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CONFLICT IN MARRIAGE: A STUDY OF THE INTERACTIONS OF NEWLYWED COUPLES IN EXPERIMENTALLY INDUCED CONFLICTS

by

William Anthony Barry

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1968

Doctoral Committee:

Professor D. Wells Goodrich, Co-Chairman
Professor Harold L. Raush, Co-Chairman
Lecturer Eric A. Bermann
Associate Professor Elizabeth Douvan
Assistant Professor Charles G. Morris

Abstract

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by

William Anthony Barry

Co-Chairman: Harold L. Raush
Co-Chairman: D. Wells Goodrich

Forty-eight newlywed, white, middle-class, volunteer couples were intensively interviewed and subjected to experimental procedures at the National Institute of Mental Health. The present research is an analysis of one of the procedures, Improvisations, quasi-experimental, quasi-naturalistic conflict situations, completed by forty-six of these couples. The Improvisations consist of four scenes where the instructions to the individual spouses are such as to set up a conflict between them. All scenes were tape recorded and transcribed. A Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict consisting of thirty-six action categories was developed for data analysis. With this scheme three coders independently coded each couple act by act using the tape and transcript. The standard code used in the analysis was derived by having two coders work together using the tape, the transcript, and the three independent codes. Reliability data are reported for percent agreement of the coders with the standard, for percent agreement of standards on three couples re-coded after about a year, and for the ranking by each coder of couples in the proportionate use of each category. These data indicate acceptable standards of reliability for this kind of study.

For the analysis the thirty-six categories were lumped into six broad categories: (1) Cognitive acts; (2) Cooling or resolving acts; (3) Reconciling acts; (4) Appeals; (5) Rejection; and (6) Coercion or personal attack. Introductory remarks before the conflict was joined were disregarded in the analysis. Six by six contingency matrices were computed for each individual and each couple for each scene and all scenes combined. These matrices tallied the frequency with which each category was used in response to each category. An information analysis of the effects of sex, scene, and antecedent on the consequent (response) revealed significant effects from all variables and their interactions. The antecedent-consequent analysis revealed that there was a tendency in these couples to respond in kind when the antecedent act was cognitive (1), resolving (2), reconciling (3), or coercion or personal attack (6). If the antecedent was a rejection (5), there was a tendency to respond with an appeal (4) or coercion or personal attack (6). The sex differences, though small, revealed that these newlywed husbands were more supportive (categories 2 and 3) and less coercive (6) than their wives, a finding that runs contrary to the instrumental-expressive theory of role differentiation. An attempt was made to explain the sex differences in terms of the more difficult developmental task the newlywed stage poses for wives.

A second information analysis revealed significant couple, sex, and antecedent effects and interactional effects on the consequent. An independent factorial study of these couples at N. I. M. H. had isolated a bipolar factor called Open Conflict (or Harmony) in the Marriage (factor III). The six couples who scored on the positive (open conflict, III+) end of this factor differed markedly from the seven couples on the negative end (III-) in their averaged contingency matrices. The III+ husbands were less supportive (category 3) and much more coercive (category 6) than all husbands, and, indeed, were more coercive

(6) than their wives, thus reversing the sex difference found for all couples in the use of this category. The III- couples, especially husbands, were much more supportive (category 3) and much less rejecting (5) and coercing (6) than the whole sample. It is clear that on another front, namely interaction in conflict, husbands have been found to be the crucial figures in marital adjustment. Tentative and more exploratory analyses were also made of the interactions of couples scoring high on three other factors from the N. I. M. H. study. Suggestions for further research were indicated.

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To my co-workers on the project, Gary L. Coleite, Jeff A. Epstein, Mrs. Jo-Anna Featherman, Richard K. Hertel, and Eduardo Siguel, I owe more than I can say for their generosity, their insight, and their friendship. Eduardo Siguel deserves a special bow for his patient and painstaking labor on the I.B.M. programming. Words of gratitude cannot convey all that I and the project owe to Jo-Anna Featherman, secretary par excellence, research assistant, humorist, and friend. "Thanks" seems a great understatement.

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CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

LIST OF TABLES v

LIST OF APPENDICES vii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON MARRIAGE 4

Mate Selection 5
Marital Adjustment 9
Background factors associated with marital adjustment 10
Personality factors associated with marital adjustment 12
Role Differentiation in Marriage 17
Conflict and Its Resolution 20

III. METHODOLOGY 27

The Sample 27
Procedures 28
The Improvisations 29
The four scenes 30
The setting 33
The Data 33
The Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict . . 34
The Coding Process 36
Data Processing 37
Reliability of the Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict 38
Data Analysis 46

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 53

Overall Contingency Analysis: Scene Differences. 55
Sex Differences 65
Couple Differences 81

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 108

APPENDICES 118

REFERENCES 153

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Background Factors Associated with Marital Adjustment	11
2.	Personality Factors Associated with Marital Adjustment	12
3.	Correlations between Personality Tests and Marital Adjustment	13
4.	Number of Categories Showing Various Levels of Agreement between the Independent Coders and the Standard (36 Category Scheme)	40
5.	Number of Categories Showing Various Levels of Agreement between the Independent Coders and the Standard (12 Category Scheme)	41
6.	Percent Agreement of Independent Coders with the Standard when the 36 Categories are Lumped into 6	42
7.	Percent of Total Number of Acts Coded into Each of 6 Categories by Each Coder for Husband Number One	44
8.	Spearman Rank-order Correlation Coefficients between Coders for Each of the 6 Categories	45
9.	Results of Information Analyses of the Couples, Sex, and Consequent Variables using the 12 Category Scheme and the 6 Category Scheme	49
10.	The 6 Category Scheme of the Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict	50
11.	Results of the Information Analysis using the Scene, Sex, Antecedent, and Consequent Variables	54
12.	Response Contingencies' Matrix for All Couples, All Scenes with Sexes Combined	56
13.	Distributions of the Percentages of Each Category Used in the Four Scenes by All Couples with Sexes Combined	59
14.	Response Contingencies' Matrices for Each Scene with Sexes Combined	61

Table		Page
15.	Response Distributions of All Wives and All Husbands over All Scenes in Percentages.	66
16.	Response Contingencies' Matrices for All Wives and All Husbands with Scenes Combined.	67
17.	Response Distributions in Percentages for Each Sex and Each Scene.	69
18.	Response Contingencies' Matrices for Scenes 1 and 2 of All Wives and All Husbands	71
19.	Response Contingencies' Matrices of All Wives and All Husbands, Scenes 1 and 2 Combined	74
20.	Response Contingencies' Matrices for Scenes 3 and 4 of All Wives and All Husbands	78
21.	Results of the Information Analysis using the Couple, Sex, Antecedent, and Consequent Variables . . .	82
22.	Comparison of the Response Distributions in Percentages of the Factor III+ Wives and Husbands to Those of All Wives and All Husbands.	85
23.	Comparison of Factor III+ Wives and Husbands with All Wives and All Husbands in Response Contingencies, Scenes Combined.	87
24.	Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor III+ Wives and Husbands for Scene 3	90
25.	Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor III+ Wives and Husbands for Scene 4	91
26.	Comparison of Factor III+ and Factor III- Wives and Husbands in Response Contingencies, All Scenes Combined.	94
27.	Comparison of Factor III- and Factor II- Wives and Husbands in Response Contingencies, All Scenes Combined.	98
28.	Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor II+ Wives and Husbands, All Scenes Combined. . . .	102
29.	Response Distributions in Percentages of Four of the Eight Wives High on Factor II+	103
30.	Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor I+ Wives and Husbands, All Scenes Combined. . . .	105
31.	Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor IV+ Wives and Husbands, All Scenes Combined. . . .	107

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix		Page
A.	Manual: Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict . .	119
B.	Four Patterns of Newlywed Marriage Factor Analytically Derived by Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush (in press)	148

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Marriage as an institution is the cornerstone of any society. It provides the members of a society and is the matrix within which these members develop the skills, the personality traits, the character, and the moral principles and habits which are necessary if the society is to prosper. Society has, therefore, always kept a weather eye on this institution and sought to control it in some fashion. Because of its pivotal importance as an institution in society marriage has long been the object of study by sociologists. Psychologists, with a few notable exceptions such as Terman et al. (1938) and Kelly (1941), have generally concentrated more on the developing child than on the marriage itself (Hill, 1966). In recent years a change has beentaking place due to what seem to be a number of converging trends in psychology. Since the present work is the report of a study of experimentally induced conflict in newlyweds by a clinical psychologist, it may not be amiss to set forth what seem to him to be the main influences in present-day psychology on his choice of topic. This will also serve to indicate the areas of psychology to which the present study might contribute to advancement of knowledge.

Personality theory has for long been mainly concerned with intra-personal dynamic systems. But recently the interpersonal viewpoint has been introduced into theories of personality (Miller, 1963; cf. Ehrenwald, 1963). The system approach is being applied not just to the individual but also to the relationships between individuals which are also considered dynamic and self-regulating. It is, of course, dif-

ficult to state all the influences which have led to the interpersonal orientation, but Kurt Lewin's field-theoretical approach is one large factor as well as the repeated discovery that therapeutic intervention often either foundered because the relationship systems of the patient did not change or, on the other hand, led to the breakup of relationship systems such as marriage when the patient changed his neurotic ways of interacting. It is hoped that the present study will be a modest contribution to this study of interpersonal systems. The marital dyad seems a particularly appropriate locus for the study of the patterns of interaction of two individual personalities in a relationship system.

Erikson (1950, 1959) has extended psychoanalytic theory to cover the whole life cycle and has, thus, introduced into psychoanalytic psychology conceptual tools for the study of stages of the life cycle after the latency period. Moreover, his delineation of the phase-specific developmental tasks and risks dovetails nicely with the developmental task approach of a number of sociologists studying marriage who depend on Havighurst's formulation of the concept of developmental task as:

> . . . a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of an individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks (Havighurst, 1953, p. 2).

Erikson (1959) postulates that the post-adolescent developmental task is to achieve intimacy and distanciation. Marriage for most young adults is the focal point for the achievement of intimacy. The present study is part of a larger research project begun at the National Institute of Mental Health to study longitudinally the formation of the family from the newlywed stage to the arrival of the first child (cf. Raush, Goodrich, & Campbell, 1963). It hopes to contribute to an understanding of the adult stages delineated by Erikson as the stages of intimacy and

generativity. Since it has been said (Raush, Goodrich, & Campbell, 1963; Scanzoni, 1965) that perhaps the most salient developmental task of the early stage of marriage is the joint working out of modes of dealing with conflict, a study of conflict in marriage fits into the theoretical framework delineated here. The study reported here is a contribution to an understanding of the developmental stage of intimacy both by providing data on conflict at this stage in a small sample and by speculating on the reasons why at this stage couples differ in their modes of handling conflict. The data to be reported should also shed light on sex differences in negotiating the risks of the stage of intimacy.

These influences, then, led to the larger project as well as to the author's part of that larger study. Approximately fifty newlywed couples of the middle class were systematically studied at the National Institute of Mental Health over the first years of their marriages as a pilot study preparatory to a larger, more representative study of the population. These couples were intensively interviewed and subjected to experimental procedures approximately four months after marriage. As far as possible these same couples were again interviewed and tested seven months into the first pregnancy and again three months after the baby was born. The study was descriptive in intent, that is, it was designed to find out what problems newlyweds face and how they manage them. The experimental procedures were intended to get at modes of handling conflict. One of these procedures, Improvisations, forms the basis of the research to be presented here. But before we describe this procedure, we shall briefly survey the relevant research on marriage.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON MARRIAGE

A review of research can do two things depending on the state of the area or field in question. One can very simply outline the theoretical background and the studies which have been done in a delimited area which have led to the hypotheses the present research attempts to confirm or disconfirm. This approach presumes that the area is in some state of integration where hypothesis-testing is a logical next step. If, however, the area of study is hardly integrated at all around any theory and if the research studies seem random shots in the dark, then an author has the responsibility of reviewing the area from some kind of viewpoint that attempts to integrate the data and show how his research fits into the generalizations which arise from his integrative review. The marriage field seems to this author to require the latter procedure. Thus, the following pages are both a review of the major research efforts on marriage and an attempt to arrive at some broad generalizations from this review and to integrate these into a rather loose theoretical framework that is based on psychoanalytic theory and conflict theory. We first take a brief look at the problem of assortative mating to point to the generalizations already culled by other reviewers and to some attempts at a theoretical explanation. Next we review more exhaustively the studies of marital adjustment and its correlates since our own research data bear on the question of early adjustment to marriage. Next we discuss some recent studies of role differentiation in marriage. Again our own data bear on this question. Finally we shall present two theoretical viewpoints on the

nature of conflict and use them as a way of looking at the generalizations derived from the studies of mate selection and marital adjustment in an integrated way. This attempt at integration will set the stage for our own research into conflict in newlyweds.

Mate Selection

Jacobsohn and Matheny (1962) have assembled the bibliography on mate selection in exhaustive fashion although they make little attempt at critique or integration. Tharp (1963) generalized on the basis of his review of the literature that homogamy as to cultural variables (race, age, religion, ethnic origin, and social class) and as to personality variables is the rule in mate selection. His critique of Winch's (1958) theory and research on complementary needs as the basis of selection is still definitive. After reviewing Winch's own work and the opposing evidence he concluded: "It is our judgment . . . that the complementary-need hypothesis as stated is not tenable (Tharp, 1963, p. 107)."[1]

A few very recent studies deserve some attention because they cast light on the vexing question of how assortative mating takes place. Warren (1966) bases his conclusions on data gathered by the Bureau of Census in 1962 on a national cross-sectional, clustered sample of males. When wives are grouped by age, the correlations between educational levels of husbands and wives range around .60, between their socioeconomic origin statuses (i.e., S.E.S. of fathers of husbands and of wives when the later were 16) around .30, and between number of siblings of each spouse around .20. He then shows by

---

[1]Rosow (1957) has articulated well the issues involved in the need-complementarity theory and, recognizing its potential utility, has tried to delineate the areas where more careful thinking and a more differentiated research program than Winch's are needed.

partial correlation techniques that over half of the moderate assortative mating by socioeconomic origin can be accounted for by the assortative mating by educational level. Number of siblings plays a very minor role. Thus educational level seems to be the chief characteristic by which assortative mating takes place.

In a number of studies reviewed by Katz and Hill (1958) residential propinquity has been shown to be a factor in mate selection. Katz and Hill's (1958) residential propinquity theory, however, reduces, in this reader's opinion, to the trivial observation that one must meet one's future spouse in order to select her; in other words, as a theory it is tautological. We still have the problem of understanding how individuals choose one another out of the group of eligibles provided by association, norms, propinquity, and whatever else. One promising middle-level theory has been proposed by Coombs (1966). His thesis is that value consensus fosters mutually rewarding interaction and leads to interpersonal attraction. He reviews the social psychological literature on interpersonal attraction; the evidence is overwhelming that individuals tend to select associates from among those whose views resemble their own. Indeed, perceived or assumed similarity is more strongly related to attraction than actual similarity. The theory posits: (1) that persons with similar backgrounds learn similar values; (2) that interaction between such persons is mutually rewarding since they share a universe of discourse which fosters communication and understanding with a minimum of tension and ego threat; (3) that these rewards leave a feeling of satisfaction with the partner and a desire to continue the relationship whence homophily and homogamy follow. Coombs tested the theory by running a computer-selected dance pairing college students of varying degrees of value consensus. Given the initial homogeneity of the whole sample,

the fact that he got significant results in the hypothesized direction (i.e., the more value consensus, the greater the tendency to continue the relationship) is an a fortiori argument for the theory. The welcome aspect of the study is the initial recourse to general theory and research which are then applied to the specific area of mate selection. The findings of Kirkpatrick and Hobart (1954) and of Kerckhoff and Davis (1962) are also consistent with the theory. Byrne and Blaylock (1963) have suggested that assumed similarity in certain important attitudes may provide an index of marital satisfaction, a suggestion corroborated by Levinger and Breedlove (1966). The latter investigators report that assumed similarity of attitudes was more strongly correlated with husbands' marital satisfaction than with wives', a finding that fits other generalizations about husbands to be reported presently.

The value consensus theory is, of course, a cognitive theory, that is, it assumes conscious selection on the basis of perceived or assumed similarity in values. It leaves out of consideration less conscious motivations based on impulses and satisfactions of needs. Nor does it explain why of three girls more or less equivalent in values and attitudes (and perhaps even beauty) John chooses Mary in spite of equal or even greater association with the other two. The psychoanalytic theory of love, as synthesized by Flügel (1950), attempts an instinctual explanation of this phenomenon. Narcissistic love, the first type of love, involves a projection of the self onto the other through some process of identification or strong associative link. Dependent love, the second type, is more genuinely object love in that the person finds in the other something essential to the fulfillment of his own bodily or mental needs. Normally this type of love is first directed toward the parents, in the case of both sexes, generally toward the mother. Girls are expected to shift to the father as object

during the Oedipal period. Then because of the incest taboo this love is displaced onto near relatives and finally onto a non-related person or persons. The incestuous basis of the affection is repressed, but similarity to the cross-sex parent in some characteristic(s) of physique, age, name, or general or special circumstances is viewed as the basis for the displacement.

The theory gets quite complex, as everyone knows, and in general substantiation of the theory has come only from clinical studies. Tharp (1963) notes that sporadic and generally unsuccessful attempts to test the hypothesis of displacement from the cross-sex parent have been made. This area needs more careful research, but one can only sympathize with the researcher who tries to sort out the factors which might be involved in the choice of mate. Is it the tilt of the nose, a characteristic gesture, a quality of the voice, etc., etc. which pulls Joan out of the crowd for Jim? It is apparent that research on mate selection and love is still far from closure.

If the libido theory has thus far proved intractable to exact research, perhaps a better purchase for research can be obtained by concentrating on ego defensive factors in mate selection. Ehrenwald (1963) has described several patterns of family defenses and has followed up one family over generations showing the transmission or selection of obsessive-compulsive defenses. Goodrich (in press) has also speculated on the defensive aspects of the four factor patterns isolated in the N.I.M.H. study (Goodrich, Ryder, & Raush, in press). As yet, however, these attempts at a taxonomy based on ego defenses have not been applied to mate selection.

To summarize this section we can say that the hard facts are that likes marry likes in a number of important social and psychological characteristics. This finding is important for conflict resolution, as we shall see. Assortative mating by educational level may

account for much of the variance attributed to other factors. The value-consensus theory of association is promising, but we still are looking for a theory that will encompass all the data on mate selection.

Marital Adjustment

Until very recently research on marital adjustment has been concerned with factors distinguishing "successful" marriages from "unsuccessful" marriages with the criterion of "success" being either endurance, not seeking marital counseling, or reported happiness. The first two are good operational definitions because the criteria for inclusion in one or the other of the dichotomized categories can be precisely specified. The limitation of such definitions, however, is that they neglect the fact that many marriages are far from ideal yet never reach the stage of separation, divorce, or marital counseling for any number of reasons having little to do with marital adjustment in its positively evaluated sense. Cuber and Harroff (1965) on the basis of intensive interviews with 437 distinguished Americans have directed our attention to the various possibilities of "adjusting" to marriage without achieving "marital bliss." Moreover, they found divorce occurring in each of the four patterns they isolated, yet the reasons for divorce in each of the patterns are quite distinct.

The criterion of reported happiness has been the most frequently used (Uhr, 1957). Indeed, Uhr rightly maintains that most marital adjustment inventories reduce almost totally to the single question: "Is your marriage a happy one?", as can be seen by the high positive intercorrelations of Burgess and Wallin's (1953) specific and general criteria for measuring adjustment. Ratings of satisfaction or happiness are subject to halo problems from satisfaction with job, self, and other things besides the marriage. Moreover, we cannot be sure that

"happiness" or "satisfaction" mean the same thing to all subjects. Again, Cuber and Harroff's (1965) work signals the need for caution in the use of this criterion, since partners in devitalized marriages and in vital marriages report satisfaction with their marriages.

The problem of criterion can, perhaps, only be solved by a taxonomy such as that proposed by Cuber and Harroff or that towards which Goodrich (in press) points. We may be able to see different patterns of marital adjustment which fit the needs and defenses of various couples and thus have a better idea of what we mean by marital adjustment. Goodrich (in press) also attempts to predict early or late marital difficulty on the basis of factor scores. Such attempts at analysis and theory will allow a more differentiated approach to understanding the factors involved in marital "adjustment" than has hitherto been available with the simple dichotomies: divorce or not, happy or unhappy. Our work will, we hope, contribute to such an approach.

However, the principle of divide and conquer in science has led to breakthroughs in the past and should do so in the future. Since the dichotomized approach has been the divider thus far, it might be well to pull together in brief fashion the generalizations that seem to follow from the research of the past thirty years. These generalizations will be seen as signposts pointing to further research possibilities and also as data to be integrated into a theory of development encompassing the stages of intimacy and generativity.

Background factors associated with marital adjustment

Reuben Hill (Waller & Hill, 1951, p. 358) lists the following background factors associated with marital adjustment with the number of confirmations and disconfirmations. Of interest in this list is the frequency with which the husband's background is found related to

marital adjustment, a point stressed by Burgess and Cottrell (1939) on the basis of their study.

TABLE 1

Background Factors Associated with Marital Adjustment (adapted from R. Hill in Waller and Hill, 1951, p. 358)

Factor Studied	Number of times studied		
	Studied	Confirmed	Not Confirmed
Happiness of H's parents' marriage	6	5	1
H's close attachment to his father	3	3	0
H's childhood residence in the country	3	3	0
H's age at marriage	5	3	2
H's educational level	6	3	3

The split of three confirmations and three disconfirmations of the relation between husband's educational background and marital adjustment can now be adjudicated on the basis of a number of studies (Williamson, 1952, 1954; Hollingshead, 1955; Hillman, 1962) culminating in Bernard's (1966) definitive work based on the 1960 census data. It is beyond doubt that by any measure of socioeconomic status (income, occupation, or education) there is a positive correlation between such status indices and endurance of marriage (Bernard, 1966) or reported happiness (Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960). All of the studies cited find the clearest evidence for such a relation with regard to the husband's socioeconomic status.

Personality factors associated with marital adjustment

Tharp (1963) presented Burgess and Wallin's (1953) table as a succinct summary of the findings of the classic investigators regarding the relationship between personality variables and marital adjustment (as measured by adjustment tests). Table 2 reproduces this summary.

TABLE 2

Personality Factors Associated with Marital Adjustment
(based on Burgess and Wallin, 1953, p. 529)

Happily Married	Unhappily Married
Emotionally stable	Emotionally unstable
Considerate of others	Critical of others
Yielding	Dominating
Companionable	Isolated
Self-confident	Lacking self-confidence
Emotionally dependent	Emotionally self-sufficient

Studies comparing happily married couples to unhappily married couples on personality tests measuring neurotic traits support the conclusion that there is a correlation between neurotic traits in the individual and marital unhappiness. Table 3 summarizes the results of three investigations. The subjects for these three studies were already married couples. In all three the wives have slightly higher correlations between personality test scores and marital happiness.

TABLE 3

Correlations between Personality Tests and Marital Adjustment

	Study and Personality Test Used		
	Terman et al. (1938) Bernreuter	Burchinal et al. (1957) Thurstone	Dean (1966) Self-rated Emotional Maturity Scale
Male	.38	(avg.) .39	.28
Female	.42	(avg.) .42	.35

Two longitudinal studies which began with engaged couples and followed them through marriage present interesting findings. Burgess and Wallin (1953) report correlations of .25 for men and .18 for women between Thurstone Neurotic Inventory scores before marriage and marital success scores on the follow-up. Even more interesting is the study by Uhr (1957) using Kelly's data from a follow-up after almost eighteen years of marriage (cf. Kelly, 1955). Uhr divided the couples into happys and unhappys on the basis of a factor called Self-perceived Happiness. He reports that the unhappy husbands eighteen years later were, at the time of engagement, significantly more neurotic in tendency, more introverted, and more self-conscious (as measured by the Bernreuter Personality Inventory) than the happy husbands. On the other hand, the unhappy wives differed at engagement on only one variable of the Bernreuter (being less sociable) from the happy wives. These longitudinal studies indicate that at the beginning of marriage the husband's personality traits are more strongly related to later happiness in marriage than are the wife's.

One of Uhr's other findings lends some credence to the developmental task theory. After eighteen years of marriage the unhappy

men's scores on the Bernreuter had improved so that they did not differ significantly from the happys except in now being significantly less sociable. For the wives there were no significant differences in Bernreuter scores after eighteen years. It may be, as Uhr intimates, that the personality weaknesses of the unhappy husbands hindered early adjustment to marriage and that this early failure led to unhappiness in the individual and difficulty with later tasks of marital development, as the developmental task theory posits (Havighurst, 1953).

Both Burchinal, Hawkes, and Gardner (1957) and Dean (1966) report that while husbands' marital adjustment scores correlate negligibly, if at all, with their wives' scores on personality inventories, the wives' marital adjustment scores vary positively and significantly with their husbands' scores. Moreover, Dean notes that the variable which correlated highest with both the husband's and the wife's marital adjustment was the wife's positive rating of her husband's emotional maturity (.52 and .55 respectively). Thus, if the husband and the wife rate him positively on personality inventories, the marriage tends to be happy.

Tharp (1963), having reviewed the studies of Dymond (1954), Corsini (1956a, 1956b), and Luckey (1960a, 1960b) on interpersonal perception among spouses, concluded that marital happiness is generally related to the wife's perception of the husband being congruent with the husband's self-perception. This congruence relates to culturally accepted definitions of what a good husband ought to be. But none of these studies found a relationship between the congruence of the husband's perception of his wife with her self-perception and marital adjustment. A more recent study by Kotlar (1965) corroborates this generalization. Moreover, since the unadjusted husbands did not differ from the adjusted husbands on the dimension of dominance (Leary Interpersonal Checklist) although the wives of the

adjusted rated their husbands significantly higher on this dimension than did the wives of the unadjusted, Kotlar concludes that the important factor may not be congruence of perception but the motivation to perceive the husband as above average in his marital role.

Thus we see that the husband's positive scores on self-report personality inventories and his wife's perception of him as a good male and husband are more closely related to marital happiness than the same factors referring to the wife. Two possible interpretations suggest themselves. Either men are relatively more insensitive to personality factors than their wives, or the "healthiness" of the husband's personality is a major factor in marital adjustment. The first interpretation is supported by the findings that women are more oriented toward the personal and social (Johnson & Terman, 1940; Seeley, Sim, & Loosely, 1960). Uhr's (1957) findings, to be presented shortly, support the latter. Both may be operative. A more speculative and complicated interpretation also suggests itself. Some studies indicate that women are more dependent, more anxious, less confident, self-sufficient and self- accepting, more aware of personal problems (Brim, Glass, Lavin, & Goodman, 1962; Kagan & Moss, 1962; Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960). Men with strong self-identities can, perhaps, supply the security their wives need and support them emotionally. Psychoanalytic theory would also lead us to speculate that a strong, capable man might satisfy the woman as a surrogate for the father she had to give up in late childhood as a love object. Moreover, the dependence of such a woman might satisfy the man's preference to be the lover rather than the beloved (Freud, 1920) and thus gratify his need to be seen as masculine and effective. The present research report may shed some light on this point.

A number of studies have shown that similarity of personality is related to marital adjustment (Dymond, 1954; Corsini, 1956a; Blazer,

1963; Pickford, Signori, & Rempel, 1966). Again the longitudinal nature of Uhr's (1957) study sheds light on the possible reasons for this positive association. Kelly (1955), reporting on the same data but without dividing the couples into happys and unhappys, had shown that husbands and wives do not tend to become any more similar after eighteen years of marriage than they were at engagement. Uhr, however, reports that over all 72 variables studied the happy husbands and wives were more different from one another at the time of engagement than were the unhappys. But after eighteen years the happys are more alike, the unhappys more unlike one another. And the nature of these changes is consistent with our earlier generalizations. The most consistent in their responses over the eighteen-year period are the happy husbands and the unhappy wives. Thus, the changes that occur seem to be by the happy wife in the direction of her husband and by the unhappy husband in the direction away from his wife.

We might profitably stop to summarize what factors in husbands have been found correlated with marital adjustment. Background factors generally considered to lead to a stable male personality, such as happiness of the husband's parents' marriage and the husband's close attachment to his father, are related to happiness in marriage. The higher the husband's socioeconomic status and educational level, the greater the marital happiness. The more stable and non-neurotic the husband is at the time of marriage and the more consistent the husband is over time during the marriage in personality and attitude scales, the happier the marriage. The higher his wife rates him on emotional maturity as well as on fulfilling his husbandly role in conformity to cultural expectations, the happier the marriage. A pattern is emerging. It would appear that a solid male identification, established through affectional ties with the father and buttressed by academic and occupational success and the esteem of his wife, is strongly related to happi-

ness in marriage. Murstein and Glaudin's (1966) study is alone in not finding these relationships, but the difficulty may be that choosing as happys couples from social clubs has netted them a sample not much different from the unhappys in marital adjustment. The research to be reported here will add a new dimension to these findings about husbands.

Role Differentiation in Marriage

It seems a fair generalization from the literature that husbands and wives who say they share decision-making in a more or less equalitarian fashion are happier (Jansen, 1952; Lu, 1952; Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Wolfe, 1962). Although Lu (1952) reports that the husband-dominated couples of the Burgess and Wallin sample were highest in the percentage of poor adjustment, Jansen (1952), Blood and Wolfe (1960), and Wolfe (1962) find that wife-dominated couples are the least happy with marriage.

The report method of determining dominance, however, leaves open the question of whether in actual fact couples who profess the ideology of equalitarianism do share decision-making and, therefore, power and authority. Moreover, even in the questionnaire or interview method some attempt to differentiate areas of activity and decision along the lines suggested by Herbst (1960) should be made. It is more than likely that no couple has a completely one-sided domination in all areas of activity. If we are to define precisely what we mean by role segregation, role-sharing, wife- or husband-dominance, syncratic cooperation, then we need to differentiate à la Herbst.

The problem of knowing what practice is like would still not be solved even by the differentiations suggested by Herbst. Report and practice cannot be assumed to be identical. Observational methods

seem to be called for. These methods are themselves, however, fraught with difficulties as Rabkin (1965) for one succinctly points out. In spite of the difficulties attempts at observational and experimental studies of couples and families have been made, and a short review here will set the stage for the present study.

Most of the observational work done with couples has used the Bales' category system and has set out to test the instrumental-expressive theory of role differentiation according to which husbands are the task or instrumental specialists while wives are the socio-emotional or expressive specialists (Parsons & Bales, 1955).

Kenkel and Hoffman (1956) report research on twenty-five student couples. Each couple was told that they had just received $300 and had to decide how to spend it without using it for things they already intended to buy. The husbands did a larger percentage of the instrumental acts. Kenkel (1957, 1961) with the same experimental problem again got significant sex differences using the Bales' categories. March (1960) gave sample problems on political issues to couples in which the wife belonged to the League of Women Voters. Besides finding sex differences in the areas of political life in which men or women showed themselves more competent, he also reports that husbands contributed 55 percent of the instrumental acts. In all these studies, in spite of the significant differences between the sexes, there was considerable overlap between them.

Other studies raise questions about whether the instrumental-expressive differentiation actually typifies interaction within the family. Leik (1963) gave a sample of nine families composed of a father, mother, and college-age daughter some problems to discuss and agree on. But he introduced some controls by also forming other groups with these same twenty-seven people: (1) three groups of three fathers, three of mothers, three of daughters; (2) nine groups with a father,

mother, and daughter, but none of the same family in any group of three. There was a tendency for the all-male groups to be more instrumental and less emotional than the all-female groups, but the difference was not significant. In the second control situation, the fathers were significantly more task-oriented than the women (mothers and daughters together), but not significantly more than mothers; both mothers and daughters were significantly more emotional than fathers. In the actual family groups, however, fathers, mothers, and daughters were equal on task behavior, fathers and mothers were equal on emotional behavior, but fathers were significantly less emotional than their daughters. Leik takes his results as support for his hypothesis that within families there is little differentiation by sex into task versus expressive roles.

O'Rourke (1963) studied families both at their homes and in the lab. Fathers were less expressive and more instrumental in the lab than at home, while mothers were more expressive in the lab. The setting seems to make a difference. O'Rourke reasons that at home all members can be more integrative.

Heiss (1962) found that with increasing intimacy (from casual dating to firm commitment in non-married couples) the traditional sex role specialization diminishes. Moreover, even in the casual daters the profiles of males and females in percentage of kinds of acts used were very similar although the men did differ significantly in the amount of instrumental behavior.

A modification of the Parsonian theory has been proposed by Levinger (1964). In the marriage group, he hypothesizes, both spouses are task specialists (division of labor), and neither is a socio-emotional specialist (since socio-emotional behavior refers to a subject-subject relation and thus is reciprocal). He then presents data confirming the hypothesis. Indeed, the factor of general satisfaction is heavily loaded

for both spouses with items having to do with the socio-emotional. Task performance items have low loadings.

Two things seem evident from this review. In the first place there is no clear-cut evidence that in marriage groups the role differentiation postulated by Parsons actually occurs in dyadic interaction. Secondly, none of these studies has related observed interaction to marital outcomes or a criterion of any kind. A third difficulty is endemic to this type of research, and that is the question of whether observed interaction in an experimental situation actually typifies the interaction in the home. There is no indication that in any of these studies attempts were made to engage the couples emotionally in the experimental situation[1] or so to set the stage that a living room atmosphere was created. The research to be reported here has attempted to overcome these limitations and is the first to attempt to tie observed experimental interactions to some kind of criterion.

Conflict and Its Resolution

Before reporting on the present study it would be good to take a brief look at some of the literature on conflict and its resolution. Scanzoni (1965) has postulated that the resolution of conflict is crucial to successful or unsuccessful marital interaction, and Raush, Goodrich, and Campbell (1963) hypothesize that one of the most significant developmental tasks of newlyweds is to work out acceptable modes of conflict resolution. In this section we shall attempt a synthesis of some of the theoretical viewpoints and findings of the conflict literature and then point out their relevance for marital adjustment.

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[1] The same criticism could apply to the revealed differences technique (Strodtbeck, 1951) although here there is more likelihood of involvement because the spouses first commit themselves to a judgment and only then are told of their disagreement.

Coser (1956) makes a strong case for the eufunctional aspects of conflict by distinguishing conflict over basic principles from conflict over matters which presuppose adherence to the same basic principles. The second type he regards as integrative and, in fact, as an index of the stability of a group or dyad. This would be the case if both parties were secure enough in the relationship that they can express their hostile feelings freely since in close personal relationships in any primary group, such as the family, hostility is inevitable. The intense interaction increases the sentiments of liking and intimacy, but it also generates an accumulation of hostile feelings by furnishing frequent occasions for conflict which may often be suppressed for the sake of the affection. Moreover, the closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict since the whole person is involved in the relationship and is thus threatened more severely by conflict. In such a situation, if the conflicts or hostility are suppressed, and they break out nevertheless, they are likely to threaten the whole root of the relationship. Thus, he argues, the free or somewhat free expression of hostility as it comes up can be functional for the relationship and, indeed, may be an index of its stability. He says in summary:

> . . . conflict tends to be dysfunctional for a social structure in which there is no or insufficient toleration and institutionalization of conflict. The intensity of a conflict which threatens to "tear apart," which attacks the consensual basis of a social system, is related to the rigidity of the structure. What threatens the equilibrium of such a structure is not conflict as such, but the rigidity itself which permits hostilities to accumulate and to be channeled along one major line of cleavage once they break out in conflict (p. 157).

We need not belabor the obvious application of Coser's ideas to the marital relationship.

Boulding (1962) stresses the power of symbolic images to generate conflict, and their power is closely related to (1) the degree of

concentration the image represents and (2) the degree of ambivalence in attitude toward what it represents. He makes the same point Coser does, namely that the more the hostility is repressed, the more dangerous is the conflict when it breaks out. One thinks of how concentrated and ambivalent familial images can become as a result of early socialization experiences in the family and realizes how necessary it is that couples be aware of their ambivalence and be able to express their hostility. Boulding also distinguishes three ways of ending conflict when the parties must live with one another, reconciliation, compromise, and award by a third party. Of these the most important, but least understood, seems to be reconciliation. Boulding makes an interesting and insightful suggestion as to the conditions for the occurrence of reconciliation. A prerequisite is flexibility in images, especially value images, of the parties concerned. The more rigid the images, the less likely is convergence. Boulding is led to the analogy of a core and a shell. The core is that part of the image around which a person integrates his personality; the shell is the complex of images which he holds but which do not constitute an essential part of the person. Core values are rigid and not subject to small changes since such changes threaten the self; hence, if a conflict breaks out over a core value, reconciliation is very difficult, if not impossible. The shell is not rigid and is amenable to change through discussion and argument. Boulding then refers to the work on the authoritarian personality; he sees such a person as having too rigid and broad a system of core values. He suggests that there may be something like a reconciling personality, a person who has identified himself not with a rigid system of values, but with the learning process itself.

Since both Coser and Boulding point out the difficulty of a happy resolution of conflict when basic values are in conflict, it is tempting to view basic value conflict as the source of maladjustment in cross-

class marriages (Roth & Peck, 1951) and mixed religion marriages (Landis, 1952). Ackerman (1963) and Zelditch (1964) have shown that in societies where conjunctive rather than disjunctive affiliations of spouses with their families of origin obtain lower divorce rates occur. In such societies basic conflict between family of origin and family of procreation are thus avoided. It may well be that the higher divorce rates in the lower class result in part from the tenacity of individual kinship networks in the lower class (Bott, 1960; Cohen & Hodges, 1963; Rainwater, 1967) which leads to conflict over basic values or identity. These are, of course, causal inferences which can only be viewed as hypotheses at this stage of our understanding.

In this connection homogamy may also be viewed as a step insuring some congruence of basic values. Moreover, Coombs' (1966) findings about selection on the basis of value consensus would also imply that in general there is no lack of basic value consensus in marriage. Boulding's (1962) remarks on the authoritarian personality remind us of Newcomb's (1965) study of interpersonal attraction. Nonauthoritarians judged rather accurately who was in agreement with them and let their highest attractions be determined accordingly, while authoritarians tended to perceive more agreement on attitudes than actually existed in those to whom they were attracted. Newcomb termed the latter autistic perception. Dymond (1954) in her study asking spouses to answer MMPI items for self and spouse found that happy and unhappy spouses did not differ on assumed similarity, but that the unhappys made significantly more errors of the type of assuming the spouse to be similar when he (she) is not rather than errors of the type of assuming difference where similarity actually exists. In the first place, happys apparently can tolerate the thought of difference. More importantly, however, this type of autistic perception in the unhappys can lead to serious conflict over basic values since autistic

perception misleads a person into believing that basic values coincide. Thus, where a person marries homogamously as to religion, social class, and education and perceives the other accurately, we would expect that conflict over basic values would be less likely to occur, and that the chances of a successful marriage increase. One is tempted to speculate that, in general, the more educated a person, the less likely it is that he will perceive autistically and/or the more likely he will be able to tolerate difference. In partial support of this hypothesis are the findings of Cohen and Hodges (1963) and others summarized by them. They report that the people in the lower-lower social class (who have the least education and the more marital breakups) score highest on the F scale of authoritarianism, are least tolerant of difference, and most reluctant to meet new people or enter new situations.

Even though basic values are congruent, differences will exist between spouses. Men and women do differ in any number of characteristics, attitudes, beliefs, and values. Indeed, Seeley, Sim, and Loosley (1960) note that "the deepest cleavage in the belief system of Crestwood Heights . . . is created by the striking divergence in the belief systems of men and women (p. 453)." Thus, it would seem that in any marriage conflict must arise. Coser (1956), as we have seen, notes that any intimate relationship will generate some hostility and conflict. The question, therefore, returns: How are marital conflicts handled?

The answer is that we do not know, not at least on the basis of research. Ort's (1950) happily married group said they resorted to discussion to resolve conflict while the unhappys used aggression and avoidance of the issue. Locke's (1951) divorced couples, besides mentioning more disagreement on a number of issues, also reported they used "mutual give and take" much less as a way of settling disagreements. And while nine out of ten of the happily married group said

they never walked out on their spouses during a conflict, seven out of ten of the divorced said they did. But these are reports subject to halo problems.

In the previous section we have seen that studies using conflict situations have concentrated on sex differences and not on modes of conflict resolution nor on the relation of conflict and its modes of resolution to marital adjustment. Bernard (1964) has attempted to relate game theory models to marital conflict. Her article, however, is speculative, pointing to possibilities for organizing research rather than to research itself. Kimmel and Havens (1966) question the applicability of game theory to marriage because they believe that mutual identification rather than individual satisfaction is the normative expectation of married couples, at least of middle class couples. It is my judgment, however, that models are not normative nor are they rejected because of some value judgment. They are rejected if they do not fit the data, and as yet we hardly have any data on marital conflict to which we can try to fit game theory models. Moreover, their objection carries weight only if one accepts the prevailing interpretation of "rationality" in game theory. Rapoport (1960), however, has criticized the theory of "individual rationality" and proposed a "rational" solution to Prisoner's Dilemma which begins with an assumption of social values and similarity on the part of the players. But to argue the merits of game theory models seems fruitless until we have some data and hypotheses from the data. The present research is a step in this direction. We have secured a relatively homogeneous sample of newlyweds (thus insuring to some extent general agreement on basic values) and have subjected this sample to situations designed to produce emotionally involving conflicts. Since a group of these couples were already experiencing difficulty in the marriage after only four months, we will be able to tie observed interaction in these conflicts

to an independent criterion of marital adjustment.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

As noted earlier, the present study is part of a larger project begun at the National Institute of Mental Health in 1961 to investigate the early stages of family development.[1] The project was intended as a pilot project for a later investigation of a larger and more representative sample of newlyweds. In this chapter we shall first discuss the sample and the various procedures to which the couples were subjected and then describe the methodology used in the present investigation of one of these procedures, Improvisations.[2]

The Sample

Couples' names were obtained from local marriage license records within a reasonable drive of N. I. M. H. since the couples would be required to spend a number of evenings at the Institute. The criteria for selection were: couples had to be white, in first marriages, and to have completed high school, but not to have a degree beyond the A. B. and not to be at the time a full-time student; husbands had to be between 20 and 27, wives between 18 and 25. It was required that wives

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[1] This study was carried out under the overall direction of D. Wells Goodrich, M. D., with Harold L. Raush, Ph. D., and later Robert G. Ryder, Ph. D., in charge of the study of couples. The principal investigators were D. Wells Goodrich, M. D., Arden Flint, M. D., Paul Blank, M. S. W., Walter Sceery, M. S. W., and John D. Campbell, Ph. D.

[2] Developed by Paul Blank and D. Wells Goodrich.

were not knowingly pregnant as of three months after marriage. The purpose of the criteria was to insure a relatively non-transient sample for the longitudinal study and to reduce the impact of ethnic and socioeconomic differences on the data so that relationships among other variables might be more clearly revealed. The forty-eight couples who subsequently agreed to participate constituted about sixty to eighty percent of those who both were approached and fit the screening criteria. The sample was middle class. Although it was not planned this way, the sample divided into approximately equal thirds of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. A modest payment was made to each couple for participation.

Procedures

The couples were first seen during the fourth month following marriage. Four evenings were spent with each couple, two in the home and two at N. I. M. H. Interviews were conducted by skilled and experienced social workers and were semi-structured. There was a specific set of questions to be asked, but interviewers followed up answers as much as necessary to achieve clarity. The first meeting with the couple was a joint interview in their home which focused primarily on the general background of the spouses and how they came to be married. The second evening was at N. I. M. H. where each spouse was interviewed separately with the content focusing primarily on the individual's past history, in this case including childhood experience with his own family and adolescent sexual experiences. While one spouse was being interviewed, the other filled out questionnaires. The evening concluded with the administration of the Color Matching Test (Goodrich & Boomer, 1963) to the couple. The third evening was also spent at the Institute. Again each spouse was interviewed separately, this time with the focus on current relationships with his (her)

own family of origin, sexual behavior in marriage, and the prospective view of becoming parents. Again questionnaires were administered, and the evening concluded with administration of the Improvisations. The final meeting was a joint interview in the home surveying information not yet obtained regarding the major content areas considered pertinent to the research project: relationships with friends and relatives, occupational matters, housekeeping matters, food-related activities, sexual activities, and prospective parenthood.

Those couples in which the wives later became pregnant (within two to three years from the initiation of the study) were seen during the seventh month of pregnancy. Many of the initial procedures were repeated, including scenes 3 and 4 of the Improvisations and a new scene having to do with who will get up to see why the baby is crying. Twenty-one couples were in this group. A "control" group of twenty-two couples was also selected. For each pregnant couple a control couple married the same length of time, but where the wife was not pregnant, was chosen to undergo the same procedures. Of the twenty-two control wives, five subsequently became pregnant.

Finally, the couples who had babies were seen during the fourth month after the birth of the child. Again some of the same procedures were repeated including the same scenes of the Improvisations used at the pregnancy stage. There were nineteen of these couples. Thus, nineteen couples completed Improvisations and other procedures at all three stages.

The Improvisations

The results of analyses of the other procedures (other than Improvisations) at the newlywed stage have been published in a number of articles (cf. Goodrich & Boomer, 1963; Raush, Goodrich, & Campbell, 1963; Ryder, 1966; Ryder & Goodrich, 1966; Goodrich, in press;

Goodrich, Ryder, & Raush, in press). The present study is based on the Improvisations of the newlywed stage. Because one couple's tape and transcript were indecipherable and another, for some reason, did not do one of the four scenes, our sample is forty-six couples seen four months after their marriage between the years 1961 and 1963.

The Improvisations were designed to engage the couple in four quasi-experimental, quasi-naturalistic conflict situations varying in intensity from the rather innocuous to the serious. In each scene each participant is instructed as to his or her situation and intention at the time they will begin; one is not informed of the instructions to the other. Within the general instructional framework the instructors are allowed to vary the presentation so as to maximize the involvement of the participants which is essential to the whole procedure. Participants are not asked to role-play, but rather to be themselves given the situation. It will readily be seen that the instructions are the most important part of the whole procedure. It is the conviction of the investigators involved that they were quite successful in involving the participants in the procedure. Listening to the tapes corroborates their conviction.

The four scenes

Scene 1. --The husband and wife are jointly informed that it is their first wedding anniversary. Each is then taken to a separate office by his (her) instructor. The husband is told that he wishes to make this a very special celebration and that he has planned to take his wife to dinner that evening at a favorite restaurant. He is asked which restaurant he would choose. He is told that he has made arrangements for the meal. The instructor asks him to specify what he would order for himself and his wife; he tries thus to involve the subject in the process. After the meal has been planned, the husband is

told that he has made reservations and has paid in advance. The wife is also told that she wishes to make this a very special occasion. She has taken a half-day off work (all wives in the sample were working at this stage of marriage) to prepare a very special dinner at home. She is asked to plan the meal and to imagine the setting (candles, china, wine, etc.), the instructor gauging his remarks to the orientation of the couple. The dinner is cooking and almost ready as her husband comes home from work. The husband and wife enter the "living room" from different doors, she from the "kitchen" and he from the "front door." They begin interacting at a signal.

Scene 2. --Both are told that the wife is pregnant and will soon (in a couple of months) deliver. Separately the husband is told that there is a special T. V. program that evening at 9 o'clock, and he is asked what such a program might be, i.e., one that he would especially want to watch. If the husband refers to a program that is part of a weekly series, it is suggested that this is much more special. Choices range from special sports programs such as the World Series to Presidential news conferences. The wife is told that there is a special panel show on at 9 o'clock which will discuss the naming of babies and the implications of various names, that Dr. Spock and other psychological and psychiatric authorities are on the panel, and that she especially wants both to watch this program because they have not settled on names for the baby. Subjects are brought back into the "living room" and are seated on the couch in front of an imaginary T. V. set. They are told that it is a few minutes before 9 o'clock and then signalled to begin.

Scenes 3 and 4. --These scenes are reciprocals of one another and are designed to be more emotionally involving. For scene 3 the husband is asked by his instructor whether he has ever felt toward anyone that he wanted to have nothing to do with this person, that he could

not bear the sight or presence of the person, etc. The attempt is to get him to feel the mood or at least to imagine it. Then he is asked whether he has ever felt this way toward his wife. Most newlyweds denied having had such feelings toward their wives. The husband is then encouraged to imagine something about his wife or some behavior or hers which might cause him to feel that he could not stand having her near him. As in the other scenes, efforts are made to involve the imagination of the subject and to induce a mood. Some husbands (and wives) picked on actual aggravating things about their wives. Others imagined what their wives could do to cause such a feeling in them (e.g., show interest in another man). Others could not think of anything, but felt that they would not want to be bothered by their wives if they were worried about something (e.g., a problem at work). The wife is told that her husband has been cold and distant for the last few days, that this behavior is very disturbing to her and disruptive of their relationship. Again attempts are made to get her involved and concerned. Tonight she is resolved to break down the barrier between them, find out what is disturbing him, and get close to him. The husband is placed in the "living room" setting looking out a window. The wife enters the room, and they begin. Scene 4 is the reciprocal of scene 3. The wife's position is that of maintaining distance, the husband's that of achieving closeness. As the scene opens the wife is sitting on the couch reading a magazine when the husband enters from outside.

Once the couples began the scene they were on their own as to how they would act, how long they would continue, and when they were finished. In only one instance did the observers intervene to stop a scene; in this case, it seemed as though the couple would continue the scene interminably.

The setting

The room where the scenes are played is set up so that the half where the couples interact resembles a living room. There is a comfortable couch, some stand-up lamps, and other incidental furniture. The other half of the room is where the observers sit. The subjects are instructed to interact only with one another and to try to ignore the observers. In the sample studied only two couples broke the scene to ask a question of the observers. While we do not suggest that the presence of observers had no effect on the interaction, we do feel that the instructions and the setting were able to achieve sufficient involvement that the interactions represent something of the real-life interactions of these couples. The proof of this assertion, however, must come in the results, and it will be seen in the next chapter that there is validity in the procedure. At any rate, we believe that the procedures involved in the Improvisations achieved what Vidich (1956) was unable to achieve even in the home, namely interaction only with one another and not with the observers.[1]

The Data

All scenes were tape recorded, and transcripts were later made from the tapes. Given the technical problems involved in recording free interactions, the data are remarkably good. Only a minor fraction of the remarks, and these usually interjections, are indecipherable. For coding purposes we used both the tape and the transcript. While undoubtedly a film recording would give one an even clearer picture of

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[1]A film is available on request at the Child Research Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, showing the setting and the interaction of one couple in these Improvisations. Blank, P., Flint, A.A., and Goodrich, D. W. Film Improvisations: Married couples in experimentally induced situations, 1962.

the meaning of certain remarks in the transcript, the tape does allow one to judge the meaning from the tone of voice with some accuracy. Working with the transcripts alone would have been much more projective and would have led to much more error of interpretation. Even with the tapes, of course, not all was as clear as would be desirable in an ideal order, but we were satisfied with the data. In the transcripts utterances of husband and wife were numbered sequentially for each scene. An utterance was any remark or statement by one spouse which occurred between decipherable statements of the other spouse. Thus, an utterance could be of any length from a single word to a few sentences. In the process of coding and after repeated listening the coders were able to decipher remarks not deciphered by the original transcribers, and they added these to the transcripts. Also in the course of independent coding and arriving at a consensus the coders made a relatively small number of judgments that silences on the part of one spouse in response to questions or pleas in scenes 3 and 4 should be coded as acts of rejection by the spouse in question. That is, where, for instance, the wife in scene 3 pleaded with her husband to say what was wrong and was met by a measurable period of silence by him before she resumed, the coders considered his silence an act and so numbered it in the sequence. For these reasons the coders' numbering does not agree with the numbering of the transcripts.

The Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict

Initially we[1] approached the data with the hope that we could use one of the two most frequently used coding systems, either Bales'

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[1] Dr. Harold L. Raush, Gary Coleite, Jo-Anna Featherman and the author made the initial decisions and developed most of the coding categories. As the project developed, Jeff A. Epstein joined the group and the system was refined and categories more clearly defined by all of us.

system or Leary's. We rejected the Bales' system because it seemed to us too limited in range, unable to capture the range of tactics and the subtleties of interaction in conflict situations. It seemed to us too much involved in the instrumental-expressive theory of group interaction. We also tried out the Leary grid (Leary, 1957) but found it difficult to capture process and intention with the system. For better or worse we decided to develop our own coding system. By a process that was at once a priori and a posteriori we gradually drew up a list of categories that we felt defined the kinds of interaction statements emitted by couples in these conflict situations reasonably well. We have tried to define the categories to be applicable to any interpersonal conflict situation. At the present time there are thirty-six categories of acts. The manual for the Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict will be found in Appendix A.

Besides the action categories we divided each scene into three phases: Introductory, Conflict, and Resolution and Post-resolution as described in the manual. Thus, each act coded receives a phase code and an action category code. Not every scene has all three phases, of course, since in some cases the conflict began without introduction, in other cases no resolution was achieved, and in one or two instances no conflict was generated, e.g., one husband immediately agreed with the wife's suggestion that they eat their anniversary dinner at home.

The manual develops in detail the directions to the coders, methods of training, etc. Here it will suffice to note two things. The coder takes the position of the "other" to whom the remark is made. How would the other receive this statement? He is to try to remain within the framework of the other and not use special knowledge he might have about the situation which the "other" to whom the remark is made does not have. Secondly, the matter of double coding should be noted since it influences the matrices to be presented in the next

chapter. We tried to minimize double coding, that is, two codes for one act.[1] The manual gives the conditions when double coding is allowed. The presence of double coding accounts for the fact that the husband and wife matrices do not add up to the same number of acts in all instances.

The Coding Process

Once we had the Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict more or less in final shape, we began coding the data for the newlywed phase. Each couple was coded independently by three coders with one exception where through inadvertence only two coders coded one couple. Coders 1 and 2 coded respectively forty-five and forty-six couples. A third coder did forty couples, a fourth the other six (on the IBM cards coder 3 includes both these coders). The coders read the transcript and listened to the tape and coded each act sequentially. When the independent coding was done, two coders worked together to arrive at a consensus coding for each act, which we have called the standard code. For the newlywed stage one of the two was the author (who had also done forty couples independently). The other was one of the other coders, and mostly the coder who originally did six couples. The consensus coders went through the same procedure as did the independent coders, but they also had at their disposal the independent codings. In an attempt to minimize the bias toward the code used by one of the consensus coders in his independent coding, we tried as much as possible to keep him ignorant of his code until after the consensus was arrived at by having the other consensus coder hold the sheets from the independent coding. A check of coder agreement with the standard on four

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[1] An act is defined as the statement or action of one person bounded by the statement or action of another.

couples revealed very little bias toward one coder, the percent agreement ranging from 59.1% to 64.3%, with three of the four coders between 62.8% and 64.3%.

In the consensus coding when all three coders agreed on a single category, this most generally became the standard. On rare occasions the consensus coders came up with a completely new code either because a coding category had become more clearly defined in the course of the work or because they were able to figure out a passage obscure on the tape. Where two of the independent coders agreed, the consensus judges usually, but by no means always, followed their judgment. Where all three coders disagreed, the consensus judges had to decide which one, if any, was correct. Thus, in effect we coded every couple four times, three independently and one final standard coding. This is an enormous output of time; we estimate conservatively that each couple received on the average between eight and twelve hours of attention in the coding process. We have since found that it is possible to achieve approximately the same results with only two independent codings and a consensus coding, but the process is still expensive in terms of time. While we shall report data having to do with agreement among coders and "test-retest" reliability, the ultimate proof of the validity of the Improvisations themselves and the coding comes in the results, namely that the couple and individual differences picked up by the coding have some interpretable relation to the reality of the lives of these couples.

Data Processing

Once the coding was completed, the data were punched on IBM cards act by act. For each act we indexed its sequential number in the scene, whether it was spoken by wife or husband, and what phase

of the scene it was in. Then followed the codes of the three coders and the standard. On each card we were able to include three acts.

Reliability of the Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict[1]

With the data in this form we were able to perform any number of operations on them. Our first concern, naturally, was to ascertain how reliable the coding was. We had made a few checks in the early stages of the work. One has already been noted, namely the percent agreement of each coder with the standard over four couples, which ranged from 59.1% to 64.3%. This indicates that in about two out of every three acts coded, the coder agreed with the standard. With five couples coded independently by the same three coders we looked at the percent agreement of coders with one another on an act by act basis. All three coders agreed on the same code 36.4% of the time, two out of three coders agreed 39.7% of the time, meaning that there was partial or total agreement 76.1% of the time, total disagreement 23.9% of the time. To ascertain how much of the disagreement was within what one might call tolerable error, that is error within a group of categories having much the same flavor (e.g., appeals or coerciveness), we lumped the categories into six groups.[2] With this scheme 49.7% of the acts received complete agreement, 39.8% agreement by two of the three coders, and only 10.5% of the acts showed no agreement among

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[1] Epstein (1967) in an unpublished working paper has a more extended discussion of the reliability of the coding scheme and compared its reliability favorably with the results of other coding systems for interaction.

[2] The lumping has some similarities to the scheme of six categories with which the major analyses were done, but it is not the same. For this check on coder agreement 1 lumps categories 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6; 2 lumps categories 5, 7, 8, 10, 11; 3 lumps categories 13, 15;

coders. These results indicate that for the most part the coders were, so to speak, in the same ball park when judging single acts.

An analysis of variance of the same five couples and the same three coders with forty categories[1] yielded results indicating a significant difference (at the .01 level) between coders in the use of categories, but an even more significant couple difference (well beyond the .01 level) in the use of categories. We were encouraged by these preliminary studies. The process of coding seemed to yield reproducible results on a par with the work of others in the field of coding interpersonal interaction.

When twenty-one couples had been completed, a program for the IBM 7090 was written[2] which compared the coders' agreement with the standard for each of the thirty-six categories. The percent agreement of the coders with the standard ranged from 19.6% for the worst category to 84.5% for the best. The total percent agreement of the independent coders with the standard was 65%, which means that on the average over all acts and categories two out of three of the coders agreed with the standard. Table 4 gives a summary picture of how the categories range in agreement of the independent coders with the standard. Of the thirty-six categories, twenty-two show a percent agreement above 50; seven are below 40%. These seven categories are among the least used of all the categories, being used as a standard only 47.7 times on the average as against an average of 163.5

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4 lumps categories 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; 5 lumps categories 31, 33, 35, 37, 40; 6 lumps categories 41, 43, 45, 47, 48, 51, 53, 55.

[1] In the final version the forty categories were reduced to thirty-six.

[2] Eduardo Siguel wrote all the very complex programs for the project.

times for all thirty-six categories.

TABLE 4

Number of Categories Showing Various Levels of Agreement between the Independent Coders and the Standard (36 Category Scheme)

Percent Agreement	Number of Categories
80-89	2
70-79	-
60-69	7
50-59	9
40-49	7
30-39	3
20-29	3
10-19	1
	36

As we realized that for purposes of statistical treatment, we would have to reduce the number of categories to a more manageable level, we began thinking of lumping schemes which would maintain psychological meaningfulness and capture the flavor of the interaction. Our first reduction was to twelve categories[1] from which we later derived the six category scheme. We compared coder agreement with

[1] 1 lumps categories 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; 2 is category 5; 3 lumps categories 7, 8, 11; 4 lumps categories 27, 29; 5 lumps categories 13, 15, 26; 6 lumps categories 19, 20, 24; 7 lumps categories 21, 25, 28; 8 is category 23; 9 lumps categories 31, 33, 35, 37, 40; 10 lumps categories 10, 43, 45; 11 lumps categories 41, 47, 48, 55; 12 lumps categories 51, 53.

the standard with the thirty-six categories lumped into twelve, again using the same twenty-one couples. The categories ranged from 45% to 85% agreement of coders with the standard, with a 70% total agreement with the standard. Table 5 shows how the categories ranged in percent agreement.

TABLE 5

Number of Categories Showing Various Levels of Agreement between the Independent Coders and the Standard (12 Category Scheme)

Percent Agreement	Number of Categories
80-89	1
70-79	2
60-69	5
50-59	3
40-49	1
	12

The final reduction was to the six categories used in the data analysis (cf. Table 10, p. 50). Coder agreement with the standard when the thirty-six categories were lumped into six can be seen in Table 6. The range of agreement is from about 58% to about 88%, but five of the six categories range between 58% and 65%. There was a 77% total agreement with the standard.

TABLE 6

Percent Agreement of Independent Coders with the Standard when the 36 Categories are Lumped into 6

Category	Percent Agreement of 3 Coders with Standard
1	87.9
2	65.4
3	60.6
4	61.1
5	62.5
6	57.8

In these studies of coder agreement with the standard we found that the greatest discrepancy between the standard and the independent coders came from an excessive use of category 11, the category of counter-argument. In these conflict situations it was also the most frequently used category in the standard coding as well. The problem is that almost every attempt to counter the other has an element of category 11 in it, and the difficulty seems to be to recognize the use of outright rejection or appeals or personal attack in the counter-argument. In the consensus coding to arrive at the standard we were more aware of this difficulty precisely because one or the other coder independently had picked up the overtone in what might too easily be seen as just a counter-argument. At any rate we were sufficiently satisfied with the results of these studies of coder agreement.

Another aspect of reliability is reproducibility, or test-retest reliability. Recoding a substantial portion of the couples would have been too time-consuming. However, choosing at random a few couples

out of forty-six could yield the most difficult or the easiest couples to code, thus lowering or raising the reliability rating through chance factors. We were forced to the latter procedure, but to make the choice more nearly representative we divided the couples into three groups according to length of protocol, i.e., short, medium, and long, and drew one couple randomly from each group. Two of the original coders recoded these couples, and a standard was arrived at by the original consensus judges. Thus we repeated the procedures of the first coding. This was done approximately a year after the original coding was done. There was 70% absolute agreement between the new and old standards using thirty-six categories. When we lumped the thirty-six categories into the twelve described earlier, there was 75% absolute agreement. With the six category scheme derived from the twelve, absolute agreement was 77%. Newly trained coders coded the same three couples independently and new consensus codings were established by new coders. Their standard codes showed a 67% absolute agreement with both the original standards and the standards of a year later using the thirty-six categories. The comparison of the new coders' standards lumped into twelve categories with the original standards lumped into twelve yielded a 72% absolute agreement. The six category scheme yielded a 77% absolute agreement. Again we conclude that our coding, while not ideal, does produce fairly reliable results on an act by act basis, the most difficult test of reliability since it is akin to single item reliability on a paper-and-pencil test.

The final study of rater agreement, which could be considered comparable to test-retest reliability of a total score on a test, was based on the six category system which is used in the data analysis. For each husband and each wife the total number of acts coded into each of the six categories over all four scenes was computed for each

coder.[1] The number was converted into a percentage of the total number of acts emitted by each individual. Table 7 indicates for one husband what is meant. On the basis of these percentages for each category separately we rank ordered each individual on each category for

TABLE 7

Percent of Total Number of Acts Coded into Each of 6 Categories by Each Coder for Husband Number One

Category	Coder 1 %	Coder 2 %	Coder 3 %
1	56.1	53.1	58.6
2	23.5	26.0	20.2
3	12.2	11.5	11.1
4	4.1	2.1	3.0
5	2.0	2.1	2.0
6	2.0	5.2	5.1
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0

each coder and correlated the rankings of the coders for each category. This procedure yielded 18 rhos (6 categories x 3 coders). The rank-order correlation coefficient was chosen because our main interest was in whether coders could rank the individuals in more or less the same order on usage of each category even when one coder might be biased toward the use of certain categories over others. Percentages were used since the use of absolute numbers would inflate the rho artificially by causing the couples with the longer scenes to bunch toward

[1] Coder 3 here was considered as one coder, although forty couples were coded by one coder, six by another.

the high end of the ranking on every category for each coder. Of course, rho is affected by the range of scores as well as the total number of acts the individual emitted. If, as in some of our categories, the range is small, a small shift between coders can mean a large shift in ranking. Thus, on category 5 coder 1 ranks half the distribution[1] between 0% and 6.1%. In this ranking 3.8% in category 5 ranks 29, 6.1% ranks 45, and a shift of less than 3% would result in a ranking difference of 16. Where the N is small a small shift in the frequency of acts coded in a category means a sizeable shift in the percentage and thus in ranking. These factors are to be kept in mind in interpreting the rhos since it is dubious that they could get any higher than .80 - .85 in the best of circumstances. Table 8 shows the results of the rank-order correlations. The rhos range from .452 to .804.

TABLE 8

Spearman Rank-order Correlation Coefficients between Coders for Each of the 6 Categories

Category	Coder 1 vs Coder 2	Coder 1 vs Coder 3	Coder 2 vs Coder 3
1	.511	.607	.635
2	.624	.686	.638
3	.562	.581	.769
4	.452	.659	.612
5	.763	.740	.804
6	.698	.707	.793

[1] There were ninety individuals, forty-five couples, for this analysis since one coder had neglected to code one couple.

Coder 3's rankings correlate highest in every category with one or the other of the two other coders, and these range from .635 for category 1 to .804 for category 5. Given the restricted range, especially of the middle scores, we have solid evidence that the coders have ranked the individuals rather similarly on every category. We assume, and with some justification, that if we had recoded all the couples a year later, the new standards would have ranked the couples on use of categories in much the same fashion as our present standards and that the rhos would be consistently in the high .70's and .80's. Thus, we can move on to the analysis of the results rather confident that we have codes which are, for this kind of data analysis, rather reliable.

Data Analysis

The consensus code, or standard, became the basis of the data analysis. Originally we had differentiated six phases in the interaction: Introductory, Avoidance of Conflict, Conflict, Tempering of Conflict, Resolution, and Post-resolution. We found, however, that three of these were difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate by some operational definition. Thus, we ended up with three phases: Introductory, Conflict, and Resolution. The Introductory phase (if it occurred) included all acts up to the first statement of the conflict issue, e.g., up to the husband's statement in the first scene, "Let's go out to dinner tonight." The Conflict phase began at this statement (unless, as happened with one or two couples in the first scene, the other avoided the conflict completely by never contesting the issue) and lasted until one of the participants definitively agreed to a solution (or until the couple broke off interaction, in which case there was no resolution). The Resolution phase began at the point of acceptance and lasted until the end of the scene unless in the course of the Resolution phase the couple

suddenly returned to the substance of the conflict (as happened again in a couple of instances) in which case the Conflict phase was returned to. A look at the Introductory phase convinced us that nothing interesting was going on, that is, that the vast majority of acts were in the group of categories 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6. Since in the twelve or six category system these categories would be included in the category 1 which was already preponderant in number in the other two phases, we decided to use only the Conflict and Resolution phases. We could not analyze these phases separately because of the problem of the number of acts needed for the data analysis. For present purposes, that is, for an analysis of sex and couple differences, nothing is lost by putting the two phases together. For an analysis of the effects of the use of certain categories in the Conflict phase on the types of and length of resolution, the differentiation of the two phases is important. Future work on the data will look at such questions.

A program for the IBM 7090 computer yielded 36 x 36 matrices for each husband and each wife and both together for the Conflict and Resolution phases of each scene and all scenes combined. The husband matrix for the Conflict phase of scene one, for instance, gave the number of responses of each category he gave to each antecedent category used by his wife. In other words, for the Conflict phase of scene one, the computer tallied how often the husband responded with categories 0, 1, 2, etc., to wife's category 0, and so forth. Another matrix computed percentages, that is, the percentage of times husband responded to wife's category 0 with category 0. The program also yielded matrices for all husbands and all wives and both combined for each scene and for all scenes combined. These matrices were stored on tape.

There were <u>in toto</u> 15,132 acts emitted by the forty-six couples in the Conflict and Resolution phases combined, 13,533 in the Conflict

phase, 1,599 in the Resolution phase. For each couple the average number of acts for all scenes and phases combined is 329.0 acts, for each individual 164.5 acts. Quite apart from the mechanical difficulty of working with a 36 x 36 matrix, it is obvious that statistical analysis of the data with 36 x 36 matrices is impossible because of the number of cells whose expected frequency must be less than one--and this without even getting down to the level of the individual scene. We were forced to reduce the number of categories to a more manageable number.

Our first effort at reduction resulted in the twelve category scheme already discussed (cf. Appendix A, p. 146). The twelve category scheme yields a 12 x 12 matrix or 144 cells. Since each individual averages 164.5 acts over all scenes, statistical analysis is still tenuous since a good number of individuals would have less than 144 acts and thus the expectancies again become less than one per cell even under the ideal condition of equal marginal distributions. We then moved to a six category scheme (cf. Appendix A, p. 147). This scheme yielding a 6 x 6 matrix or 36 cells allows one to assume with comfort that the number of cells with an expected frequency of less than one is within reasonable expectations. Even with the six category scheme, however, we could not do a statistical analysis at the level of the individual in each scene. We had to be content with taking the individual's matrix with all scenes combined.

We were loathe to undertake the analysis with the six category system without some check that too much information would not be lost by this lumping. Thus, we did a preliminary information analysis with the twelve category scheme and the six category scheme. The variables for this preliminary analysis were couples, sex, and the consequent (response) categories. Table 9 presents the comparison of the two analyses. We present only the relevant results, namely the percent

H_C or percent reduction of the uncertainty in the C (Consequent) variable gained by knowing the other variables. It is obvious that there is

TABLE 9

Results of Information Analyses of the Couples, Sex, and Consequent Variables using the 12 Category Scheme and the 6 Category Scheme

Variable[a]	12 Categories % H_C	6 Categories % H_C
AC	5.4	4.7
BC	0.2	0.2
AB, C	7.7	6.8
AC. B	7.5	6.6
BC. A	2.3	2.1

[a] A = Couples; B = Sex; C = Consequent Categories

not much difference between the two schemes in the ways that sexes and couples differ on the use of the Consequent variables. We thus justified the use of the six category system which allowed us to do a four-way analysis, something we could not have done legitimately with the twelve category scheme.

Thus, to summarize this section, we used a category scheme of six categories reduced from thirty-six. With this lumping we found that the same coders a year apart agreed in the coding of three couples on 77% of the acts and that new coders also agreed 77% with the original standards of these same three couples. Rank-order correlations between three independent coders' rankings of forty-five couples on use of each category ranged from .452 to .804, with one coder correlating

at least .635 and beyond with one of the other two coders on every category. The six categories and their descriptions may be found in Table 10.

TABLE 10

The 6 Category Scheme of the Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict

Category	Categories Lumped	Description
1	0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11	Cognitive acts: Neutral acts, suggestions, and rational arguments
2	13, 15, 23, 26, 27, 29	Resolving acts: Acts aimed at cooling the conflict or resolving the conflict issue
3	19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28	Reconciling acts: Acts aimed at reconciling the two partners emotionally
4	31, 33, 35, 37, 40	Appeals: Acts appealing to the other to grant one's wish
5	10, 43, 45	Rejection: Acts showing a cold or nasty rejection of the other's argument or person
6	41, 47, 48, 51, 53, 55	Coercion or personal attack: Acts aimed at forcing compliance by power plays, guilt-induction, or disparagement of the other

With this coding scheme our basic matrices were computed. Although we could not, because of the number problem, do the information analysis at the level of the individual in each scene, we did compute matrices at this level. Thus for each person we have a 6 x 6

matrix of response contingencies showing the number of times he(she) responded with each category to a given category of the spouse in each scene. This matrix uses all the data from the time the conflict is joined until the end of the scene, i.e., all but the Introductory phase. For each individual, too, there is a 6 x 6 response contingency matrix which combines all his responses over all scenes. Each husband and wife is also combined into a couple matrix of response contingencies for each scene and all scenes. The matrices of all wives are also added for each scene and all scenes combined to yield 6 x 6 matrices of response contingencies for the female sex. The same was done for all husbands. Finally, one overall summary matrix includes all the data in one 6 x 6 table. Every matrix is computed twice, once with the frequencies in the cells, once with the percentages of the total response to a particular category represented by the cell frequencies.

It was decided to use an information analysis to tease out the effects of the various variables and their interaction. The informational model for analyzing interaction, including response contingencies and the influences of situational, individual, and group components, was first employed by Raush and colleagues (Raush, Dittman, & Taylor, 1959; Raush, Farbman, & Llewellyn, 1960; Raush, 1965). These papers, which deal with the interactions of children, discuss some implications and advantages of the informational model.

Because of the problem of N we were forced to do two separate information analyses. The first analyzes the amount of information one has about the response (consequent act) by knowing the scene, the sex of the respondent, and the antecedent act to which the response is made. Thus, this analysis utilizes the summary matrices of each scene for all wives and all husbands. The second analysis aims to discover how well one can predict the response (consequent act) knowing the couple, the sex of the respondent, and the antecedent act to

which the response is made. This analysis utilizes the summary matrices (all scenes combined) of each individual and each couple. We now turn to the analysis of the data.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The main statistical analysis consisted of an information analysis undertaken separately for scene, sex, antecedent, and consequent and for couple, sex, antecedent, and consequent. Since we are mainly concerned with the prediction of the consequent act or more correctly with how much the uncertainty of the consequent act is reduced by knowledge of the other variables, we shall present the results of the analyses in terms of the consequent act only. A caution is also indicated. As will be seen, because of the large numbers[1] involved, chi-square tests of significance result invariably in finding levels of significance beyond the .01 level. The more important statistic is, as Hays (1963) points out, the measure of strength of association or amount of variance accounted for by knowing a certain variable. In this case, this measure is the percent Hd, the amount by which the uncertainty of the consequent variable (Hd) is reduced by knowledge or control of other variables.

Table 11 presents the results of the analysis of the effects of the scene, sex, and antecedent variables on the consequent variable. The table can be read as follows. Knowing the scene reduces the uncertainty in the consequent act by 3.64% (AD); knowing the antecedent act reduces it by 4.24% (CD); knowing the sex of the respondent reduces it by only 0.18%(BD). Knowing both the scene and sex reduces

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[1] N = 15,132. The chi-square formula is: 2NR where R = rate of transmission.

the uncertainty of the consequent act by 7.54% (AB, D); knowing scene and antecedent act reduces it by 10.54% (AC, D); knowing sex of respondent and the antecedent act reduces it by 4.56% (BC, D); knowing scene, sex, and antecedent act reduces it by 10.81% (ABC, D). The

TABLE 11

Results of the Information Analysis using the Scene, Sex, Antecedent, and Consequent Variables

Variable[a]	% Hd	Significance Level
AD	3.64	<.01
BD	0.18	<.01
CD	4.24	<.01
AB, D	7.54	<.01
AC, D	10.54	<.01
BC, D	4.56	<.01
ABC, D	10.81	<.01
AD. B	7.36	<.01
AD. C	6.30	<.01
BD. A	3.89	<.01
BD. C	0.32	<.01
CD. A	6.90	<.01
CD. B	4.38	<.01

[a]A = Scene; B = Sex; C = Antecedent; D = Consequent

second group of figures show how much the uncertainty of the consequent is reduced by knowledge of each variable when another variable is controlled statistically. Thus, when sex is controlled, the scene

variable accounts for 7.36% of the uncertainty of the consequent (AD. B), and so forth. The triple interaction (ABC, D) is roughly equivalent to a multiple R of .33, a figure that leaves something to be desired in terms of predictive efficacy, but a not negligible achievement given how little we know about response in interaction.

This analysis tells us that there are significant scene, sex, and antecedent effects on the responses in these Improvisations. The sex effect is disappointingly small. However, there is a strong scene-sex interaction. With scenes held constant, the amount of uncertainty reduction accounted for by sex differences jumps from 0.18% to 3.89%, a factor of about 20. We shall presently see why the scene-sex interaction is so strong. For now we can say that the sex differences which exist are confounded by the scene variable and that our estimate of the amount of information transmission accounted for by sex differences is low because of the scene variable. The sex differences would probably be more pronounced and consistent if the instructions for scenes three and four did not introduce a response bias. We shall also see that in our other analysis sex differences account for 2.09% of the uncertainty in the consequent when the couple variable is statistically controlled. It would seem that we are not going beyond the data when we look for the sex differences in response contingencies in these Improvisations. Knowledge of the sex of the respondent does help one to predict how he (she) will respond in these situations.

Overall Contingency Analysis: Scene Differences

It is now time to look at these differences more closely. Table 12 is the interaction summary table including all the data over all scenes and all couples with the sexes combined. The row totals

indicate the number of times each category was used as an antecedent act, the column totals the number of times each was used as a consequent act. The numbers in the cells are percentages of the row totals accounted for by the cell entries. The column marginal totals give the number of acts of each category emitted by the couples and the percent of the total number of responses accounted for by each category. It is

TABLE 12

Response Contingencies' Matrix for All Couples, All Scenes with Sexes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
1	+56.9[a]	8.2	6.2	9.1	7.1	12.5	6745
2	40.9	+19.2	11.2	9.2	9.2	10.2	1330
3	-28.0	8.0	+30.5	8.7	11.8	13.1	1402
4	-37.1	7.8	6.7	8.8	+25.1	14.5	1678
5	-27.1	6.5	8.3	+25.9	11.0	+21.2	1758
6	-35.9	7.7	8.2	10.5	+17.8	+20.1	2219
N	6672	1341	1431	1693	1772	2223	15132
%	44.1	8.9	9.5	11.2	11.7	14.7	

[a]In this and the following tables through Table 20 the plus (+) and minus (-) signs highlight those contingencies which are above or below expectation by 5 or more percentage points. See text.

evident that the major category used is 1, cognitive acts, with the other categories spread rather evenly. Within the matrix we have the antecedent-consequent contingencies. Thus, given that the antecedent act was a cognitive act (1), the most likely response is a cognitive act

(1) with an occurrence rate of 56.9%. Cognitive acts tend to follow cognitive acts. For viewing this and the following matrices one easy rule of thumb is to compare the distribution of percentages in a given row with the distribution of the column total percentages. It can be shown that the column percentage of a given category is within a few tenths of a percentage point of the proportion of times this category is expected to follow any given category. Thus, on the basis of the marginals the expected N in cell 1,1 is 3011.27, which would be 44.6% of the total number of responses to category 1. The column percent for use of category 1 is 44.1%. The rule of thumb, therefore, would be in error by only .5 of one percentage point in this cell.

To make more graphic the discrepancies from the expected and thus the main response contingencies which contribute to the reduction of the uncertainty of the consequent, we have highlighted those cells in the matrix which differ by five or more percentage points from the expected by putting a plus sign (+) if it is above expectation and a minus sign (-) if it is below. What appears is that in response to all the categories but cognitive acts (1), the obtained response of a cognitive act (1) is below the expected, and in each of the rows one or at the most two other categories take up the response burden. Thus, in response to a resolving act (2), the response of a resolving act (2) is greater than expected. In response to a reconciling act (3), the response of a reconciling act (3) is far greater than expected. Acts of reconciliation, therefore, follow acts of reconciliation much more than would be expected by the response totals. And a good thing that they do, for otherwise conflicts would never end or at least end up in a stalemate with unresolved antagonism between the parties. It will be of interest to note couple and sex differences in this regard.

An emotional appeal (4) receives a rejection (5) far more often than expected, whereas a rejection (5) is followed by an appeal (4) far

more than expected. A rejection (5) is also followed more often than expected by coercion or personal attack (6). The responses to a rejection (5) make some intuitive sense. The kind of rejection coded 5 in this study is most generally a cold refusal to become engaged with the other. It is usually contentless; "Leave me alone!" is its paradigm. Such a rejection, especially after a few attempts to find out what is wrong, leaves one no handle for argument or conciliation and thus leads one to appeal to the other (4) or to attack the other (6) in order to break the impasse. We shall see that the instructions for scenes three and four account for the high rejection response (5) to an appeal (4).

Finally, in response to coercion or personal attack (6), rejection (5) and coercion (6) occur more often than expected. The 6 to 6 contingency would be the worst kind of tit-for-tat, it would seem, since it involves acts most destructive of the relationship. A lock-in here would end up in such an impasse that it is difficult to see how a break-up of the relationship or continued hostility [Cuber & Harroff's (1965) conflict-habitutated marriages] could be avoided. Couple differences and sex differences in this contingency will need to engage our attention.

We have seen that controlling for scene differences decreases uncertainty by 2.66% (6.90% uncertainty accounted for as contrasted with 4.24%). The response differences generated by the different scenes can be most easily seen by an examination of the distribution of the consequent percentages for each category as shown in Table 13. On the basis of category 1 alone we can see that scenes 1 and 2 are very different from scenes 3 and 4, the former being much more cognitive. Scenes 3 and 4 are much higher in rejection (5) as would be expected given the instructions, since one party's set is to say: "Leave me alone!" These scenes are also higher in the use of category

6. It is clear, too, that the first scene generates the least heat in the conflict since rejection (5) and coercion or personal attack (6) are

TABLE 13

Distributions of the Percentages of Each Category Used in the Four Scenes by All Couples with Sexes Combined

Scene	Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
1	54.1	15.6	12.2	13.5	1.1	3.4	2437
2	57.0	10.8	4.2	9.8	6.1	12.1	3312
3	38.5	5.4	9.6	12.2	16.1	18.1	4347
4	35.6	7.3	11.4	10.1	16.7	18.9	5036

negligibly represented. We may have an effect due to the fact that it was the first scene and that couples needed the time to get warmed up to this novel experience. It is also possible to interpret some of the effect as due to the nature of the conflict which is set up. The aim of each party is to do something for the other as a surprise. Thus, by the nature of the scene both parties are cued to respond in terms of the good of the other or of the relationship. This would also explain the relatively greater percentage of appeals (4) here. In scene two each person's own wants come into play, and attempts were made to get each one personally involved in what he (she) wanted. The result in scene two is a more heated exchange in general than in scene one. The directions for scenes three and four go far to explain the differential response rates. The significant thing in the comparison of these two scenes is that the response distributions are so similar, which would indicate that, except for minor differences, the sexes handled

the two roles, i.e., the rejecting role and the "reconciling" role, in much the same fashion. It should also be pointed out that in the first two scenes, where the conflict is over an issue of what each wants to do, category 2 (acts aimed at solving the conflict issue) predominates over category 3 (acts aimed at reconciling or healing the rift in the relationship). In scenes three and four, where the conflict issue cuts at the relationship itself and category 6 is proportionately high, the opposite occurs. This makes intuitive sense. Where the conflict is issue- or thing-oriented, efforts at resolving the issue will be paramount; where the conflict is relationship-oriented and spreads to coercion and personal attack, then efforts at interpersonal reconciliation will predominate.

We now turn to a comparison of the contingency matrices of the four scenes as found in Table 14. Again the cells which differ by five or more percentage points from the expected have been highlighted by plus and minus signs. In all four scenes the following contingencies differ from the expected in the same direction: a response of 1 to a 1, of 1 to a 2, of 1 to a 3, of 1 to a 5, of 2 to a 2, of 3 to a 3, of 4 to a 5 (but scene one is less than 5% from the expected). Thus, no matter what the scene or conflict issue is in these Improvisations, a cognitive act (1) follows a cognitive act (1) far above expectation, and a cognitive act (1) follows a resolving (2) or reconciling (3) or rejecting (5) act much less than would be expected (given the marginals). An appeal (4) follows a rejection (5) more than would be expected. A resolving act (2) follows a resolving act and a reconciling act (3) follows a reconciling act far above expectation. This is true even for scenes three and four where the set of one of the spouses is to reject every attempt at resolution or reconciliation. For the majority, at least, of these couples, therefore, not even a rejecting set to the instructions can create an unresolvable or irreconcilable stalemate. At least at the

TABLE 14

Response Contingencies' Matrices for Each Scene with Sexes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Scene 1							
1	$^{+}$63.0	14.2	$^{-}$6.9	12.8	0.7	2.4	1341
2	$^{-}$46.3	$^{+}$25.4	15.0	10.2	1.0	2.0	393
3	$^{-}$31.6	11.0	$^{+}$35.1	16.7	1.4	4.3	282
4	52.1	12.2	11.3	$^{+}$19.3	1.6	3.5	311
5	$^{-}$22.2	$^{+}$29.6	11.1	14.8	$^{+}$7.4	$^{+}$14.8	27
6	$^{-}$41.0	14.5	12.0	$^{-}$8.4	4.8	$^{+}$19.3	83
N	1318	380	298	330	28	83	2437
%	54.1	14.5	12.2	13.5	1.1	3.4	
Scene 2							
1	$^{+}$66.5	9.7	2.4	8.3	3.3	9.8	1895
2	$^{-}$48.1	$^{+}$18.6	7.6	10.3	6.2	9.2	370
3	$^{-}$34.6	12.8	$^{+}$24.8	$^{+}$15.8	3.8	8.3	133
4	56.6	10.1	4.6	10.7	7.6	10.7	328
5	$^{-}$29.0	9.3	3.1	$^{+}$18.7	7.3	$^{+}$32.6	193
6	$^{-}$41.7	9.7	2.8	9.4	$^{+}$18.1	$^{+}$18.3	393
N	1889	358	138	325	201	401	3312
%	57.0	10.8	4.2	9.8	6.1	12.1	

TABLE 14 -- Continued

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
				Scene 3			
1	+50.7	3.8	7.8	9.3	11.4	17.0	1690
2	35.0	+12.6	9.8	9.3	14.0	19.2	214
3	-29.2	6.3	+24.8	-6.8	17.3	15.6	411
4	-27.9	4.5	7.7	-5.4	+35.7	18.9	535
5	-28.4	4.7	8.2	+29.3	-9.5	19.9	697
6	34.1	7.5	8.4	11.6	19.0	19.4	800
N	1672	235	419	531	702	788	4347
%	38.5	5.4	9.6	12.2	16.1	18.1	
				Scene 4			
1	+48.3	6.4	8.2	6.9	-11.7	18.5	1819
2	-30.6	+17.0	11.6	7.1	18.7	15.0	353
3	-23.8	6.6	+33.7	-4.5	14.8	16.7	576
4	-25.0	7.1	-4.2	-4.8	+39.7	19.2	504
5	-25.8	6.7	9.5	+25.1	13.2	19.7	841
6	34.6	6.5	9.5	10.2	17.7	21.5	943
N	1793	368	576	507	841	951	5036
%	35.6	7.3	11.4	10.1	16.7	18.9	

newlywed stage the press of the relationship is stronger than the press of the instructions.

Scenes 1 and 2 are from one point of view the most interesting since the instructions do not prima facie set up a response bias in

either party. Of the 72 cells in both matrices, 26 differ by 5% or more from the expected. Of these 26, 18 are matches, i.e., 9 cells in each matrix differ appreciably from the expected in the same direction. Of the remaining 8 unmatched cells, 7 are matched by the direction of difference from the expected even though not by the extent of difference from the expected. Only the response of 2 to a 5 differs in the two scenes. These two scenes are, therefore, very similar in the interaction contingencies they produce. (It will also be seen that the sex differences in these two scenes are very similar.)

Let us look at some of these contingencies besides the ones already noted as similar for all four scenes. In response to an emotional appeal (4) the responses in these two scenes are much closer to the expected than in the overall summary matrix where a 5 (rejection) was seen to occur more often than expected. In the first two scenes a tendency (mainly in scene 1) to respond to an appeal with an appeal is to be noted. The rejection (5) response to an appeal does not seem to be endemic to conflict, but to result from the instructions of scenes 3 and 4.

In scenes 1 and 2, rejection (5) receives a far greater percentage of coercive or attacking (6) responses than expected. This is especially true of scene 2 where the issue is a more personal desire than in scene 1. If the other coldly rejects one's arguments or appeals, the tendency is to retort with a command or threat or a guilt-inducing or disparaging remark. In scene 1 a response of 2 is more prevalent, i.e., an attempt to resolve the issue or cool the conflict in some way. Coercion or personal attack (6) follows coercion (6) far above expectation in both scenes. Moreover, the tendency is also evident (especially in scene 2) to follow coercion or personal attack (6) with a rejection (5). It is also instructive to realize that resolving acts (2) and reconciling acts (3) in response to rejection (5) and coercion (6) follow expectations,

which means that for most couples there is not a tendency to forget conciliatory remarks completely in the heat of conflict. True, when one raises the ante, as it were, in the conflict (by using category 6), the other tends to respond in kind. But this is at the expense of the cognitive categories, not the conciliatory categories. One wonders, first, whether this applies mainly to the newlywed stage, and, secondly, whether all conflicts in relationships which are cherished have this quality. The consistency in response contingencies in these two scenes in spite of the different distributions of responses is to be underlined. There is evidence for some consistency in these couples in their interaction in two different conflict situations.

The matrices for scenes 3 and 4 are surprisingly similar. Of the 24 cells in the two matrices which differ appreciably from expectation, 20 are matches, i.e., 10 cells in each matrix correspond to one another in the direction of difference from expectation. The cells corresponding to the other 4 differ in the same direction from expectation though not to the same degree. What stands out as different from scenes 1 and 2 are the cells for the contingency of a rejection (5) response to an appeal (4), which we have already noted as an effect of the instructions. In these two scenes we also see more plainly that an emotional appeal (4) becomes a major way to break the impasse of a repeated "leave me alone" (5). Newlyweds use the pull of the relationship and the love of the other as a lever to reinstate communication. Another probable effect of the instructions is to lessen the tendency to respond with coercion or personal attack (6) to a 5 or 6 since one of the parties has the task of trying to get close. As we have seen, in scenes 1 and 2 there is a strong tendency to respond with coercion or personal attack (6) to rejection (5) or coercion or personal attack (6). The similarity of the matrices for scenes 3 and 4 reinforces our conclusion that the sexes handle the two response

sets induced by the instructions rather similarly.

We can summarize this section by noting the consistencies over all scenes. If one spouse uses a cognitive act (1), the other tends to respond cognitively (1) above expectations. If one spouse says something that is aimed at cooling down or resolving (2) the conflict, the other responds in kind above expectation. The same is true of reconciling acts (3). The magnitude of these two contingencies (2 to 2 and 3 to 3) indicates that these newlyweds tend toward resolution and reconciliation when one makes a move in that direction, and this is true even when the set of one of the spouses is to reject all such advances. In all scenes we have also found that an appeal (4) is a major response to a cold rejection (5); another response is coercion or personal attack (6). When one spouse coldly rejects, the other tends to try to break the impasse by an appeal (which depends for its effect on the other's basic good will or love) or by coercion or personal attack (which pressures the other, probably by the implied threat to the relationship that such a retort contains). In the first two scenes where there is no response bias induced by the instructions, coercion or personal attack (6) is countered more often than expected by coercion or personal attack (6) or (less strongly) by rejection (5), thus indicating a tit-for-tat tendency. However, among these couples the tit-for-tat exchange is not at the expense of conciliatory behavior, i.e., categories 2 and 3, a point that deserves underlining as a quality in the conflict behavior of newlyweds.

Sex Differences

Our information analysis showed that sex differences in response rates accounted for a disappointingly small amount of the variance in the response distributions. Table 15 with the response distributions

for all wives and all husbands over all scenes shows this. These distributions are significantly different, but the significance level is due largely to the large N. Our findings agree with those of Heiss (1962),

TABLE 15

Response Distributions of All Wives and All Husbands over All Scenes in Percentages

Sex	Categories					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Wives	43.7	7.9	8.0	12.2	12.3	16.0
Husbands	44.5	9.9	10.9	10.2	11.2	13.4

namely that the sexes' distributions of use of categories are rather similar. Still the differences are to some extent surprising. Husbands exceed wives in both categories 2 and 3. Husbands, that is, not only make relatively more attempts to resolve or cool the conflict (2), but also more attempts to restore the harmony of the relationship (3). In these Improvisations and with this category system there is a tendency for the husbands to be the "socio-emotional" specialists, although since the differences are so small I would prefer at this stage of our analysis to take the weaker stand of Levinger (1964), namely that both are socio-emotional specialists. Wives use emotional appeals (4) slightly more than husbands, a not unexpected difference. What is more surprising is that wives use more coercion or personal attack (6) than husbands. We shall have to look at these differences more carefully and attempt an explanation.

Table 16 presents the summary matrices for all husbands and all wives over all scenes. In this table the matrix marked "Wives"

TABLE 16

Response Contingencies' Matrices for All Wives and All Husbands with Scenes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
				Wives			
1	$^{+}$56.7	7.0	5.1	10.0	7.6	13.7	3424
2	41.8	$^{+}$18.3	7.9	9.5	10.7	11.8	748
3	$^{-}$28.6	7.6	$^{+}$26.9	10.2	11.8	14.9	814
4	$^{-}$34.4	7.0	4.0	10.6	$^{+}$28.3	15.6	752
5	$^{-}$26.2	5.4	7.1	$^{+}$27.5	10.6	$^{+}$23.2	836
6	$^{-}$34.6	6.1	6.2	12.0	$^{+}$18.9	$^{+}$22.1	1009
N	3313	597	606	926	929	1212	7583
%	43.7	7.9	8.0	12.2	12.3	16.0	
				Husbands			
1	$^{+}$57.2	9.6	7.3	8.2	6.5	11.2	3321
2	$^{-}$39.5	$^{+}$20.4	15.5	8.9	7.4	$^{-}$8.2	582
3	$^{-}$27.0	8.5	$^{+}$35.6	6.6	11.7	10.5	588
4	$^{-}$39.2	8.4	8.9	7.3	$^{+}$22.5	13.7	926
5	$^{-}$28.0	7.6	9.4	$^{+}$24.4	11.3	$^{+}$19.3	922
6	$^{-}$37.0	9.0	9.5	9.3	$^{+}$16.8	$^{+}$18.4	1210
N	3359	744	825	767	843	1011	7549
%	44.5	9.9	10.9	10.2	11.2	13.4	

gives the wives' responses to the husbands' antecedent acts, vice versa for the matrix marked "Husbands." The percentage in each

cell is the proportion of the N of the row represented by the given response category. Thus, wives responded 3424 times to a 1 by husbands; 1940 or 56.7% of these responses were category 1.

Again these tables indicate why controlling for antecedent response does not appreciably raise the amount of variance in the consequent accounted for by sex differences. The response contingencies which differ from expectation are the same for both sexes. There are, however, some noteworthy sex differences in response rates to certain categories. Husbands respond with the reconciling categories (2 or 3) to every category at a higher rate than their wives, whereas wives respond with appeals (4) and coercion or personal attack (6) at a higher rate to every category. Thus, the sex differences in total response distribution are consistent over all contingencies. The largest differences between the sexes appear in the responses to the following categories:

a. in response to resolving acts (2) where husbands respond with more reconciling acts (3) while wives respond more with rejection (5) and coercion or personal attack (6);
b. in response to reconciling acts (3) where husbands respond with more reconciling acts (3) while wives respond more with appeals (4) and coercion or personal attack (6);
c. in response to appeals (4) where husbands are more cognitive (1) and reconciling (3) while wives are more appealing (4) and rejecting (5);
d. in response to rejection (5) where wives are more appealing (4) and more coercive (6);
e. in response to coercion or personal attack (6) where husbands are more cognitive (1) and

conciliatory (2 and 3) while wives are more appealing (4) and coercive (6).

Wives, therefore, in these Improvisations tend to put more pressure on the husband by appeals (4) and coercion or personal attack (6) while the husbands tend to try to cool down the conflict (2) and to be more responsive to the emotional needs of the wife and/or the relationship itself (3).

Our information analysis informed us that controlling for scenes raised the amount of variance in the response distribution accounted for by sex differences by a factor of about 20. What this means can be gathered from Table 17 where the response distributions by sex and scene are presented.

TABLE 17

Response Distributions in Percentages for Each Sex and Each Scene

Scene	Sex	Categories					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	W	55.1	14.6	10.1	14.2	1.3	4.7
	H	53.1	16.6	14.4	12.9	1.0	2.1
2	W	56.0	8.7	3.1	12.3	5.8	14.2
	H	58.1	13.0	5.3	7.4	6.4	10.0
3	W	39.9	5.5	11.9	22.0	5.8	14.9
	H	37.0	5.3	7.4	2.5	26.5	21.3
4	W	33.3	6.1	6.9	2.8	27.4	23.5
	H	37.9	8.5	16.0	17.4	6.0	14.2

What is apparent, it seems, is that the sex-scene interaction is in reality the result of the response bias induced by the instructions for scenes 3 and 4. If one knows the scene (3 or 4), one does not need to know the sex to predict a differential response distribution since the scene tells you which sex will be distant, which will be trying to get close. In other words, the sex-scene interaction is an artifact of the experimental design. Moreover, the response bias also muddies to a certain extent the sex differences which appear in scenes 1 and 2 as a comparison of the way the sexes handle the distance set will indicate. Compare the H distribution of scene 3 with the W distribution of scene 4. They are remarkably similar, for the most part less than a decimal point apart. As we shall see, scenes 1 and 2 show consistent, though small, sex differences which are here obscured. Moreover, even the response distributions for the role of getting close obscure another sex difference, the women's tendency to respond more with coercion or personal attack (6). This distribution highlights one other sex difference, however, the tendency of women to use appeals (4) and men to use reconciling gestures (3).

Since scenes 1 and 2 do not present the parties instructions leading to a differential response bias, these scenes should give us a truer picture of whatever sex differences do exist. Except for category 1 (cognitive acts) the sex differences in response distribution for all categories are in the same direction in both scenes with men higher on categories 2 and 3, women higher on 4 and 6, and both about the same on 5. The contingency matrices presented in Table 18 also show consistent differences.

TABLE 18

Response Contingencies' Matrices for Scenes 1 and 2 of All Wives and All Husbands

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Scene 1 -- Wives							
1	+64.1	13.9	-5.1	12.8	0.7	3.4	671
2	-49.5	+23.8	11.9	9.9	1.0	4.0	202
3	-33.5	11.0	+29.3	17.1	2.4	6.7	164
4	51.0	10.6	10.6	+23.2	0.7	4.0	151
5	-12.5	+25.0	12.5	12.5	+12.5	+25.0	8
6	-40.0	-6.7	-3.3	13.3	+10.0	+26.7	30
N	675	179	124	174	16	58	1226
%	55.1	14.6	10.1	14.2	1.3	4.7	
Scene 2 -- Wives							
1	+66.2	7.2	1.3	10.6	3.7	10.8	968
2	-46.0	+17.0	6.4	13.2	7.7	9.8	235
3	-33.7	9.6	+19.3	+20.5	6.0	10.8	83
4	52.5	5.0	2.5	14.2	9.2	16.7	120
5	-30.4	5.9	0.0	+19.6	3.9	+40.2	102
6	-38.5	9.0	2.6	10.9	+14.1	+25.0	156
N	931	144	51	205	96	237	1664
%	56.0	8.7	3.1	12.3	5.8	14.2	

TABLE 18 -- Continued

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
	Scene 1 -- Husbands						
1	+62.0	14.6	-8.7	12.8	0.6	1.3	670
2	-42.9	+27.2	18.3	10.5	1.0	0.0	191
3	-28.8	-11.0	+43.2	16.1	0.0	0.8	118
4	53.1	13.8	11.9	15.6	2.5	3.1	160
5	-26.3	+31.6	10.5	15.8	5.3	+10.5	19
6	-41.5	18.9	17.0	-5.7	1.9	+15.1	53
N	643	201	174	156	12	25	1211
%	53.1	16.6	14.4	12.9	1.0	2.1	
	Scene 2 -- Husbands						
1	+66.8	12.2	3.5	5.9	2.9	8.7	927
2	-51.8	+21.5	9.6	5.2	3.7	8.1	135
3	-36.0	+18.0	+34.0	8.0	-0.0	-4.0	50
4	58.7	13.0	5.8	8.7	6.7	7.2	208
5	-27.5	13.2	6.6	+17.6	11.0	+24.2	91
6	-43.9	10.1	3.0	8.4	+20.7	13.9	237
N	958	214	87	120	105	164	1648
%	58.1	13.0	5.3	7.3	6.4	10.0	

Note that in both scenes husbands are far more likely to follow a reconciling act with a reconciling act (cell 3,3), wives much more likely to respond with an appeal to an appeal (cell 4,4), much more

likely to respond with a coercive act to a rejection (cell 5, 6) and to a coercive act (cell 6, 6). Not only are these consistent response sets in both scenes, but the sex differences are rather large. Smaller, but consistent differences are also found in the response of a resolving act to a resolving act (cell 2, 2) where the husbands' response rate is higher, in the response of coercion or personal attack to a reconciling act (cell 3, 6) where the wives' rate is higher, in the response of a resolving act to an appeal (cell 4, 2) where the husbands' rate is higher, and in the response of a resolving act to a rejection (cell 5, 2) where again the husbands' rate is higher. Since these matrices present so much consistency in sex differences, we have combined them in order to increase the N in all cells and hopefully to get a more stable pattern of differences. The combined matrices are presented in Table 19.

In response to every category husbands are more likely than wives to use categories 2 and 3, the resolving and reconciling categories, whereas wives respond with appeals (4) and coercion or personal attack (6) at a higher rate than husbands. Contrary to what would be expected from the role differentiation theory of Parsons and Bales (1955) the husbands seem the more emotionally supportive and conciliatory. It may be that we have evidence for the need of a more differentiated theory. We are certainly not about to argue that husbands are more emotional than wives since categories 4 and 6 represent highly emotional responses. What we can say, however, is that there is a tendency for these wives at this newlywed stage to use emotional pressure on their husbands. Moreover, at this stage, at least, these husbands tend to be susceptible to this kind of pressure; they show more concern for their wives' feelings, reassure them more, seek forgiveness, attempt to compromise more than their wives. Note especially the way husbands handle wives' emotional appeals (4). The second highest response rate (after category 1) is a 2, an attempt

TABLE 19

Response Contingencies' Matrices of All Wives and All Husbands, Scenes 1 and 2 Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Wives							
1	+65.3	9.9	2.9	11.5	2.5	7.8	1639
2	-47.6	+20.1	8.9	11.7	4.6	7.1	437
3	-33.6	10.5	+25.9	+18.2	3.6	8.1	247
4	51.7	8.1	7.0	+19.2	4.4	9.6	271
5	-29.1	7.3	-0.9	+19.1	4.5	+39.1	110
6	-38.7	8.6	2.7	11.3	+13.4	+25.3	186
N	1606	323	175	379	112	295	2890
%	55.6	11.2	6.1	13.1	3.9	10.2	
Husbands							
1	+64.2	13.2	5.6	8.8	1.9	5.6	1597
2	-46.6	+24.9	+14.7	8.3	2.1	3.4	326
3	-30.9	13.1	+40.5	13.7	0.0	-1.8	168
4	56.3	13.3	8.4	11.7	4.9	5.4	368
5	-27.3	16.4	7.3	+17.3	+10.0	+21.8	110
6	-43.4	11.7	5.5	7.9	+17.2	+14.1	290
N	1601	415	261	276	117	189	2859
%	56.0	14.5	9.1	9.7	4.1	6.6	

to resolve or cool the conflict. When wives respond to husbands' emotional appeals (4), their second highest category is another emotional

appeal (4). The response rates to a rejection (5) are also instructive since both sexes use 5 as an antecedent act the same number of times. Where wives pile up coercion or personal attack (6) responses (almost twice as many as husbands), husbands have about three times as many resolving acts (2) and reconciling acts (3) as wives. The response rates to coercion or personal attack (6) show that the husband is more cognitive (1) and more conciliatory (2 and 3) while the wives show more tit-for-tat behavior (6 to 6).

A couple of explanations are possible for these differences. In the review of research we alluded to a few studies which found wives, especially middle-class wives, more dependent, more anxious, less confident, self-sufficient and self-accepting, more aware of personal problems (Brim, Glass, Lavin, & Goodman, 1962; Kagan & Moss, 1962; Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960). Moreover, the Gurin, Veroff, and Feld data point to the possibility that marriage has something to do with women's self-reports of these feelings since single women in self-reports are happier than single men and report they experienced near breakdown less often than married women report. By all accounts women must make the greater adjustment in marriage (Burgess & Cottrell, 1939; Burgess & Wallin, 1953; Landis, 1946; Bernard, 1964). Perhaps our findings are a reflection of this greater difficulty and the need of the husbands to be supportive. Goodrich (in press) has reported that while all of these wives were working at the stage being studied, nearly all of them wanted to become pregnant in the fairly near future. For them the newlywed stage is, therefore, a transition stage from a career orientation of some sort to a new orientation of housewife and mother with all the anxieties any drastic change can induce. For husbands, in a certain sense, life goes on as usual. While it is true that becoming a father is a fulfillment for most husbands, it probably does not have the same connotation and force as a symbolic image that it has

for women, especially if the analytic theoryof penis-envy is correct where in the unconscious having a baby somehow is equivalent to having a penis. The husband is fulfilled; he has his job, he is married, he has proved his potency. But the woman at this stage of the marriage is in between times; fulfillment as a woman still lies ahead. And it would not be surprising to find that her resentment of the man and her insecurity were closer to the surface. It is also possible that some wives are at least ambivalent, if not openly resentful, about still having to work, while others may be the same way about have to give up work and career. Motivation is undoubtedly a complex thing, and our findings, if generalizable, are probably multiply determined. These newlywed women, at any rate, seem less supportive and more emotionally demanding than their husbands.

The fact that the husband seems to take more of the burden of maintaining the harmony of the relationship in these situations might be explained by his having the easier time of it in early adjustments to marriage since his working life goes on as usual. It is tempting to see in this behavior of husbands another instance of what Solomon (1960) found in his research using game theory. He reports that a subject is more likely to engage in trusting behavior (in the game situation this means making a cooperation choice which can cost money if the other does not cooperate in kind) if he has greater power relative to the other against whom he plays. Power needs to be defined and its types distinguished. Hallenbeck (1966) has defined it as a stable potential influence in a dyadic situation and has delineated five types. The present author is considering power in these general terms and in relation to one's feeling of self-assurance and confidence. Our review of the literature has made it clear that husbands generally seem to have more power in this sense in the marriage. Does this power make it possible for them to be more supportive in these Improvisations? This would be a middle-

level theoretical speculation and one that might be tested in future research by analyzing power relations in the family and correlating observed supportiveness versus punitiveness with power. On a much more speculative level one is reminded of an incidental remark of Freud (1920) about the masculine attitude toward the love object. He speaks of the humility and sublime overestimation of the sexual object, the renunciation of all narcissistic satisfaction, and the preference for being lover rather than beloved as characteristic of the male lover. In the analysis of later stages of married life it will be of interest to see whether these characteristics are maintained as the relationship develops.

We now turn to sex differences in the contingency matrices of scenes 3 and 4. We have already seen that the response distributions induced by the instructions are very similar for the two sexes. In Table 20 the matrices are so arranged that the two ways of playing the same game are one on top of the other. The first column is the "try-to-find-out-what's-wrong" set, the second the "leave-me-alone" set. Some of the sex differences we have already discussed are evident in the different ways husbands and wives go about trying to find out what's wrong and get close (scene 3 for wives, scene 4 for husbands). Husbands again use more resolving (2) and reconciling (3) acts, especially the latter, wives more appeals (4). Husbands are far more likely to be conciliatory when their wives who are distant make a conciliatory gesture, i.e., responding 2 or 3 to 2 or 3. In response to both categories wives are more cognitive. Husbands are likewise more conciliatory (2 or 3) when distant wives use emotional appeals (4); wives respond more with emotional appeals (4). The response distributions of both husbands and wives to a rejection (5) by the distant party are quite similar although again there is a tendency for the same sex differences to appear. When the distant party uses coercion or personal attack (6),

TABLE 20

Response Contingencies' Matrices for Scenes 3 and 4 of All Wives and All Husbands

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Scene 3 -- Wives							
1	+51.8	3.4	11.9	-16.9	3.4	12.5	816
2	41.0	+16.0	11.0	-16.0	4.0	12.0	100
3	-30.4	5.1	+32.9	-15.2	5.1	11.4	158
4	-32.7	6.1	-6.1	+30.6	+12.2	12.2	49
5	-27.2	4.8	8.8	+34.7	5.7	18.8	580
6	38.5	7.7	9.4	17.8	10.1	16.5	467
N	866	119	258	477	126	324	2170
%	39.9	5.5	11.9	22.0	5.8	14.9	
Scene 4 -- Husbands							
1	+50.9	8.2	13.9	13.1	2.5	11.4	850
2	-31.0	+19.0	+22.5	14.8	7.0	-5.6	142
3	-21.0	6.0	+54.5	-7.2	3.6	-7.8	167
4	-31.9	11.1	18.1	15.3	6.9	16.7	72
5	-27.1	6.8	-10.5	+29.2	8.6	17.8	695
6	39.0	8.7	13.0	13.5	8.2	17.7	587
N	952	213	403	437	150	358	2513
%	37.9	8.5	16.0	17.4	6.0	14.2	

TABLE 20 -- Continued

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Scene 3 -- Husbands							
1	+49.6	4.2	3.9	2.2	-18.8	21.3	874
2	-29.8	9.6	8.8	3.5	22.8	25.4	114
3	-28.5	7.1	+19.8	1.6	24.9	18.2	253
4	-27.4	4.3	7.8	2.9	+38.1	19.6	486
5	34.2	4.3	5.1	2.6	28.2	25.6	117
6	-27.9	7.2	6.9	3.0	+31.5	23.4	333
N	806	116	161	54	576	464	2177
%	37.0	5.3	7.4	2.5	26.5	21.3	
Scene 4 -- Wives							
1	+46.0	4.9	3.3	1.4	-19.7	24.7	969
2	30.3	+15.6	4.3	1.9	26.5	21.3	211
3	-24.9	6.8	+25.2	3.4	-19.3	20.3	409
4	-23.8	6.5	-1.9	3.0	+45.1	19.7	432
5	-19.9	6.2	4.8	5.5	+34.9	+28.8	146
6	-27.2	2.8	3.9	4.8	+33.4	27.8	356
N	841	155	173	70	691	593	2523
%	33.3	6.1	6.9	2.8	27.4	23.5	

the same tendencies are evident. Thus, husbands are more supportive and more concerned with the harmony of the relationship whereas wives use the relationship as a wedge to force their husbands to give up their distancing stance.

The ways of maintaining distance (scene 3 for husbands, scene 4 for wives) are remarkably similar for the sexes, but an interesting thing happens. When the wives of scene 3 use reconciling acts (3), their distant husbands are more able to maintain distance than the distant wives of scene 4 are when their husbands use reconciling acts (3). That is, the distant wives are more apt to respond with a 3 to a 3 than are the distant husbands. In every other comparison of husband and wife matrices the husbands have had a higher percentage in cell 3,3. Distant husbands use rejection (5) to a 3 more than distant wives. But when the wives of scene 3 use categories 4, 5, or 6, categories putting pressure on the relationship, the distant husbands respond with a lower rate of rejection (5) than the distant wives in scene 4 do to the same tactics. In response to an appeal (4) the distant husbands are more likely than distant wives to be cognitive (1) or conciliatory (3); in response to a rejection (5) much more likely to be cognitive (1); in response to coercion or personal attack (6) more likely to use resolving (2) or reconciling (3) acts. Thus, it seems that when the distance pose becomes threatening to the relationship these husbands are more prone to drop the pose than their wives. A caution must be entered here, however, due to the failure to use a design which would have had scene 4 precede scene 3 half the time. If it were not for the fact that our findings with the present design are consistent with what we have seen in scenes 1 and 2, we would not be able to interpret these sex differences as confidently. As it is, however, we can be somewhat more sure that what we have found would be replicated in a more carefully designed experiment.

To summarize this section we can say that we have evidence for at least a more differentiated theory of role orientation within the dyad at the newlywed stage than the Parsons and Bales' (1955) theory allows. At this stage these husbands seem more supportive and conciliatory

and more concerned to sustain the harmony of the relationship by such gestures as are coded resolving (2) or reconciling (3) acts. Wives, on the other hand, use more often the kinds of categories which put emotional pressure on husbands in terms of the relationship. Which comes first, the husband's greater concern for harmony or the wife's greater emotional pressure, is impossible to say from these data. At the least a tendency to reciprocal interaction seems present. As a final note, it is very interesting that husbands and wives in this sample do not differ in the rate of their overall use of cognitive acts (1) in these Improvisations. Stereotyped thinking about sex differences could well lead us to predict that men would be more cognitive than women.

Couple Differences

Our second information analysis was based on the couple, sex, antecedent, and consequent variables. Here the main concern is couple differences and the interaction effects of couple differences and sex differences on antecedent to consequent predictability. Table 21 contains the relevant data from the analysis. Some of the data reported in Table 21 are repetitions; they are included for ease of reference.

The power of the couple differences can be seen by the fact that they alone account for 4.71% of the reduction of uncertainty in the consequent. Moreover, when the variance due to couple differences is controlled, the percent Hd accounted for by sex differences rises from 0.18% to 2.09%, and that accounted for by antecedent response from 4.24% to 7.08%. Couple differences with sex and antecedent controlled (ED.BC) reduce the uncertainty of the consequent by 11.81%. It would appear, therefore, that the experimental procedure elicits quite different behavior from these couples.

TABLE 21

Results of the Information Analysis using the Couple, Sex, Antecedent, and Consequent Variables

Variable[a]	% Hd	Significance Level
ED	4.71	<.01
BD	0.18	<.01
CD	4.24	<.01
EB, D	6.80	<.01
EC, D	11.79	<.01
BC, D	4.56	<.01
EBC, D	23.01	<.01
ED. B	6.62	<.01
ED. C	7.56	<.01
BD. E	2.09	<.01
BD. C	0.32	<.01
CD. E	7.08	<.01
CD. B	4.38	<.01
EB, D. C	9.15	<.01
EC, D. B	14.15	<.01
BC, D. E	6.91	<.01
CD. EB	9.57	<.01
ED. BC	11.81	<.01
BD. EC	4.58	<.01

[a] B = Sex; C = Antecedent; D = Consequent; E = Couples

Another interesting result of this analysis has to do with sex differences. When the variance due to couple differences and antece-

dent responses is controlled, sex differences reduce the uncertainty of the consequent by 4.58%, a sizeable increase in the percent Hd accounted for by sex differences without controls. The sex differences we have noted earlier are quite significant. This means that our procedure elicits significantly different husband-wife interactions from the various couples.

The triple interaction of couples, sex, and antecedent (EBC, D) accounts for 23.01% of the uncertainty in the consequent, a figure roughly equivalent to a multiple R of .47. Knowing the couple, the antecedent response, and the sex of the respondent allows a rather good prediction of his or her response. It is unfortunate that due to the problem of a small N for each person in each scene we could not do a five-way analysis which would have probably given us an even higher predictive ability. It is, however, difficult to see how the procedure could be set up to make this possible. In this type of research we are limited by the ability and/or willingness of couples to provide us with lengthy interactions in response to a particular conflict we set up for them.

It is, of course, encouraging to know that couples do differ significantly in the way they handle these experimentally induced conflicts. The far more interesting question is what differences there are and more interesting yet, what relation these differences have to real life, and especially to marital adjustment. These questions have received almost no attention in the literature. To my knowledge we are entering virgin territory.

The questions faced here are, however, not so easy to answer. How does one approach ninety-two separate antecedent-consequent matrices to note differences and similarities? The present investigator tried any number of methods of analysis in an attempt to arrive at groupings of couples, but individuality asserted its ugly head at

every turn. It is easy enough to demonstrate great differences in the ways couples handle these situations. The problem becomes one of putting some order into the mass of data. Fortunately, we had independent assessments of the couples from the National Institute of Mental Health in the form of factor scores based on an analysis of all the data gathered on the couples with the exception of the Improvisations.

Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush (in press) present four factor patterns isolated in their study, and Goodrich (in press) has speculated on these patterns from a psychoanalytic point of view as a move toward a taxonomy of marriage. The factor analysis was based on interviews, questionnaires, a Color Matching Test (Goodrich & Boomer, 1963), and interviewer ratings. The final factor matrix was subjected to a profile rotation procedure so as to maximize simple structure among couples rather than among tests. In other words, the aim was to maximize the tendency for each couple to have an extreme score on one and only one factor and to be middling on all others. The factor names and variables loading highest on each factor are presented in Appendix B.

Of most interest for present purposes is factor III, which is heavily loaded with items of reported or judged evaluation of the marriage. Empathy, support, wife yielding in disagreements, easy decision process, couple identification, and high rated evaluation of the marriage are all at the negative end of the factor. At the positive end are reports of disagreement and of unhappiness and doubts about the marriage with the wife also recalling troubles with her family of origin. To see how the couples on the positive and negative ends of this factor handled the Improvisations we took those six couples as factor III+ couples who scored one standard deviation or more above the mean (.00), five of whom were, at least, one and one-half standard

deviations above the mean, and we took those seven couples as factor III- couples who scored one standard deviation or more below the mean, three of whom were, at least, one and one-half standard deviations below. (The latest follow-up found that three couples in our whole sample were already divorced or separated; all three scored over one and one-half standard deviations above the mean on factor III.) The matrices for each couple in each of these two groups were added together. For ease of interpretation we present the data stepwise, first comparing the factor III+ couples with the whole sample (all couples) and then comparing them to the factor III- couples.

Table 22 compares the response distributions of factor III+ wives and husbands to those of all wives and husbands. It is noteworthy that

TABLE 22

Comparison of the Response Distributions in Percentages of the Factor III+ Wives and Husbands to Those of All Wives and All Husbands

Group	Categories					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
W III+	40.7	7.5	7.8	13.2	11.7	19.2
W All	43.7	7.9	8.0	12.2	12.3	16.0
H III+	38.1	10.0	8.6	8.6	12.5	22.2
H All	44.5	9.9	10.9	10.2	11.2	13.4

the factor III+ wives do not differ very much from all wives; factor III+ wives are 3% less cognitive, 3% more coercive and attacking, not major differences. The factor III+ husbands, however, differ rather markedly from all husbands in their use of coercion or personal attack (6), using

this category 9% more often. They are less cognitive by about 6.5%, less emotionally supportive (category 3) by about 2%. The point to be noted is that these III+ husbands reverse the general sex difference on category 6 since they surpass their wives in the use of this punitive and coercive category. For four of the six couples not only is the husband above average in his use of category 6, but he also uses this category more than his wife.

Table 23 presents the antecedent-consequent matrices for the factor III+ couples. The factor III+ couples have an average number of acts per couples of 472.8 whereas the average for all couples is 329.0 acts per couple, thus indicating a strong tendency in these III+ couples to extended conflicts. To facilitate comparisons Table 23 includes the matrices for all wives and all husbands, and we have highlighted those cells of the III+ group which differ by five or more percentage points from the cells for all couples. The matrix for III+ wives is remarkably similar to the matrix for all wives, the only large discrepancies (greater than 5%) occurring in the response of coercion or personal attack (6) to resolving acts (2) and appeals (4) where the III+ wives respond with a larger percentage.

III+ husbands, on the other hand, differ by 5% or more from all husbands in nine cells. In response to every category III+ husbands use coercion or personal attack (6) proportionately more frequently than all husbands. The III+ husbands as a group are consistently more coercive and attacking than all husbands. They are correspondingly less cognitive (1) than all husbands, and in response to coercion or personal attack (6) by their wives less supportive (3) than all husbands. While as a group the III+ couples maintain the sex differences already found in all couples in responding with resolving acts (2) to resolving acts (cell 2,2) and with reconciling acts (3) to reconciling acts (cell 3,3), they reverse the sex differences in response to coercion or personal

TABLE 23

Comparison of Factor III+ Wives and Husbands with All Wives and All Husbands in Response Contingencies, Scenes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Factor III+ Wives							
1	54.8	5.9	4.8	10.9	7.2	16.3	558
2	39.4	14.8	7.7	12.7	7.0	+18.3[a]	142
3	28.3	7.5	29.2	5.8	13.3	15.8	120
4	30.3	8.4	1.7	9.2	25.2	+25.2	119
5	22.7	5.8	7.6	29.1	8.7	26.2	172
6	34.6	7.4	7.4	12.9	17.8	19.7	309
N	578	106	111	187	166	272	1420
%	40.7	7.5	7.8	13.2	11.7	19.2	
All Wives							
1	56.7	7.0	5.1	10.0	7.6	13.7	3424
2	41.8	18.3	7.9	9.5	10.7	11.8	748
3	28.6	7.6	26.9	10.2	11.8	14.9	814
4	34.4	7.0	4.0	10.6	28.3	15.6	752
5	26.2	5.4	7.1	27.5	10.6	23.2	836
6	34.6	6.1	6.2	12.0	18.9	22.1	1009
N	3313	597	606	926	929	1212	7583
%	43.7	7.9	8.0	12.2	12.3	16.0	

TABLE 23 -- Continued

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Factor III+ Husbands							
1	-50.8	11.3	4.9	7.1	7.3	+18.7	577
2	38.1	20.3	11.0	9.3	5.1	+16.1	118
3	-18.7	9.3	37.4	2.8	15.0	+16.8	107
4	-30.1	10.2	8.1	5.9	20.4	+25.3	186
5	23.6	3.6	7.9	23.0	14.5	+27.3	165
6	33.0	6.8	4.9	6.8	19.3	+29.2	264
N	540	142	122	122	177	314	1417
%	38.1	10.0	8.6	8.6	12.5	22.2	
All Husbands							
1	57.2	9.6	7.3	8.2	6.5	11.2	3321
2	39.5	20.4	15.5	8.9	7.4	8.2	582
3	27.0	8.5	35.6	6.6	11.7	10.5	588
4	39.2	8.4	8.9	7.3	22.5	13.7	926
5	28.0	7.6	9.4	24.4	11.3	19.3	922
6	37.0	9.0	9.5	9.3	16.8	18.4	1210
N	3359	744	825	767	843	1011	7549
%	44.5	9.9	10.9	10.2	11.2	13.4	

[a]The plus (+) and minus (-) signs indicate those cells in the III+ wives' or husbands' matrices which differ by 5 or more percentage points from the respective cells for all wives or all husbands.

attack (6). For in these couples the wives are relatively more supportive (3) than their husbands while the latter are strongly more punitive (6). Thus, in these couples who report and are judged to have great adjustment problems (relative to the other couples in this study) at the newlywed stage, the husbands are the ones who differ most from the rest of the sample and in the direction of greater punitiveness and less emotional supportiveness in our experimental conflicts. These husbands charge up the conflict with coerciveness, personal grievances, and disparagement.

It is particularly noteworthy to compare the III+ couples to all couples in the handling of scenes 3 and 4. Table 24 presents the matrices for scene 3. The III+ wives do not differ markedly from all wives in the way they handle the task of trying to get close to their distant husbands (cf. Table 20, scene 3). But the III+ husbands are very different from all husbands in the way they maintain distance. They have a modal response of category 6 to every category except a rejection (5) by the wife. Here again we see how the husbands in these troubled couples spread the conflict and tend to rend the relationship.

Even more remarkable is the III+ husbands' matrix for scene 4 (Table 25). The wives differ somewhat from all wives in their ways of maintaining distance; they are slightly more coercive/attacking (6) than all wives in response to all categories except a 6, but they are not less supportive and conciliatory than all wives. Their husbands, however, are much less supportive (3) and much more coercive/attacking (6) than all husbands. Indeed, when their wives appeal (4) or reject (5), these husbands respond with coercion or personal attack (6) modally, hardly the best way to achieve closeness unless their wives are particularly susceptible to coercion and personal attack. Note especially that these husbands tend to get into a tit-for-tat interaction in response to a coercion or personal attack (6) much more than all husbands and more

TABLE 24

Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor III+
Wives and Husbands for Scene 3

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
				Wives			
1	47.8	2.2	17.4	17.4	2.2	13.0	92
2	0.0	40.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	5
3	21.1	0.0	63.2	5.3	0.0	10.5	19
4	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	2
5	25.7	5.3	10.6	40.7	2.7	15.0	113
6	45.1	12.2	9.8	18.9	3.0	11.0	164
N	151	30	58	95	11	50	395
%	38.2	7.6	14.7	24.1	2.8	12.7	
				Husbands			
1	29.0	0.0	1.3	0.6	23.2	45.8	155
2	17.2	3.4	3.4	0.0	17.2	58.6	29
3	24.6	5.3	15.8	0.0	28.1	26.3	57
4	14.1	1.1	3.3	1.1	38.0	42.4	92
5	46.2	0.0	7.7	0.0	38.5	7.7	13
6	20.0	2.0	6.0	0.0	30.0	42.0	50
N	93	6	19	2	112	164	396
%	23.5	1.5	4.8	0.5	28.3	41.4	

TABLE 25

Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor III+
Wives and Husbands for Scene 4

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
				Wives			
1	49.1	3.1	2.5	1.3	14.5	29.6	159
2	32.3	12.9	12.9	3.2	9.7	29.0	31
3	22.5	5.0	27.5	0.0	22.5	22.5	40
4	25.0	10.9	1.6	1.6	32.8	28.1	64
5	9.7	9.7	3.2	12.9	32.3	32.3	31
6	21.7	1.7	5.2	7.0	41.7	22.6	115
N	141	23	27	16	114	119	440
%	32.0	5.2	6.1	3.6	25.9	27.0	
				Husbands			
1	47.1	12.1	6.4	12.9	2.1	19.3	140
2	39.1	8.7	8.7	13.0	21.7	8.7	23
3	11.5	7.7	65.4	3.8	0.0	11.5	26
4	16.7	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	38.9	18
5	18.8	1.8	6.3	24.1	12.5	36.7	112
6	38.3	5.0	4.2	7.5	12.5	32.5	120
N	148	31	42	60	39	119	439
%	33.7	7.1	9.6	13.7	8.9	27.1	

than their wives who have been given the distancing set. The III+ husbands, it would appear, do not (and perhaps cannot) avoid punitiveness even when they are instructed to try to find out what is wrong with their wives and to get close.

From the point of marriage research our findings are a major breakthrough. First of all, the N. I. M. H. group has been able to differentiate a group of six couples who are having trouble with their marriages in the first four months (three of whom are the only couples in the sample who have thus far broken up). No other study has given thought to the time element in adjustment, i. e., has attempted to differentiate adjustment problems that occur early in marriage from those that occur later. Secondly, we have been able to show differences in these troubled couples in the handling of conflict Improvisations which also point to troubled interaction. It is interesting that the III+ wives recall difficulties with their families of origin, a finding which leads Goodrich (in press) to the speculation that factor III+ couples include a majority of the wives who have neurotic problems.[1] When the Goodrich, Ryder, and Raush (in press) paper was presented at the 1966 meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, Dr. Emily Mudd as discussant raised the question: What kinds of husbands do the wives who recall early difficulties with their own families have? From our analysis of the interactions in these Improvisations, which shows that the III+ husbands are more punitive than their wives and less emotionally supportive than all husbands, we can give a partial answer to her question and raise the further question of a neurotic choice of marriage partners by the wives. These wives, who report difficulties with their own families in their formative years, have husbands who are more punishing and

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[1] A word of caution should be entered here. It is possible that the wives are influenced in their report of early family problems by the present difficulties in their marriage.

coercive than the whole sample of husbands. We cannot, of course, prove a causal connection here; but the fact that within four months of marriage these patterns are already present leads one to wonder whether these wives have not chosen husbands who will continue with them the negatively affective interactions of their childhood relationships. This whole question of causal inference is a vexing one. We do not know, for instance, whether these husbands are generally more punitive with women, i.e., whether they would act this way no matter what their wives were like, or whether their wives' idiosyncracies educe such behavior from them. We can, however, add to the generalizations we have earlier made from the survey of research. At least at the newlywed stage, in maladjusted marriages the husbands of our sample differ from all husbands far more than the unhappy wives differ from all wives and differ in ways that show them to be more coercive and attacking and less inclined toward reconciliation than all husbands in conflict Improvisations. Once again a factor in husbands is found to be related to marital adjustment.

To make even clearer the relationship of factor III to interaction in these conflict Improvisations, we can compare the III+ couples to the III- couples. Table 26 juxtaposes their matrices. The differences are striking. Not only are III- couples far more cognitive(1) and conciliatory(3) and far less appealing(4), rejecting(5), and coercive(6) than III+ couples, they also differ in these respects from all couples. The III- couples' ease of decision process is reflected in the average number of acts per couple, 249.9, versus 329.0 for all couples and 472.8 for III+ couples. In all respects, therefore, the III+ and III- couples seem to represent extremes in the handling of the conflicts of the experiment.

In the III+ couples both husbands and wives, but especially husbands, tend to spread the conflict to remarks that endanger the relationship (categories 5 and 6), whereas in the III- couples both spouses, but especially the husbands, tend to avoid such remarks. The III-

TABLE 26

Comparison of Factor III+ and Factor III- Wives and Husbands in Response Contingencies, All Scenes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Factor III+ Wives							
1	54.8	5.9	4.8	10.9	7.2	16.3	558
2	39.4	14.8	7.7	12.7	7.0	18.3	142
3	28.3	7.5	29.2	5.8	13.3	15.8	120
4	30.3	8.4	1.7	9.2	25.2	25.2	119
5	22.7	5.8	7.6	29.1	8.7	26.2	172
6	34.6	7.4	7.4	12.9	17.8	19.7	309
N	578	106	111	187	166	272	1420
%	40.7	7.5	7.8	13.2	11.7	19.2	
Factor III- Wives							
1	66.4	8.8	5.9	8.0	4.0	6.9	476
2	46.1	22.4	7.9	7.9	6.6	9.2	76
3	28.7	11.3	34.7	8.7	8.0	8.7	150
4	54.7	7.8	4.7	3.1	17.2	12.5	64
5	35.7	16.1	1.8	33.9	1.8	10.7	56
6	38.9	5.6	9.3	9.3	14.8	22.2	54
N	470	93	95	83	56	79	876
%	53.7	10.6	10.8	9.5	6.4	9.0	

TABLE 26 -- Continued

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Factor III+ Husbands							
1	50.8	11.3	4.9	7.1	7.3	18.7	577
2	38.1	20.3	11.0	9.3	5.1	16.1	118
3	18.7	9.3	37.4	2.8	15.0	16.8	107
4	30.1	10.2	8.1	5.9	20.4	25.3	186
5	23.6	3.6	7.9	23.0	14.5	27.3	165
6	33.0	6.8	4.9	6.8	19.3	29.2	264
N	540	142	122	122	177	314	1417
%	38.1	10.0	8.6	8.6	12.5	22.2	
Factor III- Husbands							
1	66.9	8.1	11.7	5.5	2.8	5.1	471
2	46.0	13.8	25.3	2.3	9.2	3.4	87
3	35.3	9.4	38.8	8.2	3.5	4.7	85
4	48.8	7.0	17.4	2.3	17.4	7.0	86
5	26.3	5.3	14.0	33.3	3.5	17.5	57
6	34.9	7.2	18.1	10.1	18.1	10.1	83
N	471	73	148	65	56	56	869
%	54.2	8.4	17.0	7.5	6.4	6.4	

husbands are much less likely than their wives and than III+ husbands and all husbands to answer coercion or personal attack (6) in kind, much more likely to respond with a reconciling act (3). The reason for the shorter conflict can be seen in these differential responses to

coercion or personal attack (6) as well as in the response distributions to cognitive acts (1). Both husbands and wives in the III- group have a far higher rate of response of cognitive acts to cognitive acts (cell 1,1) than either all couples or III+ couples; the argument stays on a cognitive level. Moreover, the next highest response rates are resolving (2) or reconciling (3) acts which lead to resolution. The III+ couples' next highest response is coercion or personal attack (6) which leads to spreading conflict. In fact, to all categories the III- couples avoid the kind of response which would tend to rend the relationship.

The rather high rate of use of reconciling acts (3) by the III- husbands is in itself an interesting finding. Even though these couples do not get involved in the kinds of conflict response which tend to disrupt the relationship, still the husbands seem to feel it necessary to spend a considerable amount of effort in reassuring and reconciling acts aimed at restoring harmony in the relationship. This finding relates to a speculation of Goodrich (in press) about the factor III- couples. He tends to see these couples as comparable to Cuber and Harroff's (1965) group of "intrinsic marriages," where couple identity, rather than individual identity, predominates, where there is deep satisfaction and excitement in mutual sharing. Cuber and Harroff find that any disturbance of this situation of mutuality tends to be experienced as such a loss that the marriage itself is threatened. Goodrich points out that this paradoxical conclusion is consistent with the notion that greater intimacy requires greater "adaptive work" of the ego and leads to a greater tendency to perceive expectable frustrations as threatening to the marriage. We believe that our independent findings about these III- couples reinforce Goodrich's speculations. The instructions for scenes 3 and 4, as noted, tend to bias responses toward rejection (5) and coercion or personal attack (6), a tendency which III- couples far more than all couples resist. The matrices for the III-

couples, in other words, are almost too good to be true. It appears as though conflict of any kind is avoided and harmony is to be maintained.

Goodrich (in press) has also speculated that the couples at the negative end of factors I, II, and IV may have the greatest degree of marital harmony and stability. We would like to be able to compare the couples in these three groups with the III- couples. Factors I- and IV- are, however, confounded by having half the couples in each group with scores one standard deviation above or below the mean on two other factors. It is, therefore, difficult to interpret these two groups. Factor II- is rather clear of clouding by other factors and is, moreover, the factor most easily compared with factor III- since it is essentially a role-sharing factor. That is, factor II- couples report a high degree of husband-involvement in housework and wife-involvement in job activity, but they do not load heavily on couple identification. These couples might well be composed of individuals with stable enough identities to allow them to engage in non-traditional marital adjustment without over-involvement in couple fusion. They might best be able to evolve a pattern of married life which allows them to achieve what Handel (1965) calls both a separateness and a connectedness, that is the ability to enjoy intimacy without loss of identity.

Table 27 allows a comparison of factor III- couples with factor II- couples (8 couples). It can be seen that the II- couples have an even lower average number of acts per couple than the III- couples (224.4 versus 249.9) although the difference is not to be pressed. But the ease of decision process does not erase evidence of conflict in the II- couples as it seems to do in the III- couples. The former are much more like all couples in the use of rejection (5) and coercion or personal attack (6). II- husbands are supportive, but not to the degree of the III- husbands. The II- couples appear able to engage in conflict and to resolve it with a minimum of fuss whereas the III-

TABLE 27

Comparison of Factor III- and Factor II- Wives and Husbands in Response Contingencies, All Scenes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Factor III- Wives							
1	66.4	8.8	5.9	8.0	4.0	6.9	476
2	46.1	22.4	7.9	7.9	6.6	9.2	76
3	28.7	11.3	34.7	8.7	8.0	8.7	150
4	54.7	7.8	4.7	3.1	17.2	12.5	64
5	35.7	16.1	1.8	33.9	1.8	10.7	56
6	38.9	5.6	9.3	9.3	14.8	22.2	54
N	470	93	95	83	56	79	876
%	53.7	10.6	10.8	9.5	6.4	9.0	
Factor II- Wives							
1	68.3	7.0	6.0	7.2	4.3	7.2	417
2	58.8	16.2	4.4	8.8	5.9	5.9	68
3	32.7	6.4	29.1	10.0	10.0	11.8	110
4	43.2	3.2	3.2	2.1	28.4	20.0	95
5	44.7	4.7	7.1	11.8	10.6	21.2	85
6	30.1	3.3	5.7	5.7	25.2	30.1	123
N	477	58	76	66	100	121	898
%	53.1	6.5	8.5	7.3	11.1	13.5	

TABLE 27 -- Continued

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Factor III- Husbands							
1	66.9	8.1	11.7	5.5	2.8	5.1	471
2	46.0	13.8	25.3	2.3	9.2	3.4	87
3	35.3	9.4	38.8	8.2	3.5	4.7	85
4	48.8	7.0	17.4	2.3	17.4	7.0	86
5	26.3	5.3	14.0	33.3	3.5	17.5	57
6	34.9	7.2	18.1	10.1	18.1	10.1	83
N	471	73	148	65	56	56	869
%	54.2	8.4	17.0	7.5	6.4	6.4	
Factor II- Husbands							
1	56.9	8.7	8.5	9.3	6.4	10.1	483
2	40.4	11.5	25.0	3.8	9.6	9.6	52
3	27.8	4.2	41.7	6.9	11.1	8.3	72
4	49.3	9.9	11.3	4.2	19.7	5.6	71
5	20.2	3.0	9.1	28.3	9.1	30.3	99
6	30.0	5.8	10.8	10.8	18.3	24.2	120
N	407	68	114	96	89	123	897
%	45.4	7.6	12.7	10.7	9.9	13.7	

couples tend to avoid conflict and the husbands tend to spend a great deal of time on preserving and insuring harmony. If Coser's (1956) theories about the inevitability of conflict in intimate relationships

and the need for an ability to ventilate hostile feelings are correct, we have evidence for Goodrich's (in press) theorizing about factor III- couples. They seem at this stage and in these Improvisations to avoid the open expression of hostility, whereas the II- couples do express it and, more importantly, unlike the III+ couples, can also get over it in short order.

Our analyses of these three groups lead us to the following conclusions: (1) Role-sharing couples (II-) give vent to the inevitable hostility any close relationship will engender, but easily get over it; our speculation would be that they have developed ways of handling conflict that allow for open expresseion without leaving lasting scars. (2) Couples who stress mutual identification (III-) do not express hostility in these Improvisations, and we would speculate with Goodrich (in press) that these couples might develop serious marital difficulties when and if tensions accumulate. (3) Couples already in openly conflicted marriages after only four months of married life (III+) do give vent to their hostility, but have not developed the ways of modulating the conflict so that lasting scars are avoided; with these couples husbands, especially, do not play the supportive role that our data have shown to be characteristic of the majority of these newlywed husbands.

When we now move to a discussion of the interaction contingencies of the other factors, we are on much more tentative ground. It is difficult to say what kinds of interactions are to be expected or even that the interactions of couples high on one factor should be different from those of couples high on another. We present these data for perusal, but our attempts at understanding what goes on must be taken as quite speculative.

Factor II+ (defined as a traditional role orientation) presents one interesting contrast to factor III+. While the wives in the III+

group recall difficulties with their families of origin, the husbands of the II+ group recall such difficulties. The question is whether the wives of the II+ husbands are as punitive as the husbands of the III+ wives. We would not expect this result since the II+ wives are considered homebodies with a more traditional orientation to marriage, and thus not likely to be overly hostile toward their husbands in these Improvisations. Three couples scored one and one-half standard deviations or more above the mean on this factor, five others at least one standard deviation above the mean, giving us eight couples in this group. In point of fact, as Table 28 shows, the II+ wives are only slightly more rejecting and coercive/attacking than all wives while their husbands are also only slightly more coercive/attacking than all husbands. Even within the matrices the differences from all couples are slight.

TABLE 28

Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor II+
Wives and Husbands, All Scenes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Wives							
1	49.4	6.4	5.1	10.7	8.3	20.1	642
2	36.8	17.4	9.0	7.1	14.2	15.5	155
3	24.4	9.0	25.6	10.9	14.7	15.4	156
4	34.9	6.5	4.1	13.6	32.0	8.9	169
5	22.9	5.6	9.5	26.3	11.2	24.6	179
6	27.6	11.8	7.7	8.1	24.0	20.7	246
N	580	132	130	187	231	287	1547
%	37.5	8.5	8.4	12.1	14.9	18.6	
Husbands							
1	54.2	9.4	6.7	9.9	6.9	13.0	598
2	36.0	15.2	11.2	11.2	6.4	20.0	125
3	21.8	12.1	29.0	6.5	14.5	16.1	124
4	31.5	9.9	8.3	12.7	23.2	14.4	181
5	24.3	7.5	11.1	25.2	9.7	22.1	226
6	40.8	10.3	7.9	5.1	18.2	17.8	292
N	627	155	153	176	184	251	1546
%	40.6	10.0	9.9	11.4	11.9	16.2	

Four of the eight factor II+ wives, however, do not have a modal response rate in category 1. Two of them have a mode in coercion or personal attack (6), one in rejection (5), one in appeals (4, with a heavy concentration of rejection also) as can be seen in Table 29.

TABLE 29

Response Distributions in Percentages of Four of the Eight Wives High on Factor II+

Wife Number	Categories					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
61	23.9	4.5	10.2	20.4	27.3	13.6
71	26.6	3.7	6.4	34.9	22.0	6.4
75	25.5	7.5	12.3	3.8	14.2	36.8
94	31.2	4.1	3.2	10.1	19.2	32.2

Of only one other couple in our whole sample can it be said that the wife's modal response is not category 1. Perhaps, then, there is a tendency for men who have difficulties at home in their formative years to choose wives who continue the negatively charged emotional interactions of their homes. Perhaps, too, the traditional homebody role is embraced by some wives with a residue of unconscious hostility toward the role. At present we can say no more. Goodrich (in press) speculates that the II+ couples might show later marital difficulties. In analyses of the data from the later stages of the marriage close attention should be paid to the interactions of these II+ couples.

When we come to the couples scoring positively on factors I and IV, the factors which indicate close interactive ties to husband's and wife's family of origin respectively, we are in more of a quandry as

to what to expect of the interaction process. The fact that six of our forty-six couples score at or above one and one-half standard deviations from the mean and three others at or above one standard deviation from the mean on factor I is surprising. One would not think that so large a proportion of couples would have close interactive ties with the husbands' families. One expects close interactive ties to the wife's family in our culture, but a family-bound husband brings up thoughts of Oedipal attachment to mother and an inability to break away from home. Komarovsky (1955) reports that a number of studies have shown that daughters are much more dependent on and less emancipated from their families of origin than sons. In our sample only four couples scored at least one and one-half standard deviations above the mean on factor IV (closeness to wife's family) and four more between one and one and one-half standard deviations above the mean. Our sample, therefore, seems unusual in the proportion of couples in which the husband maintains close ties to his family of origin. It is intriguing, too, that these husbands were negatively evaluated by the interviewers. We would expect, therefore, more difficulties in the factor I+ couples than the factor IV+ couples.

Table 30 presents the matrices for the wives and husbands scoring high on factor I. The only noteworthy fact about these data is the length of the interaction. Factor I+ couples average 464.6 acts per couple as against 329.0 acts per couple for our whole sample. In length these couples are like the troubled couples of factor III+. However, the I+ couples differ only minimally, if at all, from all couples in their response contingencies. In other words, these couples spend an average of about 150 acts longer on the conflicts provided by the experiment without doing anything markedly different (that our coding can pick up, at any rate) from all couples. The matrices would indicate that these couples continually run around the same circles without being able to

TABLE 30

Response Contingencies[1] Matrices of Factor I+
Wives and Husbands, All Scenes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Wives							
1	54.8	4.7	3.9	11.1	11.1	14.5	957
2	40.2	17.4	5.8	9.4	15.6	11.6	224
3	23.1	8.7	26.6	10.4	14.5	16.8	173
4	30.6	5.6	3.0	12.5	34.5	13.8	232
5	21.7	3.8	5.1	26.8	18.3	24.3	235
6	34.4	9.1	6.5	12.7	18.5	18.8	276
N	871	146	133	272	340	335	2097
%	41.5	7.0	6.3	13.0	16.2	16.0	
Husbands							
1	58.5	10.6	4.1	8.4	6.8	11.7	870
2	36.0	22.7	12.0	10.0	6.0	13.3	150
3	22.7	8.3	38.6	5.3	12.1	12.9	132
4	40.3	8.2	9.0	7.1	19.4	16.0	268
5	34.2	9.4	5.5	24.8	13.9	12.1	330
6	39.2	10.5	8.4	10.2	15.3	16.5	334
N	944	225	175	230	233	277	2084
%	45.3	10.8	8.4	11.0	11.2	13.3	

stop and yet without doing anything intriguing in the process. Why these particular couples interact this way is anybody's guess. Could it be that here there is a tendency to talk without communication? Be it noted that included in the nine factor I+ couples is the shortest couple of all with only 34 acts over all four scenes. Five of the other eight have over 600 acts and two of these are the longest couples in the whole sample. The other thing to be noted is that the factor I+ couples are relatively clear of contamination by other factors. Thus, whatever it is that causes the lengthened interactions, it seems to reside in the kinds of things which differentiate factor I couples from the rest of the sample. One wonders whether talk without communication lies behind the interviewers' negative reactions to these husbands. Does the talk mask a deep-seated uneasiness with the self as a male? These are questions we cannot answer at the present time.

The matrices for the factor IV+ couples are presented in Table 31. Here, in contrast to factor I+ couples, the length of the scenes is well below average, even lower than the III- couples. Factor IV+ couples average 227.6 acts per couple. The interaction contingencies also resemble those of the III- couples. We do not have any hypotheses to explain these data.

We end this section on couple differences by noting again that our most important finding has to do with factor III couples. Those couples who score positively on this factor and thus are experiencing early marital maladjustment differ markedly in their interactions from those who score negatively on the factor. Our discussion of the interaction of the couples scoring positively or negatively on the other factors has to be considered much more tentative and exploratory.

TABLE 31

Response Contingencies' Matrices of Factor IV+
Wives and Husbands, All Scenes Combined

Antecedent Categories	Consequent Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
				Wives			
1	62.1	7.4	8.4	8.2	5.3	8.6	488
2	52.9	14.7	10.3	8.8	4.4	8.8	68
3	33.1	6.3	30.3	13.4	8.5	8.5	142
4	48.1	7.7	5.8	9.6	20.2	8.7	104
5	40.0	15.0	5.0	12.5	0.0	27.5	40
6	36.7	5.1	11.4	19.0	5.1	22.8	79
N	481	73	108	95	66	98	921
%	52.2	7.9	11.7	10.3	7.2	10.6	
				Husbands			
1	62.8	6.2	11.5	10.9	2.1	6.6	470
2	49.2	15.9	19.0	9.5	3.2	3.2	63
3	32.3	10.4	37.5	7.3	2.1	10.4	96
4	47.5	6.9	15.8	8.9	6.9	13.9	101
5	28.6	5.7	12.9	34.3	5.7	12.9	70
6	48.0	9.0	12.0	7.0	12.0	12.0	100
N	473	69	139	104	37	78	900
%	52.6	7.7	15.4	11.6	4.1	8.7	

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study presented in these pages is part of a larger project begun at the National Institute of Mental Health to study the early stages of family development. Forty-eight white, middle-class, newlywed couples were interviewed intensively and subjected to various experimental procedures four months after marriage. An attempt was made to follow up these same couples during their first pregnancy and after the birth of the baby. The present study analyzes the interactions of forty-six of these couples in quasi-experimental, quasi-naturalistic conflict situations, called Improvisations, at the newlywed stage. The Improvisations consist of four scenes where the instructions are such as to set up a conflict between the spouses. Subjects are instructed to be themselves in these scenes. All Improvisations were tape recorded and then transcribed.

A Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict consisting of thirty-six action categories was developed for the analysis of the data from these Improvisations. With this scheme three coders coded each couple independently act by act using the tape and the transcript. On a sample of five couples the three coders agreed completely on 36.4% of the acts; two out of three coders agreed on 39.7% of the acts, thus leaving 23.9% of the acts with no inter-coder agreement. To arrive at a consensus coding for every act (called the standard) two coders worked together, using the independent codings as a base, but re-listening to the tape and re-reading the transcript. For twenty-one couples the independent codings agreed with the standard about 65% of

the time. When the thirty-six categories were lumped into a twelve category scheme this agreement reached 70%. After a year's interval the original coding process was repeated on three couples and the standards agreed 70% of the time with thirty-six categories, 75% when the thirty-six were lumped into twelve, and 77% when the categories were lumped into the six category scheme finally used in the data analysis. New coders coded the same three couples, and their percent agreements with the standards of the old coders were about the same as those just quoted. The ways in which the three independent coders ranked the individuals in relative use of the six categories used in the analysis were correlated yielding 18 rhos (6 categories x 3 coders) which ranged from .452 to .804 with at least two coders correlating above .63 for every category. The reliability of the coding scheme and the coding process, as measured by various criteria, seemed sufficiently good to justify its use for analysis.

In the analysis the Introductory phase (all acts occurring before the conflict was joined) was dropped because this phase would have added more category 1 codes that were largely uninteresting to a category already overloaded. The data thus involved 15,132 acts of the spouses. Six by six contingency matrices were computed for each individual and each couple for each scene and all scenes combined. These contingency matrices tallied the frequencies with which each category was used in response to each category. Contingency matrices for all wives and all husbands for each scene and all scenes were also computed.

An information analysis of the sex, scene, antecedent, and consequent variables yielded significant sex, scene, and antecedent main effects and interaction effects. Certain categories evoke certain categories more than would be expected. Cognitive acts (1) follow cognitive acts; resolving acts (2) follow resolving acts; reconciling acts (3)

follow reconciling acts; appeals (4) and coercion or personal attack (6) follow rejection (5); rejection (5) and coercion or personal attack (6) follow coercion or personal attack. It is not surprising that these newlywed couples did not in general lose sight of the need for resolution and reconciliation in these conflict Improvisations.

The more surprising results have to do with sex differences. While the amount of information reduction in the consequent act accounted for by sex differences alone was disappointingly small, meaning that the two sexes do not differ substantially in their response distributions, still the differences are apparently different from what would be predicted by the instrumental-expressive theory of sex roles of Parsons and Bales (1955). In our sample of newlyweds, husbands consistently use more resolving (2) and reconciling (3) acts, while wives consistently use more coercion or personal attack (6). Wives consistently use appeals (4) more than husbands, a finding which is not surprising. Scenes 1 and 2 combined, since they do not bias responses in any direction, allow the clearest look at these sex differences. Husbands in response to every category use resolving (2) and reconciling (3) acts more than wives. Wives, on the other hand, use coercion or personal attack (6) and appeals (4) more in response to every category. Wives are especially prone to respond with coercion or personal attack (6) when rejected (5) or coerced (6) themselves, thus engaging more in the kind of tit-for-tat behavior that charges up the conflict. We related these sex differences to the research which finds wives, especially those of the middle class, more dependent and anxious, less self-confident, self-sufficient and self-accepting. We speculated that these factors in wives might lead them to be more concerned with winning in conflicts, especially at the newlywed stage, which is probably a more difficult transitional stage for them than for their husbands. Husbands continue their careers and know that they will continue them; wives who continue working after marriage (all of our sample)

know that jobs will soon be interrupted by child-bearing and -rearing, which in some could be a cause of resentment. For others who look forward to child-bearing as their fulfillment, the newlywed stage is transitional and, if there is latent penis-envy (in the broad sense), leaves them still feeling inferior and, perhaps, again resentful. At this stage, at any rate, we find husbands more supportive on the average than their wives. Moreover, we also find that in those marriages which are troubled at this stage the husbands are less supportive than the whole sample of men and more coercing or attacking (6) than all husbands and than their wives. Both these findings lead us to the conclusion that husband supportiveness is somehow related to early couple adjustment to marriage although we are not in a position to make a causal inference.

Our findings, however, do corroborate those researchers who have questioned the instrumental-expressive role theory of marital interaction within the dyad (e.g., Levinger, 1964). It will be interesting to investigate the sex differences at the pregnancy and first baby stages of the marriage in the couples who were followed up. With our procedures and the design we will be able to compare the couples who got pregnant with the control couples who did not and may thus be in a better position to understand the complex interaction process of married couples. Further research might attempt to differentiate wives on the basis of whether they see their fulfillment in child-bearing or in career. It would also be of theoretical and practical interest to test the hypothesis that supportiveness in either husbands or wives is a function of the power relationships they experience with one another. This suggestion for future research follows a lead provided by Solomon's (1960) study of the influence of power relationships on trusting behavior in experimental games. It might be that the relative degree of supportiveness in the dyad could be an index of the "real" or felt (rather than reported) balance of dominance

or power in the relationship, the more supportive spouse being the more dominant one (or more self-assured, confident, etc.). Our data suggest these leads.

The second analysis used the couples, sex, antecedent categories, and consequent categories as variables. The couple variable alone accounted for a 4.71% reduction in the uncertainty of the consequent. With sex controlled, this jumped to 6.62%; with antecedent controlled, to 7.56%; and with both sex and antecedent controlled, to 11.81%. With couple differences controlled, the sex variable reduced the uncertainty of the consequent by 2.09%; with couple differences and the antecedent controlled, by 4.58%. Couples do differ significantly in these Improvisations, and husbands and wives vary significantly across couples.

Independent work at N. I. M. H. on all data except the Improvisations yielded four bi-polar factors and scores on each factor for each couple. We put extreme scorers (one standard deviation or more from the mean) on each factor into factor groups and combined the contingency matrices of the individuals of each group. The factor III+ group were those six couples who reported trouble with the marriage and frequent disagreements and whose marriage was negatively evaluated by the interviewers. Wives in this group reported difficulties with their families of origin. Three of the six couples were divorced as of the latest follow-up (the only three marital breakups in the whole sample thus far). The most noteworthy thing about the contingency matrices of these couples was the way the husbands exceeded all husbands and their own wives (thus reversing the general sex difference found) in the proportionate use of coercion or personal attack (6). These husbands were very punitive, especially in response to a coercion or personal attack (6). Moreover, even in the fourth scene, where the instructions to the husband should bias him toward resolving (2) and

and reconciling (3) acts, these husbands are excessively punitive. Their wives, on the other hand, do not differ much from all wives in their matrices. In addition, these couples average almost 150 more acts than do all couples, thus indicating a propensity to extended conflicts. The survey of research showed that a number of factors in husbands seem more strongly related to marital adjustment than factors in wives. Our findings fit into this generalization. Our data suggest, in a limited middle-class sample, that the couples who are in early trouble have husbands who are not as supportive as the average husband and much more punitive. We speculated on the possibility that these troubled marriages are of the sado-masochistic type with the wives continuing in their marriages the self-reported unhappy relationships of childhood by marrying punitive husbands. It is impossible, of course, to make causal affirmations.

Seven couples comprised the group at the opposite end of factor III (the factor III- group). These couples are characterized by the factor scores as showing great mutual empathy and support, an easy decision process, and a couple rather than individual identification. These couples were found to be polar opposites to the factor III+ group in the Improvisations. Both spouses avoided the relationship-threatening categories (5 and 6) and were high on resolving (2) and reconciling (3) acts, with both of these things being much more true of husbands than wives. Moreover, they averaged 80 acts less than the average of all couples, thus corroborating the interviewers' ratings (from other data) of easy decision process.

We found that the eight couples who comprised the factor II- (role-sharing couples) had just as easy a decision process as the III- couples, but, unlike the III- couples, they engaged in heated exchanges as almost required by the instructions for scenes 3 and 4. These II- couples averaged about 105 acts less than the average of all couples,

yet were more like all couples in the proportionate use of categories 5 and 6. Goodrich (in press) has speculated that the II- couples in contrast to the III- couples might have the greater degree of marital harmony and stability. Our findings suggest why this might be so. The review of some of the conflict literature pointed out that the open expression of hostility in a close and trusting relationship may be not only healthy for the relationship but also an index of its stability. Our II- couples seem much more able than the III- couples to express hostile feelings and, in contrast to the III+ couples, get over it quickly. The fact that the II- couples form a role-sharing group leads us to speculate that these individuals have stable enough identities that they are best equipped to handle the intimacy stage of development which seems to require both connectedness and separateness (Handel, 1965).

Let us conclude this section on these three groups by re-stating the following conclusions: (1) Role-sharing couples (II-) seem able to give vent to the inevitable hostility any close relationship will engender and yet get over it quickly. (2) Couples who stress mutual identification (III-) do not express much hostility and thus may be in for serious marital difficulty when and if tensions accumulate. (3) Couples already in openly conflicted marriages after four months of married life (III+) can give vent to their hostility, but they do not seem to have developed ways of modulating the conflict; husbands especially do not play the supportive role that from our data is characteristic of the majority of the newlywed husbands in our sample.

We approached the other factor groups in a much more exploratory fashion. Some tentative suggestions emerged from our analysis. In the factor II+ group of couples (traditional role orientation) we pointed to a tendency for husbands who report unhappy family backgrounds to have wives who are punitive in the conflict situations (somewhat parallel to the III+ wives with punitive husbands). Factor I+

(closeness to husband's family) seems related to amount of communication activity (much longer interactions than average) but not to the nature of the interactions (the contingencies do not differ from the average). Factor IV+ couples (close to wife's family) had matrices similar to those of the III- group, and we contented ourselves with pointing out this fact. These preliminary findings may be leads for further research. The author is especially intrigued by the couples who maintain close ties with the husband's family of origin (factor I+). A more intensive study of such couples seems in order to ascertain not only what it is about the husbands that keeps them tied to their own families, but also what kinds of women they marry. The hunch is that these men are dependent types, but further research is needed.

At the end of this long study we can say with a certain amount of confidence that the Improvisations procedure and our coding provide data on newlywed couples which reflect something about their married lives. This is something new in the field of marriage research. No other study to our knowledge has related observed interaction either in a natural setting or in a quasi-experimental setting to any criterion, let alone to an independently arrived at factorial typology of early marriages. The fact that we found significant differences between couples is hardly surprising; the fact, however, that the several groups isolated by the factorial study differ markedly from one another in their response contingencies' matrices in ways that make sense given an understanding of the factors--and this with a rather small sample--is remarkable. The most notable contribution is the isolation of two groups of couples who after the first four months of marriage have diametrically opposed modes of interacting in these conflict Improvisations and are judged independently to have opposite marital orientations--one group being more couple oriented, the other more individually oriented. The question our data raise is whether the kinds of

trouble experienced by the individually oriented couples (factor III+) could have been detected prior to marriage. We suggest the possibility that research with our instrument on engaged couples would have practical as well as theoretical advantages.

We look forward to the follow-up of this sample although we realize that the shrinkage in sample size will make the results more tentative. However, we want to see whether the patterns of interaction at the newlywed stage are stable over time, or more realistically, which patterns are stable. We want to investigate what effect, if any, the expectation and arrival of a child has on the interactions of these couples. Moreover, we shall be interested to see whether with pregnancy and birth the sex differences we have noted change. Do women become less punitive and more supportive with the advent of the child? Do men become more punitive and less supportive? Again, our expectation would be that couples and individuals differ depending on intrapersonal and interpersonal factors. The longitudinal design, while expensive, seems to be the only way to answer such questions.

The design of the Improvisations procedure would be considerably improved by a randomization of the order of presenting the scenes. With the present design it is difficult to analyze scene differences, and sex differences are probably confounded. With this procedure the most difficult problem is that of getting a long enough interaction to produce adequate sampling. We do not know how to change this with the Improvisations procedure. Setting a minimum time limit would introduce an artificiality which would vitiate the purported aim of the instructions, to have them act as themselves in the situation and reach their own resolution. Perhaps additional scenes that match each of the types of conflict used in the present four scenes could be developed and used to increase the N for each type of conflict. This suggestion would not, however, be of help to anyone who wanted to fit mathematical

models to the process of interaction.[1]

Rapoport and Chammah's (1965) use of the Prisoner's Dilemma game to develop parameters of psychological utility is intriguing as a research possibility, especially given their findings of extreme sex differences in cooperation and defection and their conclusion that the process of interaction itself seems to lead to these differences. It is difficult to fit our own findings to theirs because of the different methods and populations. However, we would suggest that future research on couples might investigate the applicability of games such as Prisoner's Dilemma to the study of couples. We would speculate that there would be large differences between the individually oriented (factor III+) and the couple identified (III-) couples with the level of cooperation and "lock in" on cooperative choices much higher in the III- couples.

As a final note we would suggest the use of the six category scheme (instead of all thirty-six categories) of the Coding Scheme for Interpersonal Conflict in future research. Not only would the coding process be easier and less time-consuming without any apparent loss of validity, but also inter-coder agreement could not help but be increased by the lessening of the number of categories. Given the problem of N, the scheme has to be reduced for analysis from thirty-six to more manageable proportions as we found out. It might as well be done earlier as later.

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[1]Richard Hertel is attempting to fit Markov models to our data for his Ph.D. dissertation. The sampling problem plagues his work.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MANUAL
CODING SCHEME FOR INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Acts

I. An act is defined as the statement or action of one person bounded by the statement or action of another. That is, except for the first and last act in a series of interchanges, an act is initiated by the actor's statement or action and it terminates when the statement or action of another begins. Thus, an act may be a lengthy statement, a sentence, a phrase, or a word; it may end at a natural termination point or it may be interrupted by the act of another. In our present work we have coded primarily verbal acts, but acts may also be gestures, expressions, or other physical motions.

II. Each act receives two labels: a coding for Action Category and a coding for Phase.

Action Categories

I. Category coding involves specific acts. The position taken by the coder is that of the generalized other. The question he must answer is: What would I feel was being done to me if I were the recipient of this particular act? The coder must judge this in two contexts: (1) the actor's knowledge of the setting, including any instructions he may have received about the conflict situation; and (2) what has gone on in the interchange up to the specific act now being coded. That is, an Action Category coding may be influenced by preceding codings, but the coder must avoid special knowledge or influence of subsequent events. He therefore avoids reading or listening ahead of the act he is coding. A particular danger is that coders might try to interpret an act

too deeply. The judgment must be at a relatively, but not completely, naive level: How would the recipient judge what was being done to him? Thus, for example, a statement in the form of a question might represent a request for information, or an expression of personal concern, or an attack, etc. The coder must differentiate among these, irrespective of the form of the statement, by taking the position of the recipient.

II. There are 36 Action Categories. These presumably cover the potentialities for the interactions of two participants in a conflict situation. The categories may be roughly classified as either cognitive, affiliative, or coercive, and they are listed as such in the body of the manual as an aid to the coder. Within this rough classification the categories are ordered roughly according to their "intensity" (see below). Each act is coded by selection from the 36 Action Categories. Following coding, data may be lumped according to any of several schemes (see below).

Phases

I. In addition to its specific coding represented by the Action Category, each act is coded according to the Phase of the conflict situation in which it occurs. The Phase coding indicates the general position of the participants with respect to the flow of the conflict situation. There are three Phases:

A. Introductory: acts prior to the introduction of the conflict issue;

B. Conflict: opening with the first statement of the conflict issue and continuing until the introduction of an agreed-upon resolution; and

C. Resolution and Post-resolution: the achievement of a resolution and subsequent discussion.[1]

II. The judgment of Phase is taken from the vantage point of the coder. The coder must judge the position of the participants with respect to the conflict: Is it before, during, after? In contrast to Action Category coding, the coder does not take the position of the generalized other. The coder is thus permitted to revise his coding of Phase if additional information leads to an alteration of judgment.

Double Coding

The general policy is to minimize double codes. Double codes may be used when:

(1) there is a change of Phase within a single act; for example, the act may follow an introductory remark with the statement of the conflict issue, or a conflict statement may be followed by a suggestion for resolution;

(2) the first part of an act is in response to the other's statement, while the later part initiates an event requiring another coding;

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[1] The initial scheme for Phase coding consisted of six phases: phases for Tempering the Conflict and for Avoidance of Conflict were eliminated partly because of infrequency of occurrence and partly because these aspects were sufficiently reflected in the Action Category codings. A differentiation between Resolution and Post-resolution was eliminated because Resolution most often consisted of no more than three acts.

(3) there is too much data in the act to handle with a single coding; for example, tone may change from coercive to affiliative, cognitive to coercive, etc.

Acts are not double coded:

(1) when they are ambiguous to the coder; a decision must be made as to the "best" single code;

(2) when there is disagreement among coders; here, too, a decision as to a "best" single code must be made (see Consensus Coding below).

Triple codes are never used.

By convention (because of our data-analytic requirements), there cannot be two successive double codes; that is, at least one single-coded act must appear between two acts, both of which are double coded. If the rules do not allow the coder to double code, in a situation where double coding would seem warranted, he must judge which single aspect of an act is most important and code accordingly.

Procedures

I. In coding, a column of the coding sheet is designated for each participant. Acts are numbered successively at the left hand margin, beginning with 1., then going on to the final act. The coder codes each act successively without listening or reading ahead. As noted above, Phase codes, but not Action Category codings, may be modified by subsequent considerations.

II. A procedure we have used involves two steps: independent coding and consensus coding:

A. Independent Coding: Each coder codes the material independently. He proceeds successively through

the series of acts, coding each act into one of the three Phases and into one (or, in the case of double coding, two) of the 36 Action Categories. In our own work we have used tape recordings and type transcripts simultaneously; two or three independent coders coded each set of materials.

B. Consensus Coding: Consensus coders work conjointly. They repeat the procedures of the independent coders, but have available to them, in addition to the raw materials (tapes and transcripts, for example), the codings of the independent coders. Using the independent codings as a basis, the consensus coders together arrive at a judgment for the coding of a given act. This judgment becomes the standard code. Consensus requires at least two coders. In some of our work consensus and independent coders overlap--that is, one of the independent coders also codes in the consensus procedures; currently, consensus is done by coders other than those who did the independent codings. Obviously, the more experienced coders should be used for consensus.

Coder Training

Initially new coders are familiarized with the coding categories. There is, however, no pressure toward memorizing the scheme since a listing of the Action Categories and Phases is always available. If experienced coders and previous standard judgments are available, then, as new coders begin to code material, the experienced coder

works with them, helping them compare their judgments with previously arrived at consensus. When they begin to feel somewhat comfortable with the procedures, new coders undertake independent coding; they then meet jointly and, under the guidance of an experienced coder (if available), discuss consensus, comparing their consensus judgments with the previous standards (again, if available). The final step is for new coders to work together establishing standard codings without supervision. Their standard codings are then compared to the standard codings established by experienced coders (if available). We find that after 60 to 100 hours of training, spread over three to four weeks, standard codes of new coders agree 67% with the standard codes of experienced coders over the 36 Action Categories. This compares reasonably well with the reliability of experienced coders (approximately 70% absolute agreement). Reliability studies are discussed in a research paper by Jeff A. Epstein (1967).

Lumping

As presently constituted, the Action Categories are comprised of 36 discrete units. These presumably cover all possible acts in a conflict situation. The number 36 is, of course, arbitrary; in fact, the original scheme consisted of 40+ categories. The 36 categories seem, however, reasonably discriminable. For some purposes, though, this differentiation is too fine. Either theoretical considerations or practical limitations in frequencies may suggest a need for lumping. We have already noted that the categories may be roughly divided into cognitive, affiliative, and coercive groupings. Such a division is, however, overly crude. One compromise lumps the 36 categories into 12. These 12 categories are noted in the final section of the manual together with the specific categories of which they are com-

prised. A second scheme lumping the 36 categories into 6 new categories is also noted in the final section of the manual. Other forms of lumping are, of course, possible. The lumping has not affected the coding procedure since it involves solely a grouping of data following coding. With lumping into the 12 categories, reliability shifts from about 70% absolute agreement with 36 categories to about 75% absolute agreement. Coding on the basis of the 12 categories has not been undertaken and its reliability cannot be estimated. With lumping into the 6 categories, reliability shifts from about 70% absolute agreement with 36 categories, to about 77% absolute agreement.

ACTION CATEGORY CODING

Cognitive Acts

0. Conventional remarks:

---Use: A remark that is ritualistic, cultural, or "social" in its implication. Conventional remarks rarely convey information. Obvious conventional remarks used in greeting and parting (see examples).

---Conventions and Confusions: The coder must judge that the remark is purely conventional and not intended to convey or elicit information. For example, "How are you?" as a greeting is 0. rather than 2.

---Examples:

"Hello, dear."

"How are you?"

"Happy anniversary."

"Nice day isn't it?"

"See you later."

"So long."

1. Opening the issue or probe:

---Use: A move toward bringing an issue or problem into the open. Code represents a preliminary step prior to overtly facing an issue. It says, in a sense, "there is something to be talked about," or primes the other for a course of action, but the substantive issue is not stated.

---Conventions and Confusions: At times 1. may be mistaken for 0., 2., or 3. It appears frequently as the first communication to break the conventionality barrier. For coding purposes it is very important to keep the set of the

"generalized other." The coder may know the purpose of the speaker, but the one to whom the speaker speaks may not. Hence, coding 1. should be used only when the listener, without special knowledge, would know that the speaker is probing or opening the issue.

---Examples:

"I have a surprise for you."

"Honey?" (Said in tone of "I have something to say.")

"Something on your mind?"

"What's that smile for?"

2. Seeking information:

---Use: Attempts to find out factual information. It cannot be emphasized enough that this is solely to elicit factual information.

---Conventions and Confusions: A question does not necessarily indicate a 2., and not all 2.'s are in the form of a question. The function of the statement is the essential determinant.

---Examples:

"What time is it?"

"What are you making?"

"Tell me more."

(Examples ordinarily not 2. -- "How are you?" is usually 0. "What's the matter with you?" is usually 21.)

3. Giving information:

---Use: Presentation of factual information.

---Conventions and Confusions: Does not necessarily have to be in answer to a question. Generally well differentiated from the other categories, though at times confused with 5., especially if a move toward action is implicit. If statement

is for any purpose other than to give information, another coding should be used. Again the coder should take the position of the "generalized other" who is not privy to special information.

---Examples:

"It's 10 o'clock."

"I'm finished with the dishes."

4. Withholding information:

---Use: Attempts to conceal or disguise plans or feelings the other wishes knowledge about without implying rejection of the other.

---Conventions and Confusions: One must judge that refusal to answer other's question is not rejection of other but merely an unwillingness to answer without strong emotional impact. For example, "What's the matter?" -- "Nothing." Context and tone important for making judgment of code. Should be discriminated from 45.

---Examples:

A: ("I've got a surprise." = 1.)

B: ("What's the surprise?" = 2.)

A: "I'm not telling." = 4.

Other examples are not presented because they depend too much on context and tone.

5. Suggesting a course of action:

---Use: Could be in the form of a declaration or question.

---Conventions and Confusions: 5. can be differentiated from 47. by the tone of voice and the context.

---Examples:

"Let's stay home."

"How about going out to dinner?"

"Why don't you go wash up?"

"Come on over and sit down."

6. Agreeing with statement of other:

---Use: Verbal equivalent to a behavioral nod.

---Conventions and Confusions: Represents a fairly cursory agreement, saying, in effect, "Go on; tell me more." Discriminated from 23. by the fact that 23. is a real acceptance of what other has said, whereas 6. is more cursory and conventional. "Yes, but . . . ." is usually 11. not 6.

---Examples:

"Okay." (cursory)

"Uh huh."

"Mm hm."

A: ("Let's go to the show." = 5.)

B: ("Okay." = 23.)

A: "Okay." = 6.

7. Giving cognitive reasons for a course of action:

---Use: Most frequently in support of one's own intention but can also be presentation of reasons for following other person's course of action. The category reflects rational arguments. When emotional elements enter, the coding is no longer 7.

---Conventions and Confusions: If the statement is made supporting own argument in denying other's argument, it is coded 11. If it is merely sustaining one's own position, then it is coded as 7. A suggestion for a course of action (5.) when nested within arguments for such action tends to be coded as 7.

---Examples:

"Let's go because I already have the tickets."

"There are three reasons why we should do this."

("That's true, but I've already cooked the dinner." = 11.)

8. Exploring the consequences of a course of action:

---Use: Typically a cognitive exploration of "What will happen if . . . ."

---Conventions and Confusions: 8. tends to appear when people are close to agreeing on a course of action and are ready to explore the implications of their decision. 8. is the cognitive counterpart of 21. and 24. If elements of concern for other's feelings (21.) or the seeking of reassurance (24.) appear, these take precedence. As compared to 29., which is concern with the general relationship and which has an affiliative component, 8. is oriented toward a specific course of action and is more cognitive.

---Examples:

"Will the food keep if we go out to dinner?"

"What will happen if we do . . . ."

(Examples often confused with 8. --

"Would you be upset if we do this?" = 21.

"Are you angry at me for this?" = 24.

"Well, how shall we settle this?" = 29.)

10. Giving up or leaving the field:

---Use: This category is used when the statement would be received by the other as genuine "I give up" rather than as a tactic to induce or to force the other to give in to one's demands.

---Conventions and Confusions: Should be distinguished from

rejection (45.) and guilt inducement (51.). 10. is leaving the field of interaction.

---Examples:

"I give up."

"I quit."

"I'm going to bed."

"I don't know what to do."

11. Denying the validity of other's argument with or without the use of counter-arguments:

---Use: This is a cognitively oriented category. Emphasis is on rational argument.

---Conventions and Confusions: If there is any element of negation of the other's argument, score as 11. not 7. 11. is distinguished from 45., which is stronger, more abrasive, more emotionally charged. 11. is distinguished from 51., which is an assault of a more personal and emotional nature

---Examples:

"Yes, but . . . ."

"I see no reason for . . . ."

"Yes, I did . . . ."

"No, I didn't . . . ."

"I don't agree with that."

13. Changing the subject; shifting the topic of conversation:

---Use: Attempts to delay or effect a temporary pause in the conflict. The recipient would perceive this as a diversion from the topic under discussion, and would not see it as an attempt on the part of the sender to win the argument.

---Conventions and Confusions: In contrast to a 13., a 26. would be received by the generalized other more as a mani-

pulative technique by the sender to win his point.

---Examples:

"Look at that cat."

"Let's talk about something else."

(In the midst of an argument) -- "Did you put the dog out?"

Affiliative Acts

15. Using humor:

---Use: In general the function of this category, as perceived by the other, is to temper the conflict.

---Conventions and Confusions: The content may be diverse, but the generalized other would receive the statement (because of tone and phrasing) as an attempt to lower the tension level.

---Examples:

"You're a stinker! That's a footnote by the way."

"Well, I never knew him [Shakespeare], but I enjoy his plays."

"I'm going to trade you in."

19. Avoiding blame or responsibility:

---Use: Casting blame onto someone or something else with the intent of making the other realize that it's "not my fault," or "I've no control over it."

---Conventions and Confusions: 19. is affiliative and conciliatory in tone, in contrast to 41. which would be received as coercive.

---Examples:

"I didn't want to bring work home, but I can't help it."

"My mind was on something else."

"Well, there are circumstances that just don't allow me to make a phone call."

"I didn't bring it up; he brought it up."

("I've got to get this work done tonight so leave me alone." = 41.)

20. Accepting the blame or responsibility:

---Use: A conciliatory or affiliative gesture, often an appeal for forgiveness.

---Conventions and Confusions: ---

---Examples:

"I don't mean to be rude."

"I'm sorry."

"I admit I'm wrong."

21. Showing concern for the other's feelings:

---Use: Exploring the other's affect and/or emotional investment in relation to an issue or goal.

---Conventions and Confusions: In contrast to 24., which emphasizes concern about oneself, 21. emphasizes concern for the other person. An expression of concern continuously repeated becomes a nagging or coaxing (40.); the convention we have used it that after a repetition of a 21., it tends to become a 40.

---Examples:

"What's bothering you, honey?"

"Do you really want to do that?"

"I want you to be happy."

"Are you really satisfied?"

A: "Is something upsetting you?" = 21.

B: [statement]

A: "Is something bothering you?" = 21.

B: [statement]

A: "Is something bothering you?" = 40.

23. Accepting other's plans, actions, ideas, motives, or feelings:

---Use: See category 6.

---Conventions and Confusions: See category 6.

---Examples:

"That's a good idea."

"We will do just what you wanted to do."

"You have a point there."

"Okay. That would be fine with me."

24. Seeking reassurance:

---Use: An attempt to evoke reassurance from the other either directly or indirectly. One could seek reassurance indirectly by self-deprecation, calling upon the other to deny this (see examples).

---Conventions and Confusions: At times it is very difficult to distinguish 24. from 21. Judgment must be made whether the statement is concern for oneself (24.), or concern for other (21.). It may be confused with 2. because 24. is very often in the form of a question; however, the request is not for a factual but rather for an emotional response.

---Examples:

"You're not mad at me, are you?"

"You do love me, don't you?"

"I've been pretty stupid, haven't I?"

"Now I feel like a little baby."

"Forgive me?"

A: ("I do love you." = 28.)

B: "Do you really mean it?" = 24.

25. Attempting to make up:

---Use: An attempt to soothe and smooth emotional differences. It is perceived as an attempt to restore good feelings in the relationship.

---Conventions and Confusions: A 25. would not be perceived by the other as seeking reassurance or forgiveness, but as restoring the relationship to a pre-conflict level.

---Examples:

"Now give me a kiss and let's forget it."

"Maybe we're both wrong."

"Shake?"

26. Diverting the other's attention as a maneuver to gain one's aim:

---Use: The recipient would perceive this as a diversionary attempt on the part of the other to win his point. The emphasis is on the diversionary aspect and the manipulative aspect is often so obvious as to be ineffective. In the context of an argument, when the other person is on the offensive with good arguments, the speaker suddenly changes the argument.

---Conventions and Confusions: See category 13.

---Examples:

"Where did you learn to argue so well?"

[In the process of deciding which T. V. show to watch, one person says:] "Why don't you go get me a coke?"

[In the context where the wife is maintaining distance from the husband, the husband says:] "Well, you are cute." "Did anyone ever tell you you're beautiful?"

"You're cute even when angry."

"You certainly express yourself well on that point."

27. Introducing a compromise:

---Use: An attempt to include each person's aim in an overall solution.

---Conventions and Confusions: The difference between 27. and 35. is that 35. would be perceived as an attempt on the part of the other to get his own way by offering something else, whereas 27. would be perceived as a genuine attempt to reconcile the differences between the two.

---Examples:

"I'll make a deal with you."

"I'll tell you what; we'll split it 50-50."

"Let's do it this way now; next time we'll do it your way."

28. Offering help or reassurance:

---Use: An assurance through word or gesture of positive feeling.

---Conventions and Confusions: ---

---Examples:

"No, no, no. I'm completely happy."

"So long as we can work it out, that's what counts."

"Here--I'll help you with your coat."

29. Offering to collaborate in planning:

---Use: Offering to help in adopting a solution or working together to plan a solution.

---Conventions and Confusions: 29. may be a suggestion for a course of action (5.), but it recognizes that a unilateral solution is not possible.

---Examples:

"What do you think?"

"Let's figure it out."

"Well, what are we going to do?"

"Well, let's look at it both ways."

31. Appealing to fairness:

---Use: An attempt to obtain one's goal (aim) by appealing to the other's sense of fair play.

---Conventions and Confusions: A 31. appeals to the positive sense of fairness and justice in the other. In a 51. the other is accused of "bad motives."

---Examples:

"We always do what you want to do."

"But that's not fair."

"Do you realize I've had a busy day too?"

"What would you do if I behaved that way?"

33. Appealing to other's motives:

---Use: Trying to convince the other that your plans will give him or both of you as much or more than his plans. The recipient would perceive this as an appeal to the benefits he would achieve by accepting the sender's plans.

---Conventions and Confusions: In contrast to 7. the emphasis is on the motives of the other rather than on the rationality of the argument.

---Examples:

"You'll really like this, dear."

"It would really make you feel much better."

"Doing . . . . would be of benefit to both of us."

35. Offering something else as a way of winning one's goal:

---Use: This, too, is an appeal to the other person, but it appeals to him by offering him something in return for his agreement. It would be perceived by the other as having the quality of a bribe.

---Conventions and Confusions: See category 27.

---Examples:

"I'll give you a lollipop if you stop crying."

"You won't get your present unless you do . . . . ."

37. Appealing to the love of the other:

---Use: Would be perceived as a direct personal appeal. It exerts pressure on the other by capitalizing on the affiliative relationship.

---Conventions and Confusions: Although an appeal to the love of the other person may have guilt inducing properties, the judgment that must be made is whether or not the other would receive it as accusatory (51.) or affiliative (37.).

---Examples:

"I would appreciate it very much if you would do this."

(In the context of a love relationship.)

"Do it for me."

"If you love (respect, think well of, etc.) me, you will . . . . ."

40. Pleading and coaxing:

---Use: An appeal to the other person either passively (pleading) or actively (coaxing and prodding) without making explicit the content of the motivation to which appeal is made (without appealing to fairness or love). The key is either in the tone of expression or in the continued repetition of the

same appeal without adding more to it. (See examples.)

---Conventions and Confusions: Often implicit in this type of statement is an appeal to the love of the other or to fairness, but if that is not made explicit it would be coded 40.

---Examples: (All depend upon tone.)

"Please."

"Come on, honey."

"Do it just this once."

A: "What's the matter, honey?" = 21.

B: [statement]

A: "What's the matter, honey?" = 21.

B: [statement]

A: "Tell me what's the matter, honey." = 40.

Coercive Acts

41. Using an outside power or set of circumstances to induce or force the other to agree:

---Use: The other would perceive himself as coerced by the message that external forces or a present set of circumstances require him to yield.

---Conventions and Confusions: See category 19. 19. is an excuse for something that has already occurred. 41. is used to force the other person to go along with a proposed course of action.

---Examples:

"I've had a helluva day at the office." (Implied: "So do what I want.")

"We're obligated to do this."

"The boss is expecting us."

"I have a terrible headache." (Implied: "So do what I want." or "So leave me alone." etc.)

43. Recognizing the other's move as a strategy or calling the other's bluff:

---Use: The other would perceive that what he has just said has been recognized as a strategy and is being challenged or rendered ineffective.

---Conventions and Confusions: Like 11., it denies the validity of the other's argument, but 11. is directed toward the content, whereas 43. challenges the strategy. To be coded 43., a remark has to be perceived as a serious challenge even if it is couched in somewhat humorous terms. If humor is predominant, then it is coded as 15.

---Examples:

"You're not going to get away with that."

"You can't win that way."

A: "I'm going to leave you." = 55.

B: "So long." = 43.

or

B: "I'll see you when you get back." = 43.

"You keep running away." (from the issue)

"Oh, come off it."

45. Rejecting the other:

---Use: The rejection must have a strong personal quality, although it may be ostensibly directed toward the ideas, plans, or desires of the other. 45. is characterized by very low affiliation and high power. It is a category often used to maintain interpersonal distance.

---Conventions and Confusions: Caution--11. and 4. are some-

times confused with 45. The recipient would perceive 45. as a personal rejection.

---Examples:

"No, I would rather be alone."

Refusal to answer a direct question by silence = 45.

A: "What's the matter?" = 21.

B: Silence = 45.

"I don't want to talk with you."

"Go to hell."

47. Commanding:

---Use: Ordering or forcing the other to do one's wishes.

---Conventions and Confusions: Tone of voice is important in the distinction between 5. and 47. 47. would be perceived from its tone and language as coercing, domineering, and/or dominating, whereas 5. would be perceived as suggesting a course of action.

---Examples:

"I don't care what you want; we're going to do . . . . ."

"Put the book down!!!"

48. Demanding compensation:

---Use: The recipient would feel that the sender is demanding a price for yielding. It is the inverse of 35.

---Conventions and Confusions: For distinguishing 48. and 27., 48. is coercive while 27. is conciliatory.

---Examples:

"I'll let you do what you want, but by damn you'll have to . . . . ."

"I'll let you get away with this, but I'm going to . . . . ."

51. Inducing guilt or attacking other's motives:

---Use: The recipient would feel himself put on the defensive about his motives or behavior because they have been attacked, uncovered, criticized, or interpreted as not matching up to a supposed ideal standard.

---Conventions and Confusions: See categories 31. and 37. Tone can be misleading when considering category 51.; people can induce guilt in a very "nice" tone of voice.

---Examples:

"It's not that you really want to . . . ., you're just being spiteful (mean, stubborn, etc.)."

"You're doing things to upset me; you know I don't like this, but you do it anyway."

"You know you have just ruined my whole day."

53. Disparaging the other:

---Use: The recipient would perceive this as an attack on his person, character, or talents.

---Conventions and Confusions: ---

---Examples:

"That's a stupid thing to say."

"Oh, now you're a doctor as well as a psychiatrist."

"You're acting like a dumb jerk."

55. Threatening the other:

---Use: Blunt use of power.

---Conventions and Confusions: ---

---Examples:

"Just try and get away with it."

"I'm liable to get mad, really mad."

"Okay, but I'll remember this."

"If you keep acting this way, I'll leave."

PHASE CODING

Phase A: Introductory:

Acts prior to introduction of the conflict issue. Generally, conventional introductory actions such as greetings, questions, etc., are in Phase A. But remarks directed toward bringing up the conflict issue may also be included.

Phase B: Conflict:

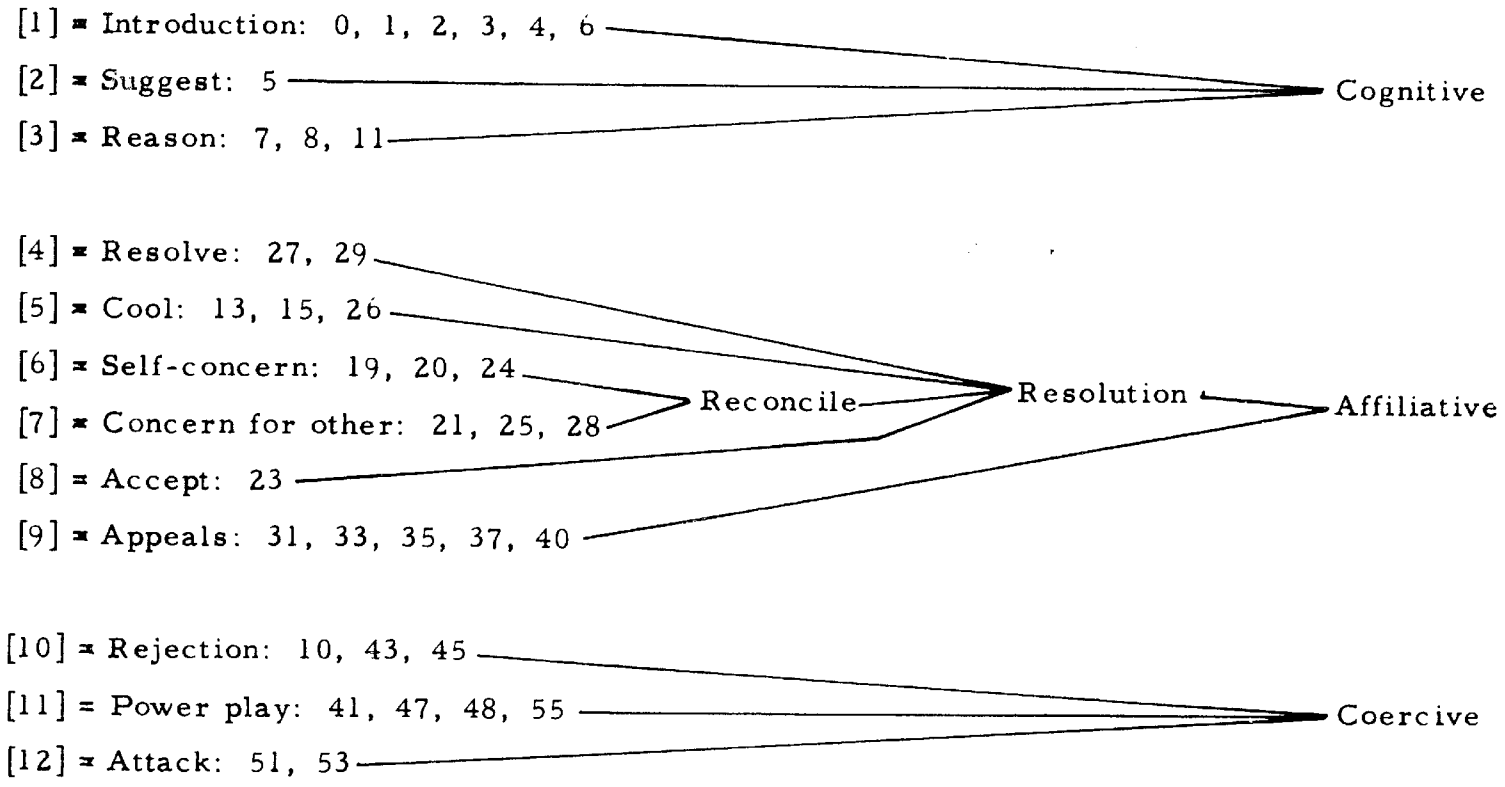
The conflict phase opens with the first statement of the conflict issue, and it continues until the introduction of an agreed-upon resolution. By convention, all participants enter into Phase B immediately following a statement of the conflict issue by any participant. There is one exception to this: if one participant brings up the conflict issue and the other never contests it, the first act is coded as Phase B, but the rest of the acts are coded as Phase A or Phase C depending on what goes on.

Phase C: Resolution and Post-resolution:

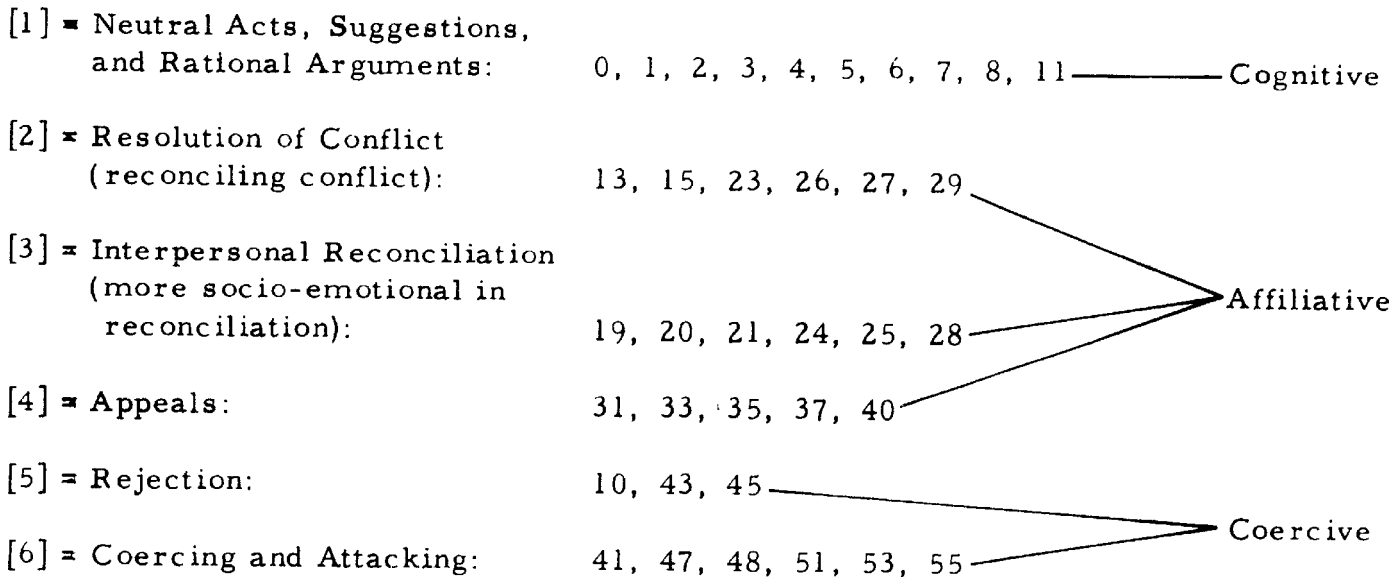
Resolution is accomplished when participants agree upon a solution to the conflict. The solution may or may not be mutually satisfactory to all participants, but it must at least receive verbal agreement for it to be coded as Phase C. If a participant rejects a proposed resolution, the acts of all participants, including the proposal, continue to be coded as Phase B. That is, Phase C cannot be reached unless all participants are in agreement--if only one is trying for a resolution, then the Phase remains at B. Further discussion during Phase C may lead to a revival of the conflict, with a return to Phase B.

Not all phases need be used in a conflict situation. There may be no Introductory phase, participants entering immediately into the Conflict; participants may not enter into Phase B; or they may fail to achieve resolution and so not enter into Phase C.

12 CATEGORY LUMPING SCHEME



6 CATEGORY LUMPING SCHEME



APPENDIX B

FOUR PATTERNS OF NEWLYWED MARRIAGE FACTOR ANALYTICALLY DERIVED BY GOODRICH, RYDER, AND RAUSH (IN PRESS)

TABLE 1

Factor Loadings for 10 Variables
Loading Highest on Factor I
(Closeness or Distance from the Husband's Family)

Source	Variable	Factor 1	2	3	4
Interview Codes					
	Interactive ties with H family	56	21	16	19
	H left home at marriage	49	10	13	25
	H sex interest (relative to W interest)	-43	36	04	30
Interview Ratings					
	H liked by interviewer	-45	16	-42	-13
	H communication with interviewer	-48	24	-35	-25
	H spontaneity with interviewer	-45	23	-35	-17
Questionnaires					
	H report of contacts with H family	51	07	09	40
	W report of contacts with H family	48	19	-03	46
	H expected activity with baby	43	-04	11	01
Observed Interaction					
	W laughter	-43	17	-07	-45

TABLE 2

Factor Loadings for 10 Variables
Loading Highest on Factor 2
(Marital Role Orientation)

Source	Variable	Factor 1	2	3	4
Interview Codes					
	H negative recall	-04	49	-16	-35
	H high ambition	08	52	-28	-11
Questionnaire					
	Jewish ethnicity	28	44	30	28
	H involved in housework at present	10	-47	-02	12
	H anticipates future involvement in housework	20	-48	-04	11
	W involvement in job activity at present	14	-53	19	05
	W anticipated future involvement in job activities	03	-48	25	05
	W's mother's involvement in job activities	10	-48	26	17
Observed Interaction					
	H eliminating disagreement by making an error	-15	-49	05	07
	W rational discussion of task	27	52	23	12

TABLE 3

Factor Loadings for 11 Variables
Loading Highest on Factor 3
(Open Conflict or Harmony in Marriage)

Source	Variable	Factor 1	2	3	4
Interview Codes					
	W negative recall	-27	14	55	-34
Interview Ratings					
	Easy decision process	-17	-21	-57	15
	Couple (vs. individual) identification	35	-06	-59	-03
	Overall evaluation of marriage	-08	-09	-58	-30
	H empathy	-40	15	-72	-14
	H support	-34	02	-68	-02
	W support	-11	-08	-55	-20
Questionnaire					
	H report of unhappiness and doubts re the marriage	-24	-01	59	03
	W report of unhappiness re the marriage	-36	19	58	-04
	W report of many disagreements with spouse	-10	04	61	04
	W report of yielding to husband in disagreements	30	30	-56	05

TABLE 4

Factor Loadings for 10 Variables
Loading Highest on Factor 4
(Closeness or Distance from the Wife's Family)

Source	Variable	Factor 1	2	3	4
Interview Codes					
	Interactive ties with W family	11	40	22	48
	Difficulties with the W family	-05	12	30	-54
	Preference for breast (vs. bottle) feeding	32	02	-08	-53
Questionnaire					
	W report of contact with W family	16	12	04	51
	W report of anticipated future contact with W family	06	00	-02	50
	W recall of her parents' involvement with their relatives	18	18	09	48
	W recall of her parents' involvement with friends	24	29	-01	48
	W report of self-restraint	18	-10	-02	50
Observed Interaction					
	H laughter	-25	08	23	-54
	W open disapproval of spouse	-16	16	13	-56

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