry will continue to grow due to increasing needs and the ability of dual career marriages to fund such services through fees. The marital social services will continue to be ineffective in successfully increasing the levels of marital happiness because of an unwillingness to admit to the basic differences between the male and female marital expectations and an inability to address the underlying cause of marital unhappiness, unrealistic expectations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bardwick, Judith M.
1979 In Transition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston
- Bell, Robert R.
1979 Marriage and Family Interaction (3rd ed.). Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.
1983 Marriage and Family Interaction (6th ed.). Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.
- Bell, Robert R.; Turner, S.; and Rosen, L.
1975 "A multivariate analysis of female extramarital coitus." Journal of Marriage and the Family 1975:37, 375.
- Berger, Peter L. and Kellner, Hansfried
1964 "Marriage and the construction of reality." Diogenes 45:1-25. Found in Robboy, Greenblatt and Clarke, Social Interaction. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, pp. 208-322.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckman, Thomas
1966 The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.
- Bernard, Jessie
1973 The Future of Marriage. New York: Bantam Books.
- Blau, Peter M.
1964 Exchange and Power in Social Life. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Blumer, Herbert
1956 "Sociological analysis and the variable," Presidential address read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1956. Found in Manis and Meltzer (eds.), Symbolic Interaction, 1967, pp. 84-94.
1969 Symbolic Interactionism. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Burgess, Ernest W.; Locke, Harvey J.; Thomas, Mary Margaret
1963 The Family (3rd ed.). New York: American Book.

- Burr, Wesley R.
1967 "Marital satisfaction: a conceptual reformulation; theory and partial test of the theory." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota. Found in Burr et al., 1979, Vol. II.
1973 Theory Construction and the Sociology of the Family. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Burr, Wesley R.; Hill, R.; Nye, F. I.; Reiss, I. L.
1979 Contemporary Theories About the Family, Vols. 1 and 2. New York: The Free Press.
- Bynum, Jack E.
1984 Lecture, Sociology 6650, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma (December 6).
- Christensen, Harold T.
1964 Handbook of Marriage and the Family. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Christensen, Harold T. and Johnsen, Kathryn P.
1971 "The family as a changing institution." Marriage and the Family, Ronald Press Co., pp. 20-30.
- Cohen, Harry
1985 "Sociology and you: good living." In Roger A. Straus (ed.), Using Sociology. Bay Side, New York: General Hall, Inc.
- Doherty, W. J.; Ryder, R.; and McCabe, P.
1978 "Marriage encounter: a critical appraisal." Journal of Marriage and Family Counselling 4:99-106.
- Dyer, E. D.
1983 Courtship Marriage and Family: American Style. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.
- Edmonds, V. H.
1967 "Marriage conventionalization: definition and measurement." Journal of Marriage and the Family 29:681-688.
- Eshleman, J. Ross
1981 The Family: An Introduction (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
1985 The Family: An Introduction (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Fox, Elaine
1983 The Marriage-Go-Round: An Exploratory Study of Multiple Marriage. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc.

- Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L.
 1964 "Awareness contexts and social interaction." *American Sociological Review* 29 (October):669-679.
- 1967 *The Discovery of Grounded Theory Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- 1971 *Status Passage*. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, Inc.
- Glenn, H. Stephen
 1981 *Strengthening the Family*. Bethesda, Maryland: Patomac Press.
- Glenn, N. D. and Weaver, C. N.
 1979 "Attitudes toward premarital extramarital and homosexual relations in the U.S. in the 1970s." *The Journal of Sex Research* 15:113.
- Griffen, Merv
 1985 *The Merv Griffen Show*. New York: Griffen Productions (March 5).
- Hadden, Stuart C.; Bibus, Oris E.; Glaser, Barney G.
 1976 "The Study of Basic Social Processes." Unpublished paper.
- Hawkins, James L.
 1968 "Associations between companionship hostility and marital satisfaction." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 30 (November): 647-50.
- Hawkins, James L.; Wersbery, Carol; Ray, Divie W.
 1980 "Spouse differences in communication style: preference, perception and behavior." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (August):549-56.
- Hewitt, John P.
 1984 *Self and Society: A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Homans, George
 1974 *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*. New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich.
- Hughes, Gerald B.
 1979 "Being fat: a grounded theory model of the obese career." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.
- Hunt, M.
 1974 *Sexual Behavior in the 1970s*. New York: Dell Books.
- Kephart, W. M.
 1977 *The Family Society and the Individual* (4th ed.). Newton, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin.

- Kinsey, A.; Pomeroy, W.; and Martin, C.
 1948 Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders.
- 1953 Sexual Behavior in the Human Female. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders.
- Lederer, William J. and Jackson, Don
 1968 The Mirages of Marriage. New York: W. W. Norton and Co.
- Levi-Straus, C.
 1969 The Elementary Structures of Kinship. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Lewis, Robert A. and Spanier, Graham B.
 1979 "Theorizing about the quality and stability of marriage." In Burr et al., Contemporary Theories About the Family, Vol. 1. New York: The Free Press.
- Mace, D. and Mace, V.
 1977 "Counter-epilogue." In R. W. Libby and R. N. Whitehurst (eds.), Marriage and Alternatives: Exploring Intimate Relationships. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman.
- Mack, Wayne
 1977 How to Develop Deep Unity in the Marriage Relationship. Phillipsburg, New Jersey: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company.
- McCubbin, Hamilton and Dahl, Barbara Blum
 1984 Marriage and Family Individuals and Life Cycles. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Miller, S.; Corrales, R.; and Wackman, D.
 1975 "Recent progress in understanding and facilitating marital communication." The Family Coordinator 24:143-152.
- Otto, H. A.
 1975 "Marriage and family enrichment programs in North America: report and analysis." The Family Coordinator 24:137-142.
- Parsons, Talcott and Bales, Robert (eds.)
 1955 Family Socialization and Interaction Process. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Phillips, C.
 1970 "A study of marriage counselors' M.M.P.I. profiles." Journal of Marriage and the Family 32:119-130.
- Reiss, Ira L.
 1980 Family Systems in America (3rd ed.). New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Robertson, Ian
 1983 Sociology (3rd ed.). New York: Worth Publishers.

- Rubin, Lillian
1976 Words of Pain: Life in the Working-Class Family. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- 1981 "Qualitative research: the question of legitimacy." Symbolic Interaction, Vol. 4, No. 1.
- 1983 Intimate Strangers. New York: Harper and Row.
- Rubenstein, C.
1983 "The modern act of courtly love." Psychology Today (July): 40, 43-49.
- Spanier, Graham B. and Cole, C. L.
1976 "Toward clarification and investigation of marital adjustment." International Journal of the Sociology of the Family 6:121-46.
- Spanier, Graham B.
1981 "Marital instability in the United States: some correlations and recent changes." Family Relations 30(3):329-338.
- Thibaut, J. W. and Kelley, H. H.
1959 The Social Psychology of Groups. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Thomas, W. I. and Thomas, Dorothy Swain
1928 The Child in America: Behavior Problems and Programs. New York: Knopf Publishers.
- Weber, Max
1946 From Max Weber, H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yankelovich, Daniel
1982 New Rules. New York: Bantam Books.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

QUALITATIVE DOMAINS AND FACTOR ANALYSIS

TABLE I
 QUALITATIVE DOMAINS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE ITEMS

Qualitative Domains	Items
Romance (15/62)	Dining Out Gifts for Spouse Romantic Eves General Romance
Sex (106/62)	Virginity Marriage Both Mate ♂ Aggressor ♀ Aggressor Fidelity
Compatibility (118/62)	Doing Things Together Common Interests Share Everything Same Values
Communication (156/62)	Spouse Conversation Spouse Time Together Spouse Meals Together Family Conversation Family Time Together Family Meals Together
Lifestyle (251/62)	Much Money Going Out Shopping High Living Vacations Nice House Nice Clothes Successful
Independence (64/62)	Doing Things Alone Own Friends Different Values
Dominance (185/62)	Male Dominance Female Dominance Shared Dominance

(x/62) = Number of times mentioned out of 62 responses.

TABLE I (Continued)

Qualitative Domains	Items
Religion (102/62)	Shares Beliefs/Values Belief in God Goes to Church Denomination Member Divorce → Sin
Role Expectations (379/62)	Housework Cooking Childcare Breadwinner Decision Maker Worker
Children	Wait for Financial Readiness Need Discipline Don't Want Kids Kids--Problems Dyad Needs First Much Time With Job First → Kids Second No Day Care Economic Drain As Joys
Marital Problems (146/62)	Money Arguments Minor Disagreements Discussions No Problems
Organization Generalities	Love Everlasting Love Honesty Respect Trust Happiness Adventure Prints/Model Bad Model--Good

(x/62) = Number of times mentioned out of 62 responses

TABLE I (Continued)

Qualitative Domains	Items
Characteristics of Mate	Hair Face Legs Body Personality Smart Smart < Me

(x/62) = Number of times mentioned out of 62 responses.

Quantitative Findings

Each domain of marital expectations was hoped to load on only one factor significantly. This was not the case with each of the domains, but the factor loadings were for the most part strong enough to provide support for the methodological premise (see Table II).

In the romance and love domain 9 out of 16 items loaded at 0.30 or better with two items at 0.27. This would indicate that this domain was reasonably well supported by the factor analysis. All but one of the anticipated marital difficulty items loaded strongly.

The domain which included children items was the most diverse and given the many aspects of such expectations it is not surprising that there were several factors included in this domain. Even so, 10 of 15 items loaded at 0.30 or better on the first factor. While the domain of children expectations was the weakest, all of the items concerning sex loaded heavily (0.35-0.84) and all religion items (save one) also loaded significantly (0.72-0.84).

The remaining domains also were indicating significant loadings on the first factor for the most part (26 significant loadings out of a possible 39 items). In all, the domains were comprised of a relatively high percentage (69 percent) of significantly loaded items.

TABLE II
FIRST FACTOR LOADINGS ON ITEMS AND DOMAINS

Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
CHILDREN:			
In today's world it's important to have children	-0.40	It is important to me to put my spouse's needs over my children's needs.	0.32
Having children early in a marriage is no real problem.	-0.24	I will spend a lot of time with my children.	-0.56
A marriage just isn't complete without children.	-0.39	I will not go to work when my children are sick.	-0.55
I don't plan on having children until I've been married for a few years.	-0.13	My job's demands will have to come before the needs of my children.	-0.52
I believe that financial readiness is essential before having children	0.09	I would never send my child to a day-care center just so I could work.	-0.25
Children cause a lot of problems in a marriage.	0.66	Children cause major financial problems for a family.	0.62
It is important to strictly discipline children.	0.34	DOMINANCE AND POWER: The male should rule the marriage.	-0.78
Girls need more supervision than boys do.	0.51	Males and females should be equal in marriage.	-0.80
Boys are harder to raise than boys.	0.01	If a wife works, her job should be as important as her husband's.	-0.55

TABLE II (Continued)

Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
DOMINANCE AND POWER:			
If my company re-located me, my spouse would quit his/her job and come with me.	0.19	If my company re-located me, my spouse would quit his/her job and come with me.	-0.22
Final decisions in a marriage should be mutually agreed upon.	-0.65	I should care for our children.	0.51
Wives should be submissive to their husbands.	0.64	My spouse should take time off from work to stay home with a sick child.	-0.20
Females should be taken care of by males.	0.33	If asked, I would give up my job for my spouse.	0.36
The husband should make more money than the wife.	0.65	I expect my spouse to be my adviser.	0.87
If asked, I would give up my job for my spouse.	0.07	SEX:	
I expect my spouse to be my adviser.	-0.04	To start a marriage right both partners should be virgins.	0.80
ROLES:		When I get married, my mate will definitely be a virgin.	0.84
I plan to be a homemaker/househusband.	0.56	The male should initiate sexual activity.	0.69
My spouse will do the housecleaning.	-0.26	Communication is an important part of sexuality in a marriage.	-0.35
I will not do the cooking.	-0.42	My spouse will remain sexually faithful forever.	0.36

TABLE II (Continued)

Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
COMMUNICATION: A family should spend a lot of time together.	0.67	Romantic candle-light dinners are necessary for a good marriage.	0.32
A family should never allow outside activities to interfere with family activities	0.67	I know that my spouse will have some weaknesses.	-0.05
Sometimes a career is more important than the family.	-0.40	We will dine out at least once a week.	0.20
A family should have their meals together.	0.62	My spouse and I will never lie to each other.	0.51
Sometimes it's O.K. to lie if telling the truth would hurt the spouse.	-0.52	Being married should increase our interest in romance.	0.57
A parent should never be too busy to listen to another member of the family.	0.23	My marriage will be just like my parents'.	0.33
Husbands and wives should regularly talk to each other about problems/complaints.	0.12	Romance is one of the first things to leave a marriage.	-0.27
ROMANCE AND LOVE: Romance isn't very important to a successful marriage.	-0.05	My spouse and I will always respect each other.	0.27
My spouse and I will often buy each other gifts.	0.01	I will be able to trust my spouse in everything.	0.38
		My spouse and I will be unhappy sometimes.	-0.52
		I've learned a lot about marriage from other people's bad examples.	0.14

Table II (Continued)

Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
ROMANCE AND LOVE:			
My marriage will never be boring.	0.63	My spouse should go shopping for personal items often.	0.05
My love for my spouse will never die.	0.62	My marriage and family will be described as "high class."	0.75
Marriage should be based on love.	0.53	I plan to buy clothes often when I'm married.	0.63
RELIGION:			
It's important for husbands and wives to share the same values.	0.15	Annual vacations are absolutely necessary for a successful marriage.	-0.02
My spouse will believe in God.	0.73	Success in my career will be critical to my marital success.	0.34
To get a divorce is sinful.	0.72	Having a lot of money is important to me.	0.83
My spouse will attend church regularly.	0.84		
My spouse will belong to my religious denomination.	0.80	ANTICIPATED MARITAL DIFFICULTIES:	
LIFESTYLE AND SOCIAL CLASS:		I anticipate no major marital problems.	0.52
The most important cause of success in marriage is to have a lot of money.	0.49	I anticipate some minor disagreements with my spouse.	-0.76
Going out once a week is not very important to a successful marriage.	-0.09	My spouse and I will have regular discussions about things on which we disagree.	-0.05
		I will never yell at my spouse.	0.60

TABLE II (Continued)

Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
ANTICIPATED MARITAL DIFFICULTIES: I will never get angry with my spouse.	0.78	A husband wants to hear all about the wife's day.	0.70
COMPATIBILITY: My spouse and I will do many things together.	0.19	Wives don't really need to know much about their husband's job.	-0.34
Having common interests is not necessary for a successful marriage.	0.40	A husband and a wife should agree on what's right and wrong.	0.67
I plan to share all aspects of my job with my spouse.	0.56		

APPENDIX B

FEMALE AND MALE CASE STUDIES

"What My Marriage is Going to Be Like"

Case 25 - Male

The bond of love which brings two people together, the eternal knot which ties together two people until death do they part--this is the idea of marriage that my mind unravels. My wife: She is a woman who responds obediently to my demands, just as a dog responds to his master's call. There is no betrayal in our relationship. The only woman I claim for myself is the one who will share with me her entire mind and body; only willing to give of herself to the man she so desperately desires.

Together my wife and I will join a format of understanding who is the ruler of the house. She will realize that I am the provider that maintains an empire, which is dominated by my authoritative contributions. She will also realize that I am the prominent creator of power and wealth; that my mind is the controller of all. And as long as this thought stays imprisoned in her mind; she will remain the woman I love. As we develop a stable financial status, there will be a time to consider children and a family. My love for children isn't the most affectionate type. However, one blue-eyed, blond, baby boy would make me a very happy Father. I think that my wife and I would agree on the idea that one child is enough to raise.

As far as working goes, my wife will understand that I will be the provider of what we need, and she will assume all responsibilities of the household. I am not the old-fashioned type of person either. There will also be much time needed for my other friends after my marriage. My wife

will not take away or limit my time with friends. Just because I'm married doesn't mean I have to sit at home with my wife and her bawling brats. The idea that a man should be at home twenty-four hours with his wife is bullshit. A man must work and take time away from her in order that he stay sane. My wife will conform to be a Baptist, since that is the religion that I have always believed in. We will attend church services regularly on Sunday and I will require that she attend Wednesday services too.

Sex will be an important part of our marriage and my wife must be an attractive woman to fulfill my sexual desires. Her performance in bed will greatly depend on how I feel at the end of each day. If I am tired after a long day at work, then I will expect her not to demand so much sex during the week. As we grow older, sex will not be so much a great element in our marriage. I will expect to come home and sit down to a relaxed atmosphere and enjoy a good program on television. The time of quiet hours I spend at home will be respected and not violated by what my wife thinks are most important to her. Her attitude toward my wants will greatly influence the foundation of our marriage.

All in all, my marriage should prove to be a lasting one with less barriers than happiness. The more happiness and understanding that my wife reflects on our relationship, the most success that will be achieved through our life together. The single most important factor which makes any marriage tick is the obedience that a woman displays unto her husband. If this part of a marriage is not achieved, then no other level of marriage can be achieved. The only Queen I claim for myself is the one who will share with me her throne.

The Ideal Marriage

Case 109 - Female

I think the ideal marriage would have to consist of many things. Love, loyalty, trust, honesty, and friendship would have to be some of the qualities present in my marriage. In order to enhance my marriage, I would like to have children. The lifestyle that my spouse and I have together will be very important to the happiness of my family. I think these qualities would make my marriage ideal.

My husband and I will have to love each other, be loyal to each other, trust one another and be honest, and have a friendship between us. I think that all of these qualities are important to have between a husband and wife. If you are going to marry someone you should make sure that they are the one that you love and want to spend the rest of your life with. If you didn't love each other then you probably wouldn't care about each other, than you would question your loyalty. Loyalty is very important in a marriage. If a husband or wife is cheating on their spouse then they are taking something away from their marriage and their family. If your spouse wasn't loyal to you then you wouldn't trust them and trust is very important in a relationship. If there isn't trust in a relationship then negative feelings as jealousy or resentment may develop. I also think it is very important for the husband and wife to also be friends so that both spouses feel completely comfortable with each other and can talk about anything or tell each other anything they want to talk about.

I think that after my husband and I have been married for at least three years that I would like to have children. I want time to be sure I know the father well enough and that we love each other enough to have children. I don't want to get married and make a big mistake of having children right off then not knowing for sure if my husband and I aren't right for each other then having a divorce and leaving my children without both parents, giving the children conflicts trying to decide which parent they like the best, which one they should live with or which one they should spend Christmas with. If my husband is the man I know I love and will spend the rest of my life with then I will have children. I think children can enhance a marriage. They make the love between a husband and wife stronger. The fact that the children were created by the two makes the love grow.

I don't think that the lifestyle is more important than the other two but it is important. If the spouses grew up in a certain environment then that's how they look at their life to be like unless they grew up in a poor lifestyle then they look for a higher lifestyle, and are pleased with less. If a husband or wife is not pleased with their current lifestyle then it can cause unneeded disturbances. Fights between the spouses may develop. It is not as important to the children that they live in a certain lifestyle, because they don't expect much and they would be happy in any lifestyle as long as they don't feel that their parents are unhappy with their lifestyle. Then the children would wonder if their lifestyle was so wonderful if their parents weren't happy with it. Many girls go through life looking for a husband with a certain lifestyle. I don't think that that is right. I think that the husband and the wife should build their lifestyle together.

There are other qualities that must be present for a good marriage but I feel like these are the most important. A marriage without love, loyalty, trust, honesty and friendship isn't a relationship because to have a relationship with someone I feel that all these qualities must be present. I think that children are good for a good marriage but not for a bad one, they are a mistake for a bad marriage that only makes things worse. Lifestyle is very important in a marriage because it can make the husband and wife and family very happy if they are pleased with their lifestyle. I think that these things are very important for a good marriage.

APPENDIX C

GENDER-ROLE CASE STUDIES

Gender Roles - Female

The development of gender roles has been passed from generation to generation and has continued to portray masculine and feminine behavior as appropriate characteristics to particular sexes. These particular behaviors are learned through the socialization process which begins at birth with the treatment of an infant by his parents and continues throughout life by interacting with peers, establishing careers, and being exposed to the mass media. But occasionally gender roles do not always conform to the normal rules of society and problems arise. I experienced some of these problems in my marriage. I became confused and disillusioned when I began to discover that our gender roles were reversed in a way that did not conform to my idea of the perfect marital relationship.

To begin with, men are supposedly taller than women. Of course, there are exceptions to the rule, but I have been taught by the traditional customs and I actually prefer male superiority and that includes superiority in height. (I apologize to all the petite men in the world.) I was constantly bothered by the fact that I was taller than my husband. I had to buy a whole new collection of shoes because my high heels exaggerated our height difference. Our wedding pictures are embarrassing because everyone is taller than the groom, and his trousers are too long!

Sociologically, the women in society are supposed to be neat and clean. They are commonly the housekeeper in a marital relationship. Men, on the other hand, are normally sloppy and untidy. These norms were

reversed in my marriage. I was sloppy, lazy, and hated doing laundry, while my husband was a fanatic for cleanliness. He even enjoyed laundry day. I never really had too many complaints about this role reversal except that it made me feel incompetent to fill my own role.

The planning and cooking of the evening meal was a responsibility that I had always looked forward to when I was a little girl. I used to dream of cooking the most tantalizing full course meals just for the satisfaction of hearing my man tell me just how good it tasted. But, when I got married, all of those dreams were diminished. Every evening he would enter "my" kitchen and tell me what he thought I was doing wrong. Nothing irritates me more than too many cooks, especially when they disagree. Most of the time he insisted on cooking. Of course, this disturbed me a great deal. My mother had never been a great cook, but father always let her have her way in the kitchen.

Men are generally the breadwinners of the family mainly because society allows the man to achieve the goals that pay the higher salaries. This norm was also reversed in my household. My husband worked in construction, which is a masculine type of job, but I was actually the breadwinner of the family. I grossed almost double the amount that he made at his job. Our insurance and benefits all came from my employers. This monetary difference caused major relationship problems. For example, we only owned one car, my Volkswagon, for a long time and he drove it to work and I was without transportation. Since I got off work earlier than he did, I walked home every day. When I decided to buy a car, we had major conflicts. Because the loan was through my employer's credit union, I bought the car that I wanted. What really bothered me was having the title of the car in his name. I began to realize how

confused our gender roles were and how I had always wanted to establish a "normal" role of husband and wife, so we were soon divorced.

These reversed gender roles upset what I had thought were ideal scripts for my own personal lifestyle. I have been brought up in a family where the father was the breadwinner and the mother was the housewife. Traditional morals and norms are a way of life for me. When my lifestyle was upset I became confused, disenchanted, and even violent at times because I could not cope with a reversal of the gender roles. Lately, I have learned how to clean, cook, and compliment myself towards the image of the female gender that I consider important. I hope that if I ever decide to remarry that I can find the man who holds the masculine role that suits my needs so that we can live a traditionally happy life together.

Man or Mouse: A Male's Perspective

Throughout the years, man has had a tough road to travel. There are many forces which have played parts in the way man has evolved to live in and cope with his surroundings. In the beginning, as we know from the Bible, man came to be when Adam was created. If man was not meant to lead and pave the way, why was Eve not created first? Man, as we know him, has had to face famine, drought, floods, earthquakes, diseases, and last but not most treacherous, that undeniable force, woman. I believe he has made it through so well, due to his remarkable inner-being. This is in reference to that which God placed in his body.

The personality of every man bestows his individuality. There are certain characteristics that make his gender role unique. When a man is outgoing, he will put out a cherry glow. When he is self-centered or not outgoing, he puts out a somewhat sour attitude toward the world. This trait goes back to the early days. A man is set in his outward personality at the age of approximately twelve years old. Personality stems from the way you were brought up and how your father figure appeared to you. I have had much problem in my control of my personality. Its probably due to the fact that through all the years of my growing up, all the man figures in my family were quiet and kept their thoughts to themselves. When I went to work as a salesman in a concrete plant, it required an extremely outgoing personality. This was one hundred and eighty degrees opposite to what I was use to being around. After about one year I overcame this inward personality to become what I am now, a very outgoing

person. Men, though having a wide range in personality, make the world go round by their taking charge and making things happen. Man must be a leader and a doer. His personality causes many different actions about him.

The actions of a man is strictly governed by what is accepted by the society in which he dwells. His standard actions evolve around being the breadwinner first, husband second, father third, and setting an example of how his family should act. The basic job of being a breadwinner in today's society is quite a task. There are many men out to make some bread, but the bread is not as plentiful as it use to be. His ability to win the bread solely depends on how ambitious he is.

There are many definitions as to what is and what is not having ambition. Men in general have many different outlooks on what their ambition is. I myself, am after money, happiness, and power. It doesn't matter what a man's ambition is, because it takes all kinds of people to make this society of ours work. After all, what would we do if all men's ambitions were to become a doctor? We would all have healthy families, but who would come by to pick up the garbage? How would we define success if all of us had the same goals? He is not a success unless he is outdoing someone or surpassing his expected limits. The only thing that governs a man's limits is his ability to tolerate stress.

Man, by nature, has a harder time coping with stress. When things get rough, he can't just do like a woman and put his head to his hands and cry. The load of society falls on the men. Of all the positions on earth, men are put in the main ones due to the fact that men have always ran things, so how can we change now. The main cause of death to men is due to their inability to handle stress. It is proven that heart

problems, strokes, and mental breakdown leading to death are caused due to the high amounts of stress. Much of man's stress is due to his being unable to stay on top of situations and his having bad health due to lack of exercise. The life expectancy of a man is six years less than a woman. He will worry six years off of his life just about whether or not his wife will be provided for when he is gone. Man would live longer and healthier if he would exercise frequently and eat right. He should pick a job that best fits him physically, yet allows him time for himself. Many times toys can be purchased to aid in the being able to get exercise.

There is much truth in the old saying, "The difference between men and boys is merely the price of their toys." Men need to have some time for themselves. From the earliest of days, man has had to make time for his personal enjoyment. Their games ranged from throwing rocks at each other in primitive times to the game we now play where a very small white ball is knocked over several acres. As time passes, the games men have played have moved from the physical type to where we now have games of the mind. These games of the mind, I believe, all stem from man's having to play mind games with our greatest obstacle, women.

Men have to spend most of their time being the provider. The rest of their time is spent in the place where all the money they make goes to pay for. All of this time spent to make money is either his greed he must try to fulfill, or it is put in to provide a nice home and environment for the ones for which he cares. There is no other choice that a man can make. He either does for himself or for others. I, myself, choose to do for my family. The deciding factor in which choice a man makes depend on his social conditioning. If he was brought up to worship money, he will tend toward the self-greed lifestyle. If he was brought

up with limited material things, but normal family surroundings, he will not require the material goods. He will therefore work toward his family life. There is a possibility that a bad experience in either of these lifestyles could cause a man to change to the other lifestyle. Probably the single most cause of change is woman.

Every man needs to have someone. Any man that says he can do just fine in this world by himself should have his head examined. Even though they are hard to catch, hard to control, and lastly hard to put up with period, no man in his right mind can do without them. Man needs them for moral support. Someone to believe in them even when no one else does. We can't live with them, but we can't live without them. In the relationship between man and woman there is absolutely nothing fair.

The fairness between man and woman is clearly by the law. If a man's private parts are seen by a woman, the man is known as being a flasher. In this case, he is labeled sick and is put away. On the other hand, if a woman's private parts are seen by a man, the man is then called a Peeping Tom, labeled as sick, and put away. Just think about it, when was the last time you read about a lady flasher in the news? Man doesn't have a chance in today's society. The courts take the lady's side, the society takes the lady's side, and the worst thing about it is that the ladies know it.

Although I have not been on this earth a great deal of time, I have seen several men come and go. This world is a great place to be, but the man is being driven to become a second rate citizen. "Behind every great man, is a great woman." This old saying, in my way of thinking, will soon be obsolete. One of these days the women will get tired of being

shadows behind the great men. Then there will be great women. When this happens, the man will just think he had problems in the past.

A Female's Role Dilemma

The topic of my paper revolves around men and women's roles as traditional and present. My views seem to lean toward the subject of men versus women in the working world and the duties that each person, man and woman are to have. It frustrates me to see women still being tagged as not as good as men in all aspects of life. This and the lack of respect for women's views based on the traditional roles is what I am opposed to.

The whole key to the establishment of traditional gender roles is they have been carried down from generation to generation and no one spoke up or attempted to change these views. It was always said that the men were the ones to make the money, achieve a high status in society, and be able to take advantage, if possible, of vertical mobility in the working world. Men also had the stronger characteristics throughout life. They were always praised in school and teachers and family placed emphasis on how important it was for the men to develop a good education and have a good job in the future. Men were also considered as aggressive and hard working. Men were to live these roles and keep the family going by him being the chief and everyone else depending on him. This is all fine but the men can't isolate themselves as the only ones that want satisfaction of accomplishing something great and succeed in the working world.

Women on the other hand were to stay home, raise the children, and have dinner ready when the husband came home from work with the bread.

This was good in a way because the children were brought up with at least one parent around to teach them and give them the individual attention they needed at an early age. Women who did work back in early times were considered to be humiliating to the husband because the man was supposed to provide for the family. The woman was supposed to respect the husband to a point to where anything the man did or said was right. Women were very vulnerable at that time because the quality and quantity of education that they had was so sparse they didn't know enough and were not taught enough to speak for themselves. I'm not saying all women were vulnerable but the majority of them did not challenge the issue of trying to get a little respect and be heard. Most women were brought up on thinking about marriage and raising children not school and having a career. Women's characteristics however were considered as totally opposite from men. They were very emotional, sensitive, dependent, and not willing to take on responsibility. These were traits that started when the woman was just born and only a few days old. And consequently, these views are then maintained by teaching them to daughters and sons on down the generations through family, peers, and mass media, to name a few.

Family is the greatest influence of these views. The father usually taught the boys how to fix a car, do maintenance around the house, and do well in school. The girls were either learning how to cook or clean house, nothing about education was ever emphasized. It was highly unlikely that a boy would be in the kitchen helping make the lasagna for the family dinner or a girl would be learning to fix a car.

Another big influence is our peers. Role behavior is learned also by kids playing together within their own age groups. Groups of girls which were usually small groups played with dolls, jumped rope, or played

house. Boys on the other hand played in large groups and usually focused on competitive sports. They would rather play football or play war games competing in all games they played.

The mass media is also a big influence on children. The shows like "The Waltons" and "All in the Family" were perfect examples of shows that emphasize the man going out and working and the woman staying home and doing those so called wifely duties. Commercial also portray the same type of roles. They show women advertising dishwashing soap and men advertising tools. These methods of role playing effect kids growing up just as much as does the parents, peers, and teachers.

Role playing for women in the United States has just started to change in the recent years. Some women are in the situation of they have to work because of the economy. There are families around that can't make a living on one income so the woman is forced into the working world. These women don't necessarily care about prestige or respect, they are just after the money. Then there are other women whose roles have shifted to where they have just as much chance to go to school and get an education as the men have without being influenced into the traditional roles. This is an asset to the women because they can become stronger and air their views with confidence, the lack of confidence has been showing up in women for quite some time. Married women with more education can voice an opinion on subjects that in early days would not have been thought of. This is so because women don't feel quite as dumb with such an education. But it also makes me wonder whether they are doing it strictly for self-satisfaction and enjoying it or just to keep up with others, namely men.

In my personal situation I play several roles. One, I work full-time to help put my husband through college. I am in the situation right now like so many women who are doing it for the money, this is my choice because together with my husband we feel it is more important for him to get through school than getting me through school. Also another reason is we need the money and would rather live comfortable than have to scrimp and worry about where our next dollar is going to come from. Second, I am a part-time student. I have always wanted to keep on learning all I can and hopefully in the next year I will be able to go to school full-time to get a degree. Lastly, I am a full-time wife, cooking, cleaning, and looking after the needs of my husband. This role that I play is the only one that is a conflict. I consider my job and my husband's school to be equal in value since he studies and attends class the same amount of time that I work. So my views on this is that we should both take part in the cleaning duties. His views are still on the traditional level of, I should do it all, it is my "duty" as a wife and woman. Also my job to him is not as important as his school so he does as he pleases. I wonder then, if his views would be any different if the roles were reversed? Highly unlikely.

As you can see, my thoughts on gender roles are very strong. I have to tend to lean toward the view of most men being male chauvinists and I am not totally for but partially for equal rights. The views I hold haven't really affected me until I got married and saw how someone else thought of women. What an interesting society we have today, full of competition.

VITA 2

John Steven Smith

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: MARITAL EXPECTATIONS: A GENDER-BASED PRECONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Education: Received Bachelor of Arts degree in Public Administration from Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kansas, in May, 1980; received Master of Arts degree in Applied Sociology from Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona, in August, 1982; completed requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Oklahoma State University in July, 1985.

Professional Experience: Teaching: Guest Lecturer in Social Problems, Racial and Ethnic Minorities, and Social Change, Mesa Community College, Mesa, Arizona; Guest Lecturer in Social Problems, Juvenile Delinquency, Urban Sociology, and Family Sociology, Northern Arizona University; Guest Lecturer in Community Corrections, Criminology, Urban Sociology, Social Problems, and Deviance Courses, Oklahoma State University. Administrative: Staff Assistant-Marketing, Luce Press, Inc., Mesa, Arizona, 1976-1983; Founder and Partner, Davis, Smith and Associates, Mesa, Arizona, 1976-1983; Community Organizer, Supervisor, Program Planner, Program Evaluator, Maricopa County (Arizona), Human Resources Department, 1972-1979; Corporate President/CEO, The Menninger Foundation/CHARLEE Family Care, Inc., Mesa, Arizona, 1979-1982.

Professional Organizations: American Sociological Association; Mid-South Sociological Association; American Society of Criminology; Pacific Sociological Association; Western Society of Criminology; Clinical Sociology Association.