ADULT FRIENDSHIP

AND THE BOUNDARIES OF MARRIAGE

by

LYNN VALERIE DUNSTAN

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CHAPTER EIGHT

ATTACHMENT IN ADULTHOOD

Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to the soul with hoops of steel...
(Hamlet)

In this chapter, attachment theory, a major theme in the present study, is explored. An in-depth examination of the genesis and expression of attachment is followed by an examination of its psychological manifestations. The role of attachment in romantic love relationships, such as marriage, is then scrutinised, and the implications of attachment for friendship are discussed.

8.1. ATTACHMENT PROPOSITIONS

"Attachment is the first and most crucial relationship through which human beings learn to organize meaning" (Marris, 1991, p. 78). The attachment system is the most fundamental of a number of inter-related behavioural systems (which include caregiving, exploration, sexual mating and affiliation) because it develops first and affects the operation of other systems (Shaver & Hazan, 1987). Attachment is manifested in a set of characteristics (behaviours, emotional reactions and cognitive activities) that arise when distance from, or inaccessibility to, an attachment figure exceeds an individually defined limit.

Bowlby's (1973) theory of attachment is summarised in the following three propositions:

- When an individual is confident that an attachment figure will be available to him/her whenever he/she desires it, he/she will be less prone to intense or chronic fear. Thus,

secure attachment is the foundation of self-confidence.

- The availability of attachment figures, or lack of it, is developed gradually during infancy through to adolescence. Whatever expectations are developed during those years tend to continue unabated throughout the rest of life.

- An individual's varied expectations of the accessibility and responsiveness of his/her attachment figures are accurate reflections of his/her previous experiences.

8.2. THE GENESIS OF ATTACHMENT BEHAVIOUR

The attachment dynamic in adulthood is rooted in the very earliest stages of infant life. As the interactions between the child and attachment figure proceed, the child begins to develop an internal working model which exists in some rudimentary form by the end of the first year. Bowlby (1969) noted that in the presence of his mother, the infant is interested in exploring and mastering the environment and in establishing affiliative contact with other people. However, when the mother becomes unavailable, the infant becomes preoccupied with regaining her presence and consequently, exploration and socialisation diminish dramatically. Protest, despair and detachment are the three stages of emotional responses which infants go through when separated from their primary caregivers, usually their mothers (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1982). The same set of priorities may hold with respect to both the sexual system and the caregiving system, wherein attachment concerns may interfere with optimal functioning.

The quality of the attachment bond formed during infancy has implications for the child's emerging style of interaction in, and view of, his social world. As cognitive abilities develop, attachment behaviour begins to be guided by

cognitively-based working models of attachment figures (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). "It is the capacity of humans to form representational models of another and of themselves in relationship to the other that enables them to sustain a bond across time and distance" (Ainsworth, 1989, p. 714). In early childhood, working models begin as representations of specific relationships with primary caregivers. Gradually, these experiences result in the formation of more abstract and general models of self and others which, in turn, shape the construction of more specific models of particular relationships (Collins & Read, 1994). Through interaction, the child develops working models containing beliefs and expectations about the dependability of the caregiving.

These working models are carried forward to new relationships where they guide expectations, perception and behaviour (Bowlby, 1973). In this respect, "working models provide a mechanism for cross-age continuity in attachment style and are of particular importance in understanding the role that early relationships have in determining adult relationships" (Collins & Read, 1990, p. 645). In this way, interpersonal histories include beliefs about what can be expected to occur within existing or future relationships.

In infancy, both the formation and quality of the attachment bond depend on the infant's perception of the sensitivity and responsiveness of the attachment figure (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978). Bowlby (1973) emphasises the profound effects of a child's experiences within his family, commenting that "starting during his first months in his relation with both parents, he builds up working models of how attachment figures are likely to behave towards him in any of a variety of situations, and on these models are based all his expectations, and therefore all his plans, for the rest of his life" (p. 369). Furthermore, working models represent expectations about an individual's own behaviour, the behaviour of others and the nature of the interaction

likely to occur between them. In this way, they guide behaviour in social interaction (Berscheid, 1994), wherein the individual's prior expectations may be confirmed, even when they are unwarranted (Miller & Turnbull, 1986).

Particularly in childhood, an individual who can sustain substitution of one primary figure for another may not strictly be considered as 'attached'. As individuals mature emotionally and cognitively, selective behaviours become more difficult to measure "as the maintenance of proximity to the attachment figure increasingly becomes an internalized and symbolic process" (Cohen, 1974, p. 216). Internal representations of the attachment figure become intertwined with self-representations and have a profound effect on perception, cognition and behaviour.

8.3. THE ATTACHMENT DYNAMIC AND ADULT RELATIONSHIPS

Although attachment theory was conceived as a general theory of personality development, research in the field has focused primarily on infancy and early childhood (Kobak & Sceery, 1988). Nevertheless, attachment is regulated by a behaviour control system which influences the organisation of affect, cognition and behaviour in attachment relationships throughout the lifespan. The attachment system emerges as a genetic process during infancy, but it is later embellished by experiential processes. As a unit in interaction, the self is considered to be comprised of, and maintained by, a gestalt of past and present interpersonal relationships (Blatt & Blass, 1990) with the emphasis falling on the individual's perception and experience of others.

8.4. ATTACHMENT STYLES

Ainsworth et al. (1978) identify distinct styles of attachment observed in the interactions between infants and

parents. Secure attachment is characteristic of infants whose primary caregiver is mostly available and responsive to the child's needs. In adulthood, this style of attachment often translates into high self-esteem and more trusting attitudes towards others (Strahan, 1991), as well as greater relationship satisfaction (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Secure adults are more likely than avoidant or anxious-ambivalent adults to view their lovers as trustworthy friends (Brennan & Shaver, 1995). Individuals with a secure attachment style are also more likely to view others as being well-intentioned and kind-hearted (Collins & Read, 1990). Because satisfying interpersonal bonds evoke a sense of security, contentment and joy, secure adult attachment styles are positively related to relationship and well-being outcomes (Shaver & Hazan, 1987).

The absence of such bonds - or threats to their continuity - produces negative emotions such as anger, anxiety and depression (Clark & Reis, 1988), and promotes behaviour aimed at their restoration. Paradoxically, although insecure attachments can evoke feelings of yearning, anxiety, sadness, guilt or anger, these relationships are maintained because of their potential for providing security. In this way, anxiety, in effect, intensifies attachment (Rutter, 1980).

Thus, in Mary's and Lesley's cases, both women tolerated unhappy, abusive marriages possibly because of the potential they held for providing them with security. "He broke me down completely," Mary said of her second husband, "but I stayed just in case he changed ... I so wanted to be wanted." Similarly, Lesley was motivated by the need to feel accepted; through two painful marriages, she came to realise that, "friends help me in that way. It's challenging really. I don't get to feel I'm no good, I feel accepted ... more so than I did by my husbands. I fought against what seems really obvious now: that they would never just accept me." Paula also admitted that being accepted was an over-riding goal in her life. Having an avoidant attachment style, she sustained a desperately unhappy marriage for many before she decided to leave her husband.

Self-protective patterns (such as protest or detachment), displayed during infancy, can also result in feelings of insecurity. If maintained long enough, these self-protective patterns, along with the cognitive appraisals that evoke them, become stable components of personality, eventually being organised into working models of self and relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Bowlby (1977) identified three patterns of insecure attachment: anxious attachment, compulsive self-reliance and compulsive care-giving.

Individuals who are compulsively self-reliant give self-sufficiency a central role in conducting their lives. There is a defensive flavour to their behaviour and interpersonal closeness is shunned in case the underlying attachment needs are awakened and force the individual into a position of vulnerability. In the compulsive care-giving pattern, close relationships are established but the individual always places him or herself in the giving role, rather than the receiving role.

The pattern of anxious attachment is rooted in experience which has led the individual to doubt the attachment figure's availability and responsiveness. He/she lives in constant anxiety and fear of loss; consequently, these individuals attempt to confirm their security with the attachment figure by displaying urgent and frequent care-seeking behaviours. Indeed, the threat of potential loss in their attachment relationships leaves insecurely attached persons vulnerable to intense affective distress (Kobak & Sceery, 1988). Anxious attachment therefore has much in common with the pattern of compulsive care seeking (Bowlby, 1977).

Both anxiety and anger can result from the frustration of attachment desires, or the perceived inaccessibility of the attachment figure. From the balance which exists between

anxious and angry attachment, an ambivalent pattern arises. Anxious/ambivalent attachment is characteristic of infants whose primary caregiver is anxious and inconsistent in terms of availability and responsivenss. In the midst of a powerful partial reinforcement schedule, these infants become persistently anxious, clingy and preoccupied with attachment (Shaver & Hazan, 1987). In adulthood, individuals with this style of attachment tend to experience love as involving obsession, intense sexual attraction and jealousy (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). They are likely to fall in love at first sight and experience feelings of longing for their partner's reciprocation (Brennan & Shaver, 1995).

Avoidant attachment is characteristic of infants whose primary caregiver is mostly unresponsive or even rejecting. Correspondingly, in adulthood, the avoidant attachment style is characterised by fear (and avoidance) of intimacy and closeness, as well as by jealousy, emotional extremes and distrustful attitudes (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Feeney & Noller, 1990). Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) further delineate avoidant attachment style into dismissing avoidants and fearful avoidants. Avoidant adults also tend to be suspicious about human motives, and to view others as untrustworthy and not dependable (Collins & Read, 1990). They are the least likely to accept their partner's faults (Brennan & Shaver, 1995). Such research indicates the development of an enduring mental model, metaphorically representing a tightly woven fabric of relationship experiences. Shaver and Hazan (1987, 1988) thus contend that different orientations towards intimacy can account for differences in the patterns of relationship development, satisfaction and conflict.

8.4.1. **Attachment and interpersonal patterns**

"Because of their basis in transactional patterns, working models of self and attachment figure(s) develop in close

complementarity so that, taken together, they represent the relationship" (Bretherton, 1991, p. 9). Hypothesising that attachment styles are essentially expressions of beliefs and attitudes about self and others in interaction, Strahan (1991) found that individuals differed in their mental models regarding themselves and others, according to their specific models of attachment. This finding supports the proposition that an individual's attachment style exerts a profound influence on his/her relationships with others, since attachment style is grounded firstly, in general views and expectations of self in relation to the social world and secondly, in the processes of relationships.

Relationships are, of course, complex and powerful phenomena with causal effects beyond those predictable solely from personality variables (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Attachment style may well be the product of unique person-situation interactions: secure individuals locked into a relationship with an anxious/ambivalent person might feel and act avoidantly, and so on. Indeed, Bowlby (1969) and Ainsworth (1989) both conceptualised attachment as an interactional concept, affected by both members of the dyad.

This being the case, it might be expected that different interaction partners may evoke different (possibly peripheral) attachment styles in the same individuals. This seemed to be the situation in Lesley's case. Her SWOR (figure 2) suggests the presence of a duality of attachment styles, evoked by different constellations of friends and expressed through conceptually and affectively distinct self-with-other experiences. Moreover, her responses to the attachment questionnaires (Appendix K7-8), reflects a similar dichotomy of attachment orientation, with respect to each of her two ex-spouses, in their roles as attachment figures.

With reference to Lesley's first husband, her highest score for Attachment Patterns (Appendix K7) is for 'compulsive care-giving'. By contrast, she endorsed most strongly those items which indicate a predominant pattern of 'compulsive self-reliance' as regards her relationship with her second spouse . Possibly as a result of the abuse she had experienced at the hands of her first husband, compounded by the subsequent abuse in

her second marriage, a theme of withdrawal and self-sufficiency surfaced in the patterns of attachment which characterise her orientation within her second marriage.

As regards Lesley's attachment dimensions within the context of her first marriage, 'feared loss' predominates. However, within the context of her second marriage, she rated three dimensions equally highly: 'feared loss', 'availability' and 'use of attachment figure'. From a metaperspective, Lesley considered that her first spouse's responses on the Attachment Pattern scale would reveal a predominate pattern of 'angry withdrawal', whilst her second husband's responses would reveal a pattern of 'compulsive self reliance' (thus extending the theme of withdrawal within their marriage). Again from a metaperspective, Lesley considered that the predominate attachment dimensions revealed by her first husband's responses would be those of 'proximity seeking' and 'feared loss', whereas she considered the core attachment dimension of her second husband to be 'availability'.

Lesley's data thus indicates firstly, that attachment patterns and dimensions may be relationship-specific and secondly, that the activation of the attachment system is likely to be contingent on the activation of the spouse's attachment system. She admitted to having married her first husband in order to "get away from home" - hence, the dependence revealed by the activation of her 'compulsive care-giving' attachment pattern and the centrality of the attachment dimension of 'feared loss'.

She had experienced extreme physical abuse in both her marriages. Not surprisingly, her mental model of marital relationships reflected a theme of scepticism and mistrust, expressed in the following account of an experience of domestic violence: "On one such occasion, I was so frightened that I phoned a friend, a neighbour, - just for help. He said I should work out my own problems - can you believe that? But, you see, he was friendly with my husband and men will always stick up for each other." Her endorsement of 'compulsive self reliance' as a central attachment pattern within the context of her second marriage is consistent with her experiences: as a defensive reaction to the abuse she experienced, Lesley developed a protective sense of self-reliance, rather than risk anaelitic dependence on her spouse.

It appears that there is a myriad of interlinking factors which combine to form a complex, mutually interdependent feedback system, influencing cognitions, emotions and behaviour, and impacting on attachment orientation. From a communication perspective, signals are mutually acknowledged

within secure relationships, allowing for an open flow of emotional information between partners (Bretherton, 1991). Whilst this continues, internal working models of self and other in the relationship can develop more adequately because they are more easily updated. At the same time, they become more hierarchically organised and mentalistic. Internal working models of self in insecure attachments and inferentially, in other non-satisfying family relationships, are less coherently organised and less likely to become well integrated. They are thus less easily updated, revised and reconstructed.

Kobak and Hazan (1991) stress the importance of viewing working models and relationship functioning as a reciprocal process in adulthood: working models influence behaviour and relationship adjustment but they also accommodate the partner's behaviour, and relationship functioning. When partners fail to accommodate, their working models become outdated and this in turn impairs the smooth functioning of relationships. Accurate models, on the other hand, provide partners with more accurate or realistic expectations, representing a positive feedback loop which is likely to foster relationship maintenance and adjustment.

Feedback loops do not always function in a facilitatory way, however. In Mary's case, negative feedback had inhibited and damaged several of her relationships. Expressing her need for friendship, Mary simultaneously revealed the contents of her relational working model, rooted in an avoidant attachment style and a fear of loss (the dimension she mostly strongly endorsed on the Attachment Dimension Scale): "I need someone who can give me support," she said. "Someone who won't give up on me. Someone who comes in when the whole world has gone out. Sometimes I worry about my friendship with Dale. I'm scared of losing him. I'm very frightened of that. I have a problem with relationships ... I can't seem to keep relationships together - marriages, friendships, even my sisters... "

Functioning as self-fulfilling prophecies, the expectations contained in Mary's relational working model functioned to impair, rather than promote, the functioning of her friend-

ship with Dale. Indeed, the subsequent souring of their friendship further confirmed her expectations of relationship failure, thus reinforcing this aspect of her working model.

Although working models of the self and of relationship partners tend to be complementary and mutually confirming, Bowlby (1973) made provision for discordant working models about the self in the same relationship. In this way, aspects of working models may either be defensively excluded, or accessible to awareness. However, the question of different working models of self in different attachment relationships still remains uninvestigated (Bretherton, 1991). Do an individual's different relationship histories result in several discordant working models of self? Is one more dominant or are the various models of self as developed in different relationships averaged or integrated? Main, Kaplan and Cassidy (1985) found that an assessment of a child's representation of attachment at age six was predictive of the earlier attachment pattern with the mother but not the father. These results suggest that the construction of the working model of self may be influenced differentially by each principal attachment figure.

Indeed, although it is widely accepted that aspects of attachment are enduring components of interpersonal behaviour patterns (West, Sheldon & Reiffer, 1989), it is less clear whether a single global security orientation characterises all of an individual's relationships or whether there is variance according to each of his different types of relationships (Berscheid, 1994). In this respect, Ogilvie and Ashmore (1991) suggest that people form relationship schemas, custom-made according to their experiences in a specific relationship, and that they also form situation-specific schemas for their different relationships. Similarly, Kojetin (in Berscheid, 1994) found that when respondents applied adult attachment style items to different target relationships (mother, father, best friend, current romantic partner), there was a different

distribution of styles compared with when the respondents' global security orientation was assessed.

Despite variations, there appears to exist a degree of continuity in individual attachment styles across the life span, mediated by cognitive structures (internal working models) of self and relationship partners (Bowlby, 1981). Since they evolve from dyadic experiences, working models of self are likely to be intertwined with working models of others. As such, these models are likely to be complementary and mutually confirming (Bretherton, 1985; Bowlby, 1973).

As a result of their conjoint existence, working models of self and others are likely to function synergistically to influence interpersonal behaviour. For instance, Sally, an interviewee, highlighted the impact which her husband's avoidance orientation had on her friendships: "...my husband is a loner and I have to respect that. So, I wouldn't make a point of having friends visit every day - he's at home all the time. Mind you, that's never been my pattern anyway, but I am conscious of what he needs, wants, et cetera, in terms of the friendships I develop." Pointing out the influence of his (Greek) nationality, she added, "It's all a case of cultural ideas regarding relating. He isn't as open about friendships; he doesn't promote friendships - not many friendships."

The continuity of attachment style throughout many facets of social life is likely to be maintained through emotional, cognitive and behavioural channels (Bowlby, 1973). Each family member, for instance, has a mental representation (working model or script) of his/her family relationships, which dictates the pattern of interaction. Defining the rules of the relationship, this set of role images (family myths) is accepted by the family (Byng-Hall, 1988) and, in response to threat, can become a closed belief system that is resistant to the integration of new information.

This was well-illustrated by Clinton's description of his family: "We are pathetically methodical; you know, we eat the same meals on the same days each week. We do the same things on the same days each week. The gardening too; I cut this piece of lawn on a Monday, that on a Tuesday and so on. And we get very disoriented if that changes ... we

stick to our routines - it works for us."

Internal representations are built up of one's family (or social world) wherein people "will have complementary representations in that each appears as a figure in the private worlds of the others; and each individual's plans for action will take into account his/her expectations of the possible reactions of the others" (Heard, 1982, p. 101). But, to feature in one another's internal representations is not enough to turn a family into a system. What is also required are the impulses to reach the interpersonal goals of attachment and care-giving; these goals exert an involuntary pull on the behaviour of every member of the family. Specifically, attitudes and expectations about attachment, first developed in childhood, are given special pressure for continuity by being confirmed repeatedly, empowering and entrenching them as organisers of later attachment relationships on which they are projected, then reinternalised and consolidated (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994).

Because attachment theory is broad and process-oriented, a wide range of relatedness phenomena is included in a single conceptual framework. Phenomena such as love, lovesickness, grief and reactions to loss, loneliness, caregiving, and personal well-being are all integrated (Clark & Reis, 1988). Attachment theorists emphasise the importance of psychological well-being, since well-being depends on securing the protection of attachment figures (Marris, 1991). There is, however, a difference between the independent contributions to well-being made by adult attachment relationships and those made by friendships (Weiss, 1991). Likewise, there are two forms of loneliness: one produced by the absence of an attachment figure and one by the absence of relationships of community.

As a biological control system, attachment organises and directs behaviour or activities to achieve specific set

goals (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994). It includes mechanisms for feedback, enabling the individual to take account of discrepancies between the set goal and the current condition. Control systems are subject to both developmental change and to elaboration (Bowlby, 1969; 1982). One type of elaboration reaches full expression only in humans: "the modification and control of control systems themselves by higher processes of consciousness and cognition" (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994). Working models are used to extrapolate actual experiences to new situations. To be effective, they must: (a) be internally consistent, (b) include realistic abstractions from the environment and from the self, (c) be permeable (subject to revision and change due to new information), and (d) be consciously explored.

Berman, Marcus and Berman (1994) propose a theoretical model of how attachment functions interactively in a close adult relationship. Their theory is different from that of both object relations theory and cognitive theory in which only the individual's internal working model determines both the meaning of environmental events and his/her emotional responses. It also differs from systems theory in which only the interaction determines the response. The attachment drive in adults, as in children, is activated and terminated by two types of environmental stimuli: those that indicate even subtle danger or threat, and those that relate to the accessibility and responsiveness of the attachment figure. Once attachment is activated, the behavioural system severely constrains the types of behaviours an individual can exhibit to those that will increase or maintain proximity to the attachment figure or, as Bretherton (1985) suggests, to those that will preserve feelings of 'felt security'. This supports Sullivan's (1953) hypothesis that social behaviour is largely motivated by the desire to be securely bonded to significant others. As such, humans have a propensity for maintaining relatedness to each other, achieved through the development of interpersonal schemas

(Safran, 1990).

These behaviours are significantly likely to convey information regarding danger or the availability of the attachment figure to the other person in the dyad. Thus, the activation and or termination of one person's attachment system is determined largely by the activation and termination of the other's. Moreover, the activation of an adult's attachment system is significantly affected by his/her internal working model, which serves to organise and filter incoming information in accordance with the stored content of the model. Both the behaviour exhibited by the partner and the schema through which the information is filtered activate and deactive the attachment system. So, one's own internal working model and one's spouse's behaviour, which draws on his/her internal working model of attachment, determine the activation-deactivation of the attachment system in any given interaction.

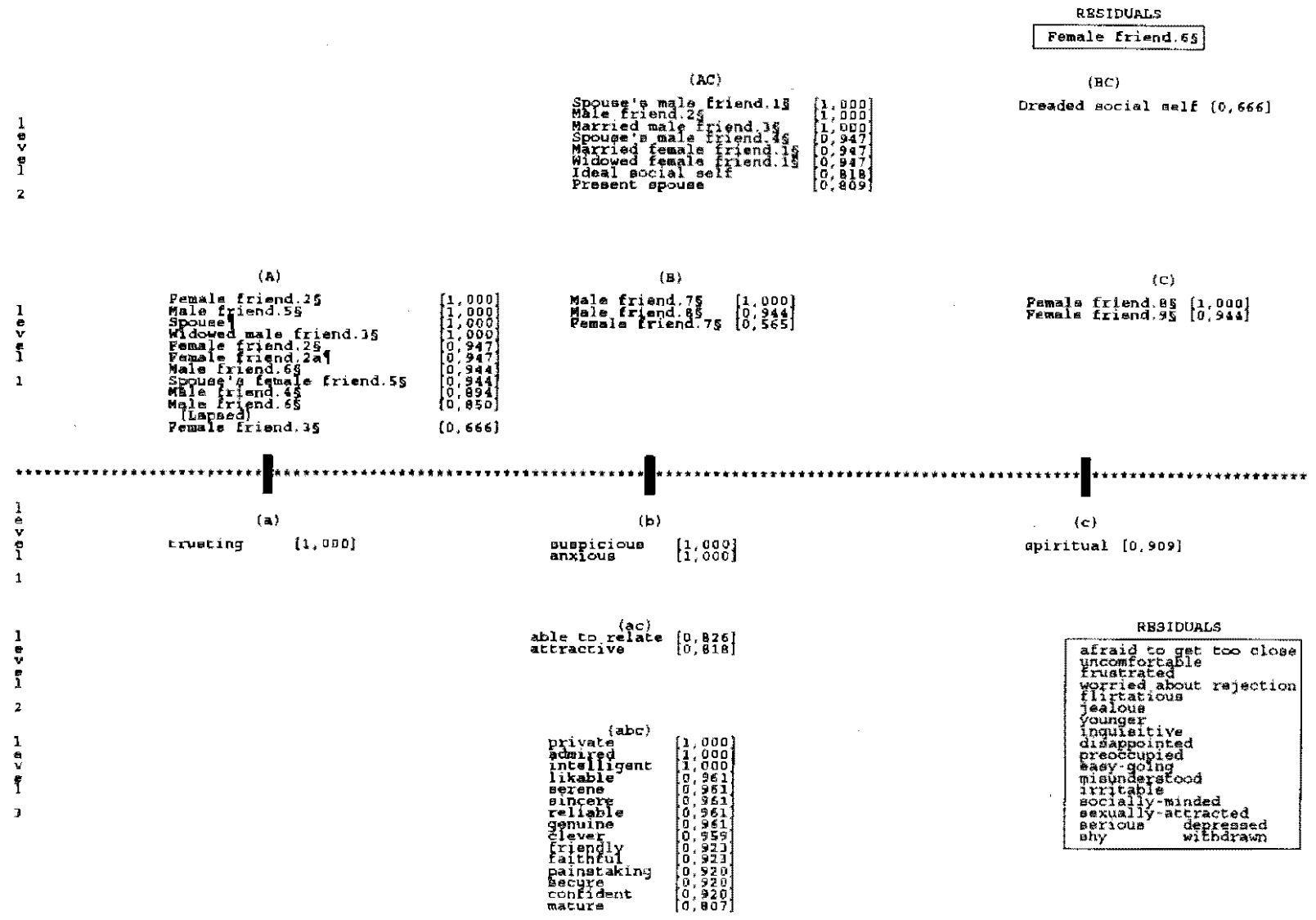
8.5. INTERPERSONAL TRUST AS AN INDEX OF ATTACHMENT

Cohen (1974) reports Ainsworth's assumption that a given behaviour should not be considered as an index of attachment unless firstly, it functions to promote proximity to the attachment figure and secondly, it occurs in a person who is likely to manifest substantial disturbance or prolonged separation. The array of theoretical and research interest in trust and security strongly suggests that expectations concerning whether care will be received from the attachment figure in response to need, may be an important component of most relationship schemas (Berscheid, 1994). The quality of relatedness of self with an object (including the sense of trust, mutuality and intimacy) emerges in interaction with attachment figures, is then internalised and gradually becomes an internal aspect of the self (Blatt & Blass, 1990).

Trust is a generalised expectancy that another individual can be relied on (Rotter, 1980). It has a predictability factor, expressed through the confidence that one will find from another, what is desired, rather than what is feared (Deutsch, 1973). In this sense, trust refers to a willingness to put oneself at risk - an element of dependability. Trust is also defined by feelings of confidence and security in the caring responses of the partner and the strength of the relationship. In this respect, it is related to the personal dynamics suggested by attachment theory. Combining these elements of trust, Rempel, Holmes & Zanna (1985) regard trust as "a generalised expectation related to the subjective probability an individual assigns to the occurrence of some set of future events" (p. 96). The most specific and concrete stage of trust, according to this definition, is predictability, which is based on many factors, including the consistency of current behaviour, the stability of the social environment, and the knowledge of functional reinforcements and restraints or boundaries.

Issues of trust have their genesis in the dialectic between individuals' hopes and fears within the context of close relationships. Trust reflects the confident expectations (subsuming beliefs and feelings) of positive outcomes from an intimate partner. Individuals' expectations relevant to trust are grounded in their perceptions of their partner's attitudes towards their relationships, and on the perceived quality and intensity of the affective bond (Holmes & Rempel, 1989).

The retired respondents, all of whom had stable and long-standing marriages, scored particularly highly with regard to trust within a marital context (Appendix K5). Specifically, Pam's high trust scores (dependability = 25:25; predictability = 23:25; faith = 35:35; total = 83:85) seemed to underlie both her marital relationship and her self-with-friend experiences. In Pam's SWOR (figure 6), the feature 'trusting' (supplied by the researcher) relates most directly to Target-Cluster (A), which is comprised of six male friends and



§ Scenarios including Pam as a married woman

¶ Scenarios including Pam as an unmarried woman

FIGURE 6: PAM'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

five female friends. (Both of these gender-categories contained individuals having Time 1 and Time 2 distinctions, related to their marital situations.)

The feature 'trusting' also applies, although less directly so, to the occupants in Target-Class 'A-C'. Significantly, however, 'trusting' does not form part of the Feature-Class a-b-c, which includes those characteristics Pam rated as being characteristic of her in all, or nearly all, of the relationships depicted. Thus, although trust is a highly schematic experience in terms of several of Pam's friendships (and also her marital relationship), it is not one of her globally-applied constructs.

In fact, the residents of Target-Class 'B' (two male friends and one female friend) are directly linked to self-with feelings opposite to trust: 'suspicious' and 'anxious'. Pam described male friend #7, Raymond, "a friend that my husband doesn't like very much"; Peter, male friend #8, was a friend of Pam before she married her present husband. Pam's friendship with Peter, like her friendship with Vicky (female friend #7), another member of the 'suspicious' and 'anxious' class, had lapsed. Eddie, Pam's husband, provided some background regarding Peter: "When my first wife died, Pam was in Cape Town - I went down there and met up with Pam again. Now, there was an Englishman out here at that time and - well, you know, my wife is a very good lady - she's a wonderful person, Pam - well, she was paying him some attention, I suppose trying to make him feel at home and to feel comfortable. Trying to make him settle in, I suppose. Well, I got jealous. It's as simple as that! She just seemed to be fussing over him. We're no longer in touch with Peter, of course. I suppose I thought I've just found myself a big prize and now there's someone else trying to cash in. She teases me about him - but that's been my only rival!"

Indeed, Pam's perceptions of her husband's attitudes towards her friendships seemed to have been at the root of several of her lapsed friendships, especially with men. The same theme entered her appraisal of one of the scenarios in the projective procedure. Responding to the green card (Appendix E2), depicting two couples, she commented," Well, the couple in front are married. They're disgruntled about something - they're not getting on - the whole lot aren't getting on with each other. Could be the spouses don't get on." In response to the pink scenario, of two couples in a social setting, she again construed conflict: "Maybe there's been trouble between the couples before - could be that they all knew each other before they got married. Maybe there were friendships before, and now it's awkward."

Eddie's responses to the red scenario reflected a similar relational schema: "I get a feeling that the stout man is telling the lady something that the other man doesn't like. He doesn't like it. It's an intrusion I think. Well, in a way, the stout fellow is relaxed and happy about what's going on. The other fellow would like to take his wife and go! He's not happy about something. The fat fellow is taking over - that's it - the one lady is tired of it all, too - the fellow with a hat looks a bit impatient with the whole thing. He doesn't like what's happening. (Ha! Ha!) He'd like to remove his wife from that man's attention..."

Pam's Feature-Classes 'a' and 'a-b-c' contain three of the research-supplied descriptors, indicative of a 'secure' attachment style: 'trusting', 'confident' and 'secure'. Indeed, Pam described herself most highly as having a secure attachment style and rated herself similarly on the Relationship Scale Questionnaire (Appendix F4), where the maximum mean score per category is 5: Secure = 3,20; Preoccupied = 2,00; Fearful = 1,00 and Dismissing = 1,20. This points to the high schematicisty (and centrality) of Pam's secure attachment style, in terms of her self-with experiences. Indeed, in her SWOR, most of the descriptors relating to avoidant and anxious attachment styles ('afraid to get too close', 'uncomfortable', 'frustrated', 'worried about rejection') are dumped, by HICLAS, into the residual category. The indication is that these features are not part of the way in which she experiences herself within the context of any of the relationships here considered.

Significantly, the respondents who emerged as having the highest trust scores, were those who rated themselves as having 'secure' attachment patterns. By contrast, relatively low trust scores were registered for those respondents who rated themselves as having avoidant attachment patterns (Mary, Jane, Leigh, Lesley, Paula, and John), or as having an 'anxious-ambivalent' style (Tembi). Married for 3 years, Tembi obtained conspicuously low scores on the trust scale (dependability = 8:25; predictability = 10:25; faith = 19:35; total 37:85). Judging by her remarks, mistrust was clearly a central aspect of her relational working model, as it applied to her marriage. Of her spouse and her marital relationship she remarked: "... I accept that he doesn't have to come home. But, I've fought left and right to reduce the number of friends he has ... I fought forcefully! You see, its not just the friends he has ... there's usually something more going on."

In the early stages of close relationships, trust is, in essence, a naive expression of hope, bolstered by reciprocal displays of affection by both partners, and a pervasive

optimism about the relationship. As individuals move further into a relationship, an awareness develops that the closer they become, the more they have to lose. As dependency increases, so does anxiety and the need for continued reassurance. Trust tends to increase spirally, anchored by the perception of a balanced reciprocation process (Holmes & Rempel, 1989).

Yet, some researchers (Larzelere & Huston, 1980) have found that trust tends to be lowest in individuals married from 6 to 20 years, possibly because of the accumulated effect of violated expectations. Moreover, because dyadic trust appears to be a prerequisite for commitment, newlyweds display higher trust levels than do cohabitating partners who, in turn, exhibit a higher level of trust than do dating partners (Larzelere & Huston, 1980). As a measure against the risk of losing security within the relationship, individuals move to decrease the interdependence in their relationships. "Rules evolve to protect people's interests in contentious areas and more vulnerable domains are simply deemed off limits and avoided" (Holmes & Rempel, 1989).

Rempel et al. (1985) propose a component theory of trust, taking into account the experiential background of participants in close relationships. These researchers consider that, depending on the stage of the relationship, the experiences on which trust is based change, and the interpretations those experiences receive, progress from a more straightforward acceptance of behaviour evidence to the attribution of personal motives.

Deeply troubled about her husband's suspected infidelity, Tembi attributed his extra-marital dalliances to factors outside of the boundaries of his responsibility and control. Despite her low trust scores, coupled with her comments of marital mistrust, she interpreted and rationalised his behaviour thus: "My husband is handsome - yes! He's attractive to other women... but then again, men are men. It's not only his fault. Some women just like to stay alone - to remain single and then to steal our husbands. They do silly

things. There's a house in Vosloorus where men go after work. They have their socks taken off and washed and their legs rubbed - by these women. It makes them feel special and these women enjoy doing it, stealing our husbands." Mustering further support to defend his actions, she added, "There's also the influence of witchcraft. Everyone wants to find themselves next to someone. Some women use witchcraft - they smear certain potions all over their bodies and that makes them attractive - irresistible - to our men. Once that happens, men won't come home to their wives - they're caught. It's all witchcraft. So it's not his doing, it's not his fault, you see..." Congruent with the rationality which Tembi sought in order to interpret her husband's opposite-sex relationships, is the Pragma love style she exhibited - a love style based on rationale calculation (Lee, 1973).

As feelings of trust become more established, they depend more heavily on beliefs about the partner's motivations and interpretations thereof, and less on direct encodings at the behavioural level. Feelings of faith are most relevant when events cannot be predicted with any certainty. Rempel et al. (1985) point out that, for this reason, faith rests on more general attributions that one's partner is motivated by a concern for the well-being of the relationship rather than by the rewards inherent in the relationship.

Paula's mental model of her marital relationship contained few elements of faith. Much the same as Tembi's responses, her scores on the trust scale were particularly low - the lowest of all the respondents' trust scores, in fact: predictability = 5:25; dependability = 5:25; faith = 6:35; total = 16:85. She commented that, "Whatever my husband said or did was never consistent. It seemed to largely depend on what his desire of the moment was -- or on his overriding desire to destroy, manipulate and control. It was difficult to predict what was coming next." She rated herself as having an 'avoidant' attachment style and scored highly with respect to the 'fearful' and 'dismissing' factors in the adapted version of the Relationship Scales Questionnaire. Illustrating both the one-sidedness of caring in her marriage, as well as the ambivalence of the relationship, she chose the following descriptors of the feelings she remembered experiencing with her husband: 'thoughtful', 'loyal', 'concerned', 'like demands were being made of me', 'suspicious', 'uncomfortable', 'frustrated', 'anxious', 'worried about being rejected', and 'disciplined'. Notably, responding to the feature 'respected' she wrote, "NEVER!" Inspection of her SWOR (figure 15) reveals the centrality of the self-with-male friend (and spouse) feature: 'disciplined'. Consistent with Kellian theory, the theme of control surfaced not only in

Paula's perception of her husband's intentions, but also in comments she made about opposite-sex friendships: "I have some friends of the opposite sex where there is no problem; but the friendship has to be **controlled**" and "Having friends of the opposite-sex can be risky for married people ... it depends on how one **controls** the friendship."

According to the model proposed by Rempel et al. (1985), beliefs about a partner's predictability originate from social learning experiences and are related to the amount of past experience and the degree to which the experience suggests consistency, stability and control over the pattern of behaviour exhibited. As relationships progress, there is a shift away from assessments involving specific behaviours to an evaluation of the qualities and characteristics attributed to the partner. The dispositional inferences that develop depend on an accumulation of evidence from diagnostic sets of experience involving risk and personal vulnerability. For an individual to be able to make the attribution that another person is trustworthy, there must exist the opportunity for the other person to show that he or she is not trustworthy. In this respect, an emphasis on experiences that involve personal risk is germane to the understanding of feelings of security and trust within a relationship.

The third element in this model, faith, reflects the individual's level of emotional security. It is this sense of security which enables individuals to go beyond the available evidence and to feel assured that their partners will be trustworthy, despite the uncertainties of the future. Thus, continuing commitment to - and belief in - the relationship requires a proverbial 'leap of faith' which develops from an interpersonal attribution process that centres on the individual's interpretations of a partner's motives and intentions. Within this hierarchical model, predictability, dependability and faith are considered to arise out of different levels of cognitive and emotional abstraction.

Research conducted by Rempel et al. (1985) revealed a strong positive correlation between love and faith ($r = 0,46$; $p < 0,001$) a weaker correlation between love and dependability ($r = 0,25$; $p < 0,05$) and no correlation between love and predictability. Thus, the most important aspect of trust in close relationships emerged as being faith, lending credence to the common-sense belief that it has a basis in emotional security, over and above dependability and predictability. The results showed, too, that, for women, there were strong correlations among all three components of trust, whereas men showed a differentiation of the three elements. The women in the study appeared to have a more integrated view of trust, which relied not only on faith, but also on more particular attributions regarding their partner's character (dependability) and concern for consistent behavioural evidence (predictability). Hill, Rubin and Peplau's (1979) suggestion that women may be more concerned with the pragmatics of relationships, by virtue of their common position of dependence, presents a provocative explanation of these research results.

8.6. COGNITIVE PROCESSES IN ATTACHMENT

Within each individual is a complex assortment of memories, beliefs, expectations and affects associated with significant attachment relationships (Sperling & Lyons, 1994; Collins & Read, 1994). "Perceptions of the current attachment figure are filtered through a model of past attachment experiences" (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994, p. 52). These integrated representations are formed through interactions with the physical and interpersonal world but evolve into internal constructions which do not retain their separate, individual properties. Attachment theory suggests that social development involves the continual construction, revision, integration and abstraction of mental models (Hazan & Shaver, 1987), based on our interactions with other people (Read & Miller, 1989). Individuals are thus active

participants in the constructions of their own reality (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Kelly, 1955). It follows that attachment theory provides a basis for understanding individual differences in feelings and behaviour in adult love relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

This is similar to the notion of cognitive scripts and schemas and is compatible with the possibility of change, based on new information and experiences. In line with personal construct theory (Kelly, 1955), present cognitive or behavioural structures influence what is subjectively perceived and what is ignored, the way in which a situation is construed, interpreted and evaluated, and what plan of action is likely to be constructed in response to it (Bowlby, 1973; 1981).

The vastly different themes which emerged in the feature lists generated by respondents with different attachment patterns, styles and dimensions reflect the highly personalised nature of attachment cognition. These individual sets of features seemed to bear the abstracted, affective essence of the ways in which the respondents construed their friendships. For instance, Tembi dealt with her feelings of anger (revealed in her features of 'destructive', 'fuming', 'angry' and 'argumentative') in a dismissing way: "I prefer not to depend on people of the opposite sex" (item 26, RSQ), thus obtaining a high mean score (4,60) for the 'dismissing' interpersonal orientation with regard to the opposite sex. The theme of anger was also consistent with her high score for 'angry withdrawal' in the Attachment Patterns scale, and her self-rating as having an 'anxious-ambivalent' attachment style.

Congruent with Kelly's (1955) original premises, Tembi's features represent not only her experiences of self, but also the ways in which she construes others as experiencing themselves. From a metaperspective, her ratings on the Attachment Patterns scale indicate a loading score on the 'angry withdrawal' factor, thus suggesting that she also interpreted her spouse as construing their relationship in terms of anger. Likewise, themes of anger and anxiety are also evident in the feature-list, which reflects Tembi's mental model of well-being and happiness (Appendix K1): 'adjusting to life - maladjustment' ; 'comfort - miserable'; 'good tempered - moody'; 'uninterested - anxious'; 'fearless - fearful'. She rated her present circumstances as regards each one of these five

bipolar features, as maximally negative, obtaining a mean score of 5,20 (maximum score = 7) on the semantic differential. Despite this indication of low levels of well-being and happiness, Tembi gauged her general level of life satisfaction (Appendix K1) as being moderately high (+ 2), possibly reflecting mood oscillation.

By contrast, the feature list which John generated lent concrete expression to his avoidant attachment style. His feature list includes 'introverted', 'retiring', 'passive', 'defensive', 'reluctant', 'hesitant, 'unrecognised' and 'awkward'. The theme of social discomfort was also carried through into his interpretation of the orange card in the projective procedure: "I feel that one of them is not a member of the families represented. That person feels that they don't fare as well, they don't fit in, they're not part of it ... that can cause problems you know." His construal of the thoughts and intentions of one of the characters in the green card further reinforced this theme: "I get the impression that she's thinking, 'What a waste of time. I don't want to be here...I wish I could leave.'" Also congruent with his avoidant attachment style, John did not include many social concerns in the list of bipolar features he generated to indicate the content of his mental model of well-being and happiness (Appendix K1): 20% of his features in the scale reflect family concerns, but none centre on friendships or other aspects of sociality.

Two major divisions, between negative and positive groupings, are apparent in John's SWOR (figure 7). His positive-feature constellation includes Feature-Classes 'a', 'b' and 'a-b' and may be further-delineated into two dynamisms: an 'Intellectual' grouping (including Feature-Classes 'a' and 'a-b') and a 'Passive-Happy' one (comprising Feature-Classes 'b' and 'a-b'). The second sub-division, containing Feature-Class 'c' (his 'Avoidant' dynamism, which includes 'avoiding', 'worried about rejection', 'distrustful' and 'uncomfortable'), is unique in its exclusive association with his 'dreaded' social self. This, in itself, offers an explanation for John's interpersonal avoidance: because self-with-other situations hold the potential for his experiencing of negative feelings associated with his 'dreaded social self', John tends to shun social contact. Specifically, the high score he obtained in the RSQ, for the 'dismissing' pattern in terms of opposite-sex friendships, suggests his avoidance of heterosocial friendships, in particular. This might also indicate the reason that 39% of his self-with-other experiences (excluding his 'ideal' and 'dreaded' social selves) are categorised as 'residuals' - 89% of which are opposite-sex friendships.

Interpreting this pattern, John said: "I have never been social, at any stage. In the past, our neighbours ... well, cut communication. One must take an interest in the world around you, though. I had a lot of friends from university. We've lost touch. That's one

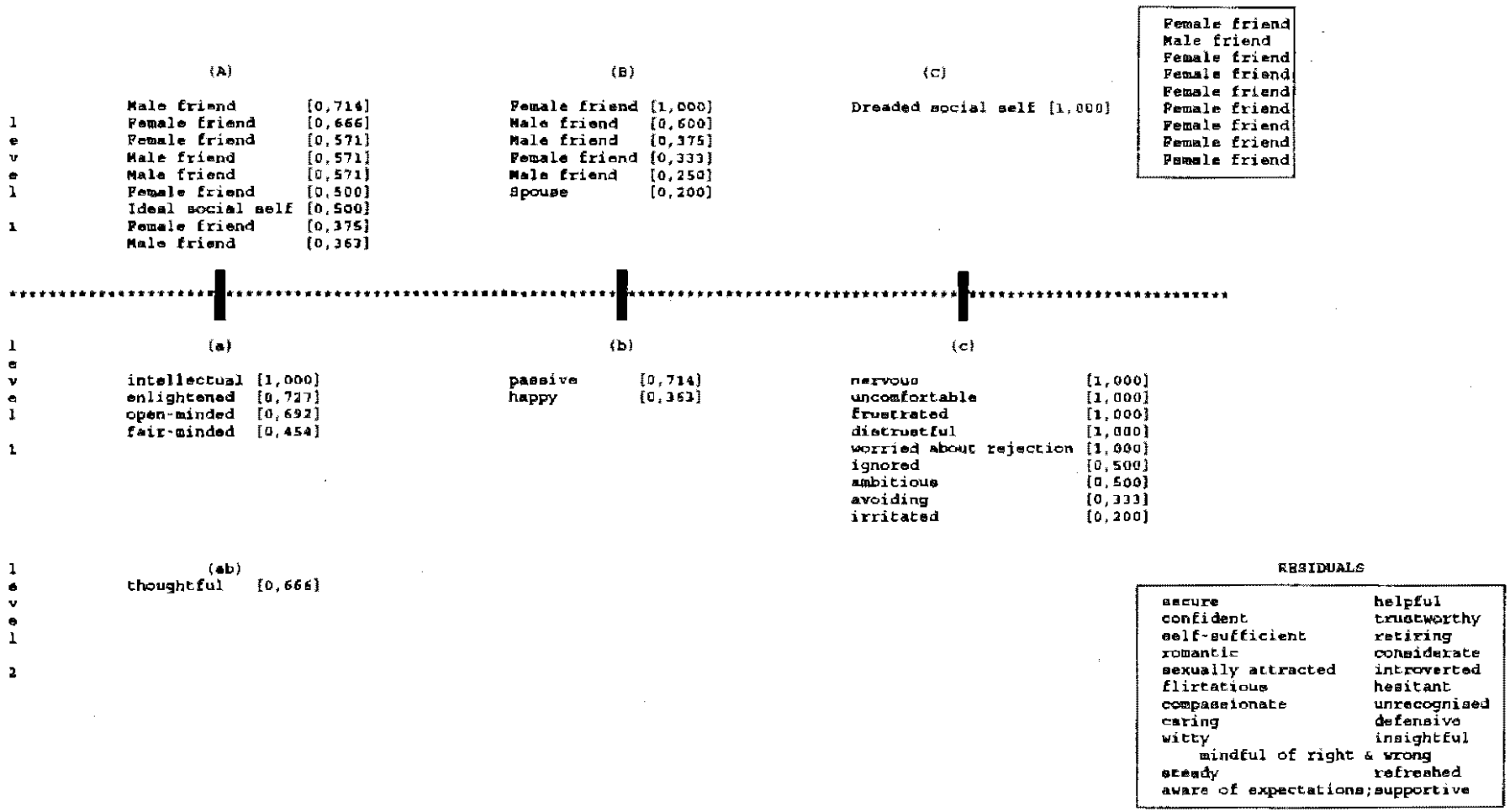


FIGURE 7: JOHN'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

thing I do believe; you need to be friendly with people of your own intellectual standing. My wife was more domestic than intellectual." (Hence, her exclusion from Target-Class 'A' - related to his 'Intellectual' dynamism.)

Susan's SWOR (figure 8) contrasts with that of John and well-illustrates the theme of secure attachment within the context of marital and affiliative relationships. Like John, her highest score in the RSQ was for the 'dismissing' pattern. This pattern is, however, applied differently in terms of her friendships. "I've had a few let downs with friends but that's life ... it's not good to brood on the disappointments! You must have a good understanding of people. It's give and take, friendship, you know. One shouldn't look for faults. You must be compassionate." Susan's features are applied more expansively to her friendships, than are those of John. Another noticeable difference between the two SWORs is the relatively high goodness-of-fit indexes in each of Susan's Target- and Feature-Classes: this suggests a regularity of pattern indicative of a significant theme of integration amongst her self-with experiences.

The self-with experiences of feeling 'secure', 'open' and 'confident', as contained in Feature-Class 'a-b-c', apply to all her friendships, even that with Emily, female friend #1 (Target-Class 'C'), who also promotes in Susan, feelings of being 'anxious', 'uncomfortable', 'suspicious', and 'afraid to get too close'. 'Confused' is also contained in Feature-Class 'c' and attests to Susan's present feelings of ambivalence as regards Emily, of whom she said, "... she has disappointed me. In old age, the politeness goes, you know. Now people don't worry if they're not polite.."

Thus, although two distinct dynamisms characterise Susan SWOR (an Outgoing-Enthusiastic' dynamism comprised of Feature-Class 'a', 'a-b' and 'a-b-c' and a 'Confused-Uncomfortable' one, comprised of Feature-Class 'c' and 'a-b-c'), all her self-with-other experiences, other than that with Emily, belong to the first dynamism. Because Susan admitted to having had "only a few male friends - other than my greatest friend - my husband", the Target-Classes which are associated with her Outgoing/Enthusiastic dynamism refer mostly to her same-sex friendships.

None of Susan's male friends is associated with her self-with-other feelings of being 'bound to confidentiality', 'able to disclose', 'loving', 'creative' and 'sympathetic'. The self-with-other experiences she reports with regard to her male friends thus suggest a distinctly less intimate theme and include feelings of being 'composed', 'outgoing', and

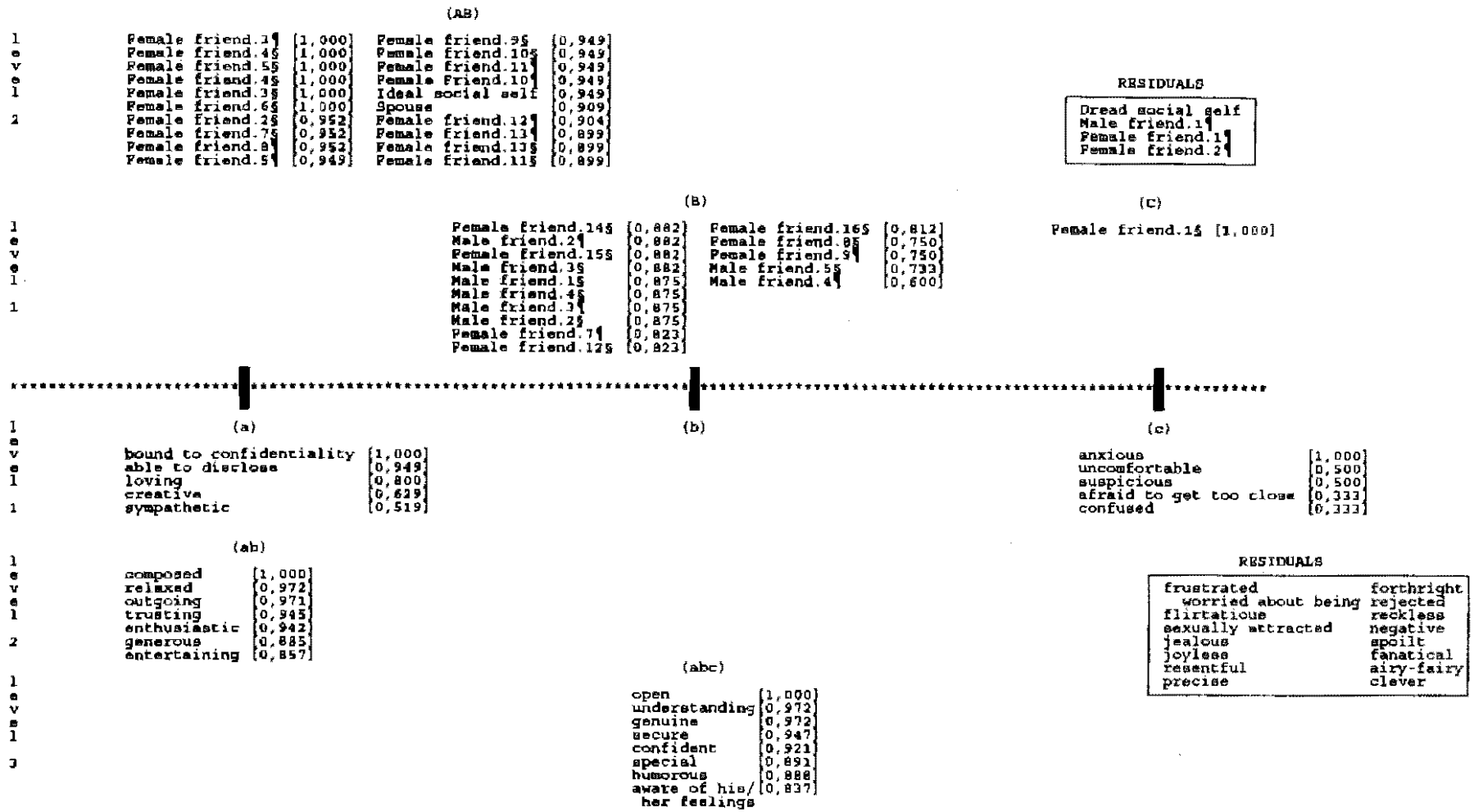


FIGURE 8: SUSAN'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

'entertaining' (Feature-Class 'a-b') as well as 'open' 'genuine' and 'humorous', et cetera (Feature-Class 'a-b-c'). Susan's inclusion of her husband in Target-Class 'A-B' reflects his role as both friend and spouse. Furthermore, her inclusion of "ideal social self" in that category points to the high level of satisfaction that friendship with her spouse and with 49% of her friends (all female) afford her. Congruently, in the Love Styles Questionnaire (Appendix K9), she endorsed most strongly those items which revealed both Storge and Agape orientations. Little wonder, too, that she rated her life satisfaction beyond the maximum scale (Appendix K1) and that, on the semantic differential well-being scale, she attributed maximum positive scores to the affiliative constructs of 'love - hatred', 'understanding - not bothered', and 'caring - uncaring'.

The lack of intimacy in Susan's friendships with the opposite-sex is likely to be rooted in her mental models of such relationships. In the "Acceptability of Cross-sex Friendships in Marriage" sub-section of the Mental Model Questionnaire, she indicated vehement opposition to the acceptability of cross-sex friendships. In the "Privacy" sub-section, she again strongly endorsed the premise that friendship with the opposite-sex puts marriage at risk and represents an invasion of privacy. Likewise, she unequivocally considered such friendships to be of no benefit to married persons. Her responses in the "Loyalty" sub-section also indicated strong agreement with the premise that friendship with the opposite-sex represented a breech of loyalty to one's spouse. In section 'B' of the questionnaire, she rated as being 'very true' all items which suggested that her spouse disapproved of her having opposite-sex friends. She also indicated that she disapproved of his having opposite-sex friends. In justification, she pointed out that her husband offered her all the (opposite-sex) friendship she desired.

Although spouses attribute both meaning and intentions to the behaviour exhibited by each other, they often respond to 'hidden' meanings and intentions rather than to the actual behaviours themselves (Bagarozzi & Giddings, 1983). The development of reflective self-awareness, perspective taking and the capacity for intersubjectivity is dependent on the individual's working models, which include their own, and their partners', representational processes (Bretherton, 1991). Modification of these perceptions and attributions is difficult because family members tend to view each other in terms of fixed, stereotyped 'ideal' models which have

become internalised. This 'ideal' (enduring) spousal image powerfully influences how one processes information about one's spouse and affects how one behaves towards him/her.

With respect to marital relationships, the internalised ideal model of a spouse represents a composite image constructed by the individual, based on his or her perceptions and reconstructions of emotionally charged experiences with significant members of the opposite sex. Although these representations are not readily accessible to conscious awareness, they colour the ways in which one perceives external reality and interpersonal behaviour.

8.6.1. **Mental models: building blocks of attachment**

Mental models of attachment are affectively-laden mental representations that function partially outside of conscious awareness to direct attention and organise memory so as to provide the individual with heuristics for perceiving, anticipating, guiding and interpreting interpersonal behaviour (Kobak & Hazan, 1991; Bretherton, 1991; Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Rothbard & Shaver, 1994). As dynamic processes, they mediate attachment and play a major role in maintaining an individual's relational pathway (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994). Having less static connotations than 'cognitive maps' or 'representations', internal working models suggest "dynamic mental structures on which an individual can operate in order to conduct small-scale experiments in the head" (Bretherton, 1991, p. 8).

Mental models of attachment have vital survival value because they permit individuals to understand and to interact adaptively to the complexities in their lives (Baucom, Epstein, Sayers & Sher, 1989). In this way, individuals learn to recognise and to gravitate towards those patterns of interaction which provide them with feelings of security. Thus, from an ethnological per-

spective, the ontogeny of affectional bonds and attachment is survival (Bowlby, 1979).

Individuals interpret attachment situations through perceptions and affective responses which guide their search for meanings (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994). Earlier experiences establish categories, memories and associations which may be elicited by present feelings and perceptions. Additional experience then serves to maintain these constructions of reality or to change them, in order to maintain consistency with new perceptions and feelings (Skolnick, 1986).

The parallels in Lesley's and Mary's relational working models were founded in the similarities of their experiential background: both were divorced and were experiencing financial difficulties, exacerbated by a lack of maintenance being paid for their respective children. Both had also been victims of domestic violence. Significantly, their interpretations of the green card in the projective procedure contained very similar themes:

Mary: "Oooh ... this is quite a picture (frowning). It's a very sad picture. (Long pause) This lot have just lost something ... their home ... that's why they're staying together. They're not deep friends. They're all out of work ... except the one with earrings, the one at the back ... her hair's done, she's better dressed ... she's probably got a job. Maybe that's causing problems for their relationships. Jealousy. They're looking sad, though, and it's related to the loss of their home, money problems ... that's leading to stress. Each one has a worry ... but it's linked to money and to affairs at home ... not to their relationships so much. There's not a strong friendship bond here. Basically, it's four people with a lot of worries, out on the street ... and that is going to overshadow any friendship concerns."

Lesley: "These are poor, uneducated people. He's got a tattoo and she's got long toenails. They're couples - one doesn't have children. They're angry. They hate the rich people; they have to battle. The wives might work. There's violence, too."

The more robust the emotions aroused in a relationship, the more likely are the earlier and less conscious models likely to dominate (Bowlby, 1979). Different representational

models often co-exist and an individual may oscillate between applying an inappropriate and persistent model, and a more appropriate one. Despite their acknowledgement of the impact of past experiences on working models, West and Sheldon-Keller (1994) challenge the view of working models as being unyielding and inflexible entities. They assert that, rather than a discrete model being maintained in the memory, there is potential to reclassify or recategorise past experiences in the light of current experiences.

West and Sheldon-Keller (1994) propose that behaviours and affects that were once associated with attachment form the basis for perception of potential recategorisation of experiences to include both old and new attachment-relevant information. From this perspective, perception of attachment-related behaviours precedes rediscovery or recreation of the affective category derived from past attachment experiences. Affects are not simply elements in the working model, but mechanisms for reactivating in the present, the categories established in the past. "Working models are dynamic, associative, affective categories that have the potential to be rediscovered and reformed in new situations" (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994, p. 64).

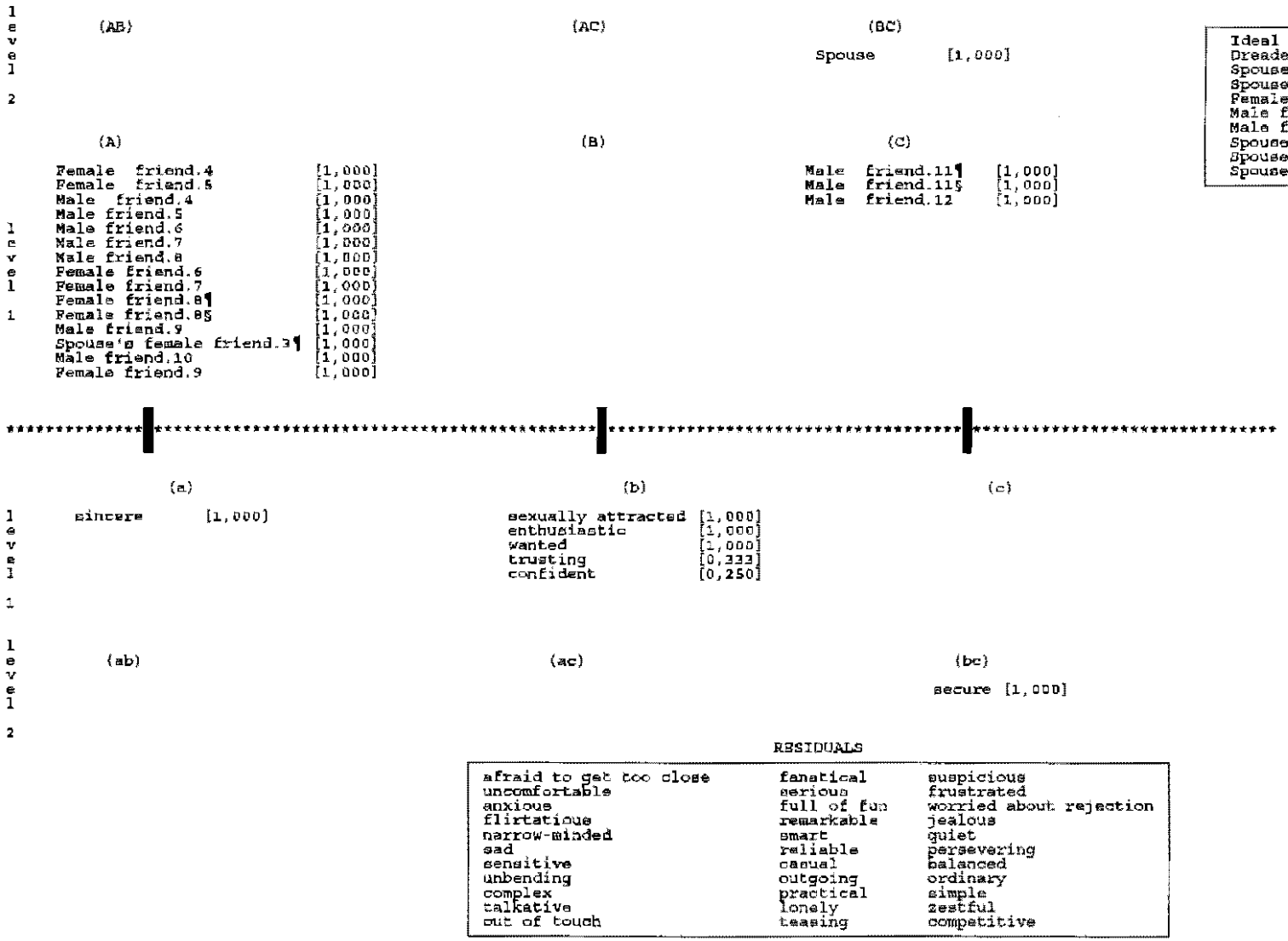
Working models of attachment figures are complimented by working models of self (Bretherton, 1985), which are considered to be necessary by-products of development towards increasingly mature relationships (Blass & Blatt, 1990). An individual's understanding of the relationship between him/herself and his/her attachment figure influences the activation, termination and suppression of the attachment system. It also provides feedback to the system and influences sensitivity to other feedback.

Mental models are internal views of actively contemplated interpersonal situations (Horowitz, 1991). "Working models integrate stimuli from the real situation with past

knowledge derived from associative networks of ideas and from enduring person schemas" (Horowitz, 1991). Bowlby (1973) suggests that the concept of working models is a way of describing, in terms compatible with systems theory, ideas traditionally described in such terms as 'introjection of an object' and 'self image'. Attachment theorists hypothesise that individuals internalise sets of rules and expectations that enable them to interpret and anticipate the behavioural and emotional responses of attachment figures (Diamond & Blatt, 1994).

The attachment internal working model is a dynamic mental representation of the self and other in interaction. It contributes to the expectations, beliefs and attributions each person has about himself, or herself, and the partner. In addition, it establishes the person's belief in the availability and consistency of the attachment figure and in the person's own worthiness as the receiver of security and comfort (Bowlby, 1982; Kobak & Hazan, 1991). It also establishes the individual's attitudes and beliefs about his availability to another. Summarising the fundamental concept of working models of attachment, Collins and Read (1994) suggest that these models include: (a) memories of attachment related experience; (b) beliefs, attitudes and expectations about self as well as others in relation to attachment; (c) attachment-related goals and needs; and (d) strategies and plans associated with achieving attachment goals.

Eddie's attachment goals and the expectations he held in terms of friendship were focused overwhelmingly on his wife, as his SWOR indicates (figure 9). The list of bipolar constructs Eddie generated as indicative of his mental model of well-being and happiness, contains two of the features included in the self-with exercise, thus indicating the salience of their meaning to him: 'self confidence - inferior complex', 'secure - afraid'. Although experiences of security (Feature-Class 'b-c') are associated with the friendships contained in Target-Classes 'C' and 'B-C', 'sexually attracted', 'enthusiastic', 'wanted', and the two features specifically related to secure attachment ('trusting' and 'confident') are



§ Scenarios including Eddie as a married man ¶ Scenarios including Eddie as an unmarried man

Where not indicated, the friendships are those Eddie established whilst being married.

FIGURE 9: EDDIE'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

associated with his spouse, only. The occupants of Target-Class 'A' induce Eddie to feel 'sincere', a feature unexpectedly not associated with his spouse.

Although 42% of Eddie's target-friends are female, they are clearly not differentiated from his male-friends in terms of self-with experiences. This unidimensionality (a significant theme in Eddie's SWOR) is likely to be at least partly resultant from the uncertainty he expressed regarding his wife's approval of his having opposite-sex friends. In the Mental Model Questionnaire (Appendix E1), he was 'unsure' about each one of the eight items contained in the sub-category "Spouse's Approval of Opposite-sex Friendship." Despite the prominence of the role his wife played in his life, he was 'unsure' about all six items in the sub-category "Spouse as Friend" (which included such items as "My spouse offers me all the opposite-sex friendship I need.")

Approximately 38% of Eddie's targets (including his 'ideal' and 'dreaded' social selves) and 82,5% of his features, are assigned to residual classes. Commenting on the concatenation of the clusters and the large feature-residue, Eddie indicated that he had selected only the predominate self-with feelings which characterised his relationship with each of the targets. This led to an unelaborated pattern of self-with-other experiences, suggesting a relational mental model low in schematic complexity and congruent with his 'preoccupied' style of relating to opposite-sex friends, as indicated by his responses on the RSQ (Appendix K6). In terms of Kelly's sixth corollary (that of 'range'), Eddie's relational constructs were of extremely limited scope: only one major dynamism is apparent in his SWOR - that of 'Security' (comprising Feature-classes 'b' and 'b-c').

His feelings of security centred around individuals who, Eddie felt, "really understand and accept" him. None of Eddie's female friends generates this feeling, although those who occupy Target-Cluster 'A' do allow him to feel 'sincere'. David, male friend #11, had tried to help Eddie in his battle against alcohol. He stood by him, he explained, "when most of my 'friends' were too busy to help me." Of Father Gerard, male friend #12, Eddie said, "One incident will make him a friend forever: I had a son who was dying of cancer. He was only 48 years old but he had cancer. He'd left the church at that stage; he was tired of the inflexibility of it. He was just fed up with it. He found it unbending. Anyway, once he had died, there was the question of the funeral. We got hold of father Gerard. He came through at midnight - what a beautiful funeral he did. That touched our hearts."

Bretherton (1991) goes beyond Bowlby's (1981) notion of

working models as composed of two-level systems based on autobiographical (episodic) and general (semantic) memory. To Bretherton (1991), working models of self and attachment figures are multiple-level schema-hierarchies derived from actual transactions. Similarly, Epstein (1991) considers a self-theory to consist of several hierarchically organised postulate-systems into which new experiences are assimilated. On the lowest level, are interactional-schemata that are experience-near (When I pay attention to Jane, my wife becomes jealous). Above this level are more general schemata (My wife is usually jealous about my interactions with other women). Near the top of the hierarchy are both "My wife is a jealous person" and "I make my wife jealous" which, in turn, subsume a variety of general schemata.

Collins and Read (1994) propose that adult representations of attachment are best considered as networks of interconnected models, organised as a default hierarchy with many shared elements, and based on beliefs about people and the self in general. At the top of the hierarchy are the most general representations about people and the self, abstracted from a history of relationship experiences with significant others. Further down the hierarchy are models that correspond to particular kinds of relationships, including friendships. Lowest in the hierarchy are the most specific models corresponding to particular patterns and relationships. Models higher up in the hierarchy have broad generality but are less useful in guiding behaviour and perception. Models lower in the hierarchy provide a better fit for specific relationships because they are more closely matched to the details of the specific situation.

8.6.2. **Selective attention**

Individuals' existing concepts and expectations actively shape the ways in which they firstly, perceive others and

secondly, interpret their social experiences (Markus, 1977). Thus, for those with negative expectations, even well-meaning behaviours can be negatively interpreted when filtered through existing models; for those with positive expectations, the opposite seems to be true. Influenced by a need for consistency, perception is influenced by an individual's current goals and personal needs, which provide an orienting framework for the direction of attentional resources. Furthermore, an individual is more likely to attend to information which is consistent with his or her existing beliefs and attitudes about self and others. Those constructs which are chronically accessible, relative to others, are most likely to capture the individual's attention.

Charlotte, for instance, whose highest mean score on the Attachment Patterns scale was for "compulsive care-giving" (3,57), construed her friendship-role as that of nurturing listener, a person to whom others could come and unburden themselves. She said, "I mean, it's a case of having someone to talk to, without judging one, without giving advice. That's something I've noticed and I've experienced. People often just want to unburden themselves, they don't want advice; as soon as advice is given, they close up - I do too. I'm careful now - I just stumbled on this and it really does seem to be true."

In an innovative study, Pierce, Sarason and Sarason (1992) measured students' beliefs about the supportiveness and emotional availability of their mothers. The following week, the respondents and their mothers took part in a laboratory interaction task whereby the students had to prepare and give a speech. Towards this end, each mother sent to her offspring identical encouraging and supportive notes. When the respondents were asked to evaluate their mothers' notes, those who had previously described their mothers as not generally available were less likely to evaluate the notes as supportive.

Working models of attachment play an important role in directing attentional resources in attachment-relevant

situations. Thus, anxious adults are likely to have as active goals, seeking approval and avoiding rejection. They tend to have an attentional focus that alerts them to signs of disapproval from others. The attentional focus of avoidant adults, on the other hand, is more likely to alert them to signs of intrusion or control by others.

So it was in the present study: with the exception of John, all the avoidant respondents (Paula, Leigh, Jane, Mary) mentioned 'control' in their descriptions of their friendships and/or their marital relationships. From an anxious-ambivalent stance, Tembi seemed, at least on the one hand, to welcome her husband's control of her ("He developed me by controlling me. He made me stand up for myself"), although an additional theme in her data was that of acceptance-rejection. She explained: "We women wait around hoping that our men will be happy, doing everything we can to make them happy, not rocking the boat, not asking too many questions like, 'Where were you last night?'. You wait for your man to talk to you, you want to be there when he needs you to talk to. You hope he won't turn you away; you hope he'll want you."

Differences in working models thus direct attention towards some features of the environment and away from others; thereafter, information available for further processing will be biased in a goal-relevant and expectation-consistent way towards schema-relevant and schema-consistent information (Collins & Read, 1994).

8.6.3. **Internalisation, assimilation and accommodation**

Mental models are typified by the individual's expectations, attitudes, beliefs and defences about relatedness. Although conscious beliefs are coloured by underlying and, sometimes, not fully conscious mental models (Hazan and Shaver, 1987), it is possible, through symbolic representation, to have conscious knowledge of schemas and to affect schematic functions by conscious thought. Nonetheless, attachment behaviour becomes more difficult to measure as an individual matures and maintenance of proximity to the attachment figure increasingly becomes an internalised symbolic process

(Cohen, 1974).

Through a process of synergism in which internal representations are reified, new interpersonal experience is assimilated and organised. Not only must working models assimilate new experiences to existing expectations, but they must also accommodate to their relationship partner (Bowlby, 1973). Working models also serve a heuristic function by providing the individual with "rules and rule systems for the direction of behavior and the felt appraisal of experience" (Main et al., 1985, p. 77) and thus play a role in guiding how people make sense of their relationships. In this respect, rules and structured processes guide the attachment system and related behaviours and suggest a view of the working model as an algorithm: a set of rules, processes or steps for solving attachment problems.

West and Sheldon-Keller (1994) point out that when experience leads an individual to develop a working model of attachment relationships as secure, the model is subject to revision, accommodation and adjustment in response to current or new attachment experiences. However, when experience leads an individual to develop a working model of attachment relationships as insecure, then the model tends to be rigid and unadaptable. Such working models assimilate all new information under old guidelines or rules.

The rigidity of Mary's relational working model and the inflexible way she assimilated relational information resulted in undifferentiated relational outcomes. Consequently, she seemed to be plagued by relationship problems. She had experienced difficulties in her relationships with both same- and opposite-sex friends, their parents, her two husbands, and with the members of her family. "People don't accept me," she said. "It's always the same. I'd rather just avoid relationships." In contrast to Mary, with her avoidant attachment style and unadaptable working models of relationships, was Sharlene, securely-attached and open to the vagaries of relational experience: "I've changed a lot over the years. Friends are different - they act differently and they have to be understood

in different ways," she said. "I try to treat each friend as an individual."

8.6.4. **Accessibility and retrieval**

The aim of therapy from an attachment theory perspective is to help the individual examine his working models so that the influence of past attachment experiences on present relationships can be examined (West et al., 1989). (This bears marked similarity to the aim of therapy from a Kellian perspective.) The ease with which individuals are able to do this depends on how accessible their working models are to reflection and evaluation.

Main et al. (1985) developed the Adult Attachment Inventory in order to evaluate respondents' feelings of security, defined as the individual's ability to discuss and integrate existing information relevant to his or her representational models of attachment. Adults rated as secure appeared comfortable in discussing attachment and, when constructing their attachment history, were able to appreciate and integrate both positive and negative aspects. Insecure adults, on the other hand, tended to give histories of unfavourable attachment experiences and yet appeared to be relatively unaware of the influence of these experiences on their present relationships.

The ease with which attachment emotions and memories can be explored is thus a function of defensive processes that suppress attachment relevant information. Main et al. (1985) suggest that, even though individuals with an avoidant attachment style probably do have working models of relationships in which others are interpreted as disappointing them, they may be unwilling to admit to being disappointed because admission would imply a degree of emotional dependency which in itself, is threatening. Schank's (1982) revised theory of event representation suggests that, if parts of autobiographical memories enter

into cross-referenced schemata at various hierarchical levels, material that has been defensively excluded from recall might still impact on schema information at other levels.

Bowlby (1981) bases his explanation of defensive exclusion on an information-processing model. Attachment information is excluded because, earlier in the individual's history, it caused pain, anxiety, confusion or conflict through inclusion. The compulsively-reliant individual is likely to have experienced a lack of sincere responsiveness from attachment figures; later, he or she tends to mistrust others and to avoid interpersonal closeness because of the inherent vulnerability such relationships represent. Thus, restrictive attitudes or cognitive biases, used as solutions or defences earlier on, manifest themselves in present interpersonal perceptions.

Defensive exclusion offers an explanation for the influence of Paula's avoidant attachment style on her friendships: "... when someone gets very close, I feel very concerned ... I panic. Being acceptable is still a big issue for me. My ex-husband hated women. He was very crude and intensely critical. It is not easy to trust people."

Present relationships (or interpersonal outcomes) are construed in ways related to the representations of significant others drawn out of past experiences (Main et al., 1985). Old patterns of action and thought guide selective attention and information processing in new situations so that some distortion is unavoidable (Bretherton, 1992). When existing plans and strategies are not available, individuals rely on readily accessible and often unsuitable strategies and scripts.

Two prominent themes evident in Paula's mental model of opposite-sex friendship were interpersonal distance and a lack of relational trust. In terms of her relational scripts, the salience and accessibility of these two schemas (and the associated scripts) were evidenced not only in her interview and questionnaire data, but also in the ways she con-

strued the scenarios contained in the projective procedure. Interpreting the green card, she commented, "They don't seem close to one another - not really close. They're friends in terms of standing together but not friends as I see friends. I can't see there's any real friendship as I value it ... I can't see them depending on each other. There's a definite emotional space between them." Avoidance, achieved through distance and isolation, was also thematic in Paula's description of the four adults in the red scenario, depicting a social gathering: "The lady in white looks distanced from the other two ... thoughtful ... she's listening to every word but isn't willing to comment. She's guarded ... there's tension ... they're emotionally isolated."

Working models influence selective attention, memory encoding, and information retrieval, as well as inference and explanation processes, all of which have implications for personal and interpersonal functioning. Importantly, recall is often characterised by reinterpretation or forgetting of inconsistencies. Both content and complexity of models influence memory. People are also more likely to store, recall, and reconstruct attachment-related experiences and interactions in ways that confirm their existing models of self and others (Collins & Read, 1994).

8.6.5. **Memory processes**

Attachment-related memories have strong affective components, even if they are not always perfectly accurate representations of interpersonal experience. Despite being reconstructions and reinterpretations of experiences, autobiographical memories are distilled from information contained in representational models of experience. Hence, they provide valuable information about an individual's current organisation and representation of attachment-related experience (Collins & Read, 1994).

Behaviour strategies may be stored as 'if-then' contingencies (Baldwin, 1992) which specify the strategy which is appropriate in any particular circumstance. This script is likely to have been used previously, under similar

conditions, and is linked to the individual's attachment style. An individual either categorises a situation and forms an impression, or he or she appraises the situation by retrieving a similar experience from memory, even though the memory itself may be distorted by his or her working model or relational schema.

The influence of memory and behavioural scripts in categorising interpersonal situations was once again clearly evident in Paula's relational schema. Her responses on the attachment-style scale and in the adapted version of the Relationship Scale Questionnaire (Appendix K6) revealed her avoidant attachment style, with high loadings on the 'dismissing' and 'fearful' factors as regards opposite-sex friendships. Deep in thought, as she retrieved obviously painful memories, Paula grew noticeably upset as she interpreted the scenario on the green card in the projective procedure. "This woman is quite sad - rejected," she mused, frowning thoughtfully. "I wonder if she's feeling disillusioned? She's separate. She's been hurt ... but she hasn't moved away from it." Late at night on the day of this interview with Paula, she phoned, uncontrollably distraught about the scenario she had interpreted. It had, she said, had a devastating effect on her and "she couldn't stop thinking about it" although she wasn't sure why. This throws into relief the very essence of projective identification, "the attribution to another person of an introjected part of the self that is repressed" (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991, p. 188).

By contrast, Eddie's response to the same scenario was much less dark and forlorn. Indeed, it even contained a touch of humour: "Perhaps the picnic sight they've selected doesn't suit them ... ha ha ha!!! No-one wants the photo taken. They don't look friendly at all - not even with each other." Eddie's two lowest scores in the RSQ were those of 'dismissing' and 'fearful'. His two highest scores were for the orientations of 'secure' and 'preoccupied'. Congruently, he rated himself as having a 'secure' attachment style. Thus, the difference between Paula's and Eddie's attachment orientations seemed to underlie their scenario-interpretations. On the one hand, Paula's attachment-related feelings of avoidance and insecurity in terms of opposite-sex relationships, compounded by the rejection she had experienced within her marital context, produced negatively-valanced perceptions. On the other hand, Eddie's feelings of security permeated the ways in which he construed the construction processes of others, and resulted in more positively-toned interpretations.

8.6.6. **Emotional response patterns**

Working models of attachment contribute to relationship experiences by shaping cognitive, emotional and behavioural response patterns, and by influencing emotion regulation and expression (Kobak & Sceery, 1988) in ways that serve their needs. The impact of working models on behaviour is mediated, automatically and subconsciously, by the cognitive interpretation of the situation, along with the individual's emotional response (Collins & Read, 1994).

Collins and Read (1994) suggest that working models operate through two general pathways: a direct path, referred to as 'primary appraisal' and an indirect pathway, 'secondary appraisal', mediated through cognitive processing. When an attachment-related event occurs, working models initiate an automatic emotional response, a schema-triggered event (Fiske & Pavelchak, 1986). Initial emotional response to an event can be maintained, amplified or altered, depending on how the experience is interpreted and explained. This, in turn, is reliant not only on satisfaction of active goals, but also on the symbolic meaning of the outcome, in relation to individuals and to their relationship.

Adults with different styles of attachment vary in their primary appraisal of events "partly because their models are linked to different emotional histories that are automatically triggered, and partly because they will be evaluating events relative to different goals and personal needs" (Collins & Read, 1994, p. 76). Differences in emotional responses bias cognitive processing by directing attention toward emotion-consistent features of an event, by facilitating storage and retrieval of emotion-consistent memories and experiences and even by constraining one's ability to thoroughly process information.

A second mechanism linking working models and emotional

appraisal involves goal structures. Because adults with different attachment styles have different personal and interpersonal goals, they tend to respond differently to the same event. Thus, avoidant individuals feel happy when their partners wish to be alone because that facilitates their own desire for distance. On the other hand, anxious individuals may react negatively to their partner's desire to be alone because it frustrates their need for attention and closeness.

This difference was clearly illustrated in Leigh's and Tembi's notions of friendship within a couple-context. From the viewpoint of an avoidant personality, Leigh said, "We're often invited to friends and I sometimes I can't go because of work commitments or just because I need some personal space. I encourage my hubby to go along and he often does. I'm so glad he does, because I really enjoy being alone now and then."

By contrast, anxious-ambivalent Tembi was distraught when her husband's activities excluded her: "He made me cry so often about things like that. Oh, we used to fight! Then I thought, no this isn't right, I've got my rights too. So, I decided to make him aware of them and my feelings too. He has to include me!"

Attachment style differences in behaviour result from a combination of biased cognitive processing and emotional response tendencies. Cognitive and emotional outcomes shape behaviour in two ways: firstly, working models contain stored plans and behavioural strategies which become available when working models are activated in memory. Secondly, cognitive and emotional processing of information guides the choice of a particular strategy.

8.6.7. **Attributions, assumptions and beliefs**

Links have been found between self-reported attachment style and general beliefs about the self and the social world. Schank's (1982) notion of schema abstraction and schema partitioning indicates how schemata representing experiences with specific themes can contribute to normative working

models of particular social roles (such as that of spouse), when they are subsumed into other more general schemata. Observations of other spouses would also feed into this general model. Shaver and his colleagues have also found that individual differences in attachment style are related to memories of child-parent interaction, to current attitudes towards love relationships, to states of loneliness and especially, to mental models of self and others (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Shaver & Hazan, 1987, 1988).

These pioneering studies have been followed by investigations where measures of love style (Feeney & Noller, 1990; Collins & Read, 1990), relationship satisfaction (Pistole, 1989), affect regulation (Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Mikulincer, Florian & Tolmacz, 1990), beliefs about self and the social world (Collins & Read, 1990; Feeney & Noller, 1990), relationship commitment (Pistole, Clark & Tubbs, 1995) and non-intimate sexuality, eating disorders and motives for drinking (Brennan & Shaver, 1995) have been demonstrated as differing according to attachment style. These studies have emphasised the role that working models play in shaping social experience by assimilating new relationships to pre-existing expectations about self and other (Kobak & Hazan, 1991). Although the attachment bond in childhood is a complementary relationship, in normal, healthy adults it is characterised by reciprocity, even though there may be interludes of bi-directional complementarity.

Attributions and expectancies (whether accurate or biased and inaccurate) about future behaviour are based on the assumptions which each person within a dyadic context holds. The assumptions about a set of characteristics of a person fulfilling a role are commonly labelled 'personae', whereas those assumptions which indicate the ways in which people relate to each other are 'scripts'. Personae and scripts can be widely shared in a culture or they can be idiosyncratic to an individual. Standards involve the rational or

irrational characteristics that the individual believes a partner or relationship should have. When they are extreme, rigid or inappropriate, they become dysfunctional.

Tembi's comments about marriage displayed her strong cognizance of cultural mores: "We women like to be controlled, we like an autocratic approach. We like do's and don'ts! In our culture, women have to be submissive. A man is never wrong. So, we wait around hoping to please our men. We try everything not to irritate them. We'll do anything for them - that's how it should be ... that's what we have to believe ... never question your man. Ha! But, our culture influences us. Even though some women are enlightened, when it comes to the push, you must be submissive if you're a woman." Although, at times, Tembi seemed to consider these mores to be inappropriate, she felt obliged to adhere to them. Indeed, they formed the foundation of her marital relational scripts. They were also likely to be responsible for the emotional turmoil, confusion and frustration she experienced within her marriage.

8.6.8. **Attachment-related goals and needs**

Just as the beliefs and expectations of individuals with different attachment patterns or dimensions differ, so too do their goals and needs. Individuals with different attachment styles draw from different behavioural repertoires and are motivated to achieve different interactional and personal goals. Collins and Read (1994) point out that secure individuals are likely to desire close intimate relationships and to seek a balance of closeness and autonomy within their relationships. Also desiring close relationships, anxious individuals are guided by an additional need for approval and a fear of rejection which may lead them to seek intense intimacy and less autonomy. Avoidant adults need to maintain distance, either in order to satisfy their desire for autonomy and independence, as in the case of dismissing avoidants, or to manage their profound need to avoid rejection, as in the case of fearful avoidants (Bartholomew, 1990). However, it is not just the content of people's goals and need structures that impact on attachment styles; the extent to which the goals are salient or chroni-

cally active in social interactions, and the conditions that satisfy them, also need to be considered.

An individual's enduring and most significant interpersonal goals are deeply embedded in his/ close relationships (Berscheid, 1994). Once the goal of maintaining or re-establishing proximity to the attachment figure is achieved, the individual alters his/her behaviours to maintain the desired state of the relationship. Attachment may then be deactivated and other behaviour systems may be employed. The activation and deactivation of the attachment system is dependent on the ways in which the experience of the individuals' relationship is encoded in his or her mind - in other words, to his or her social identity.

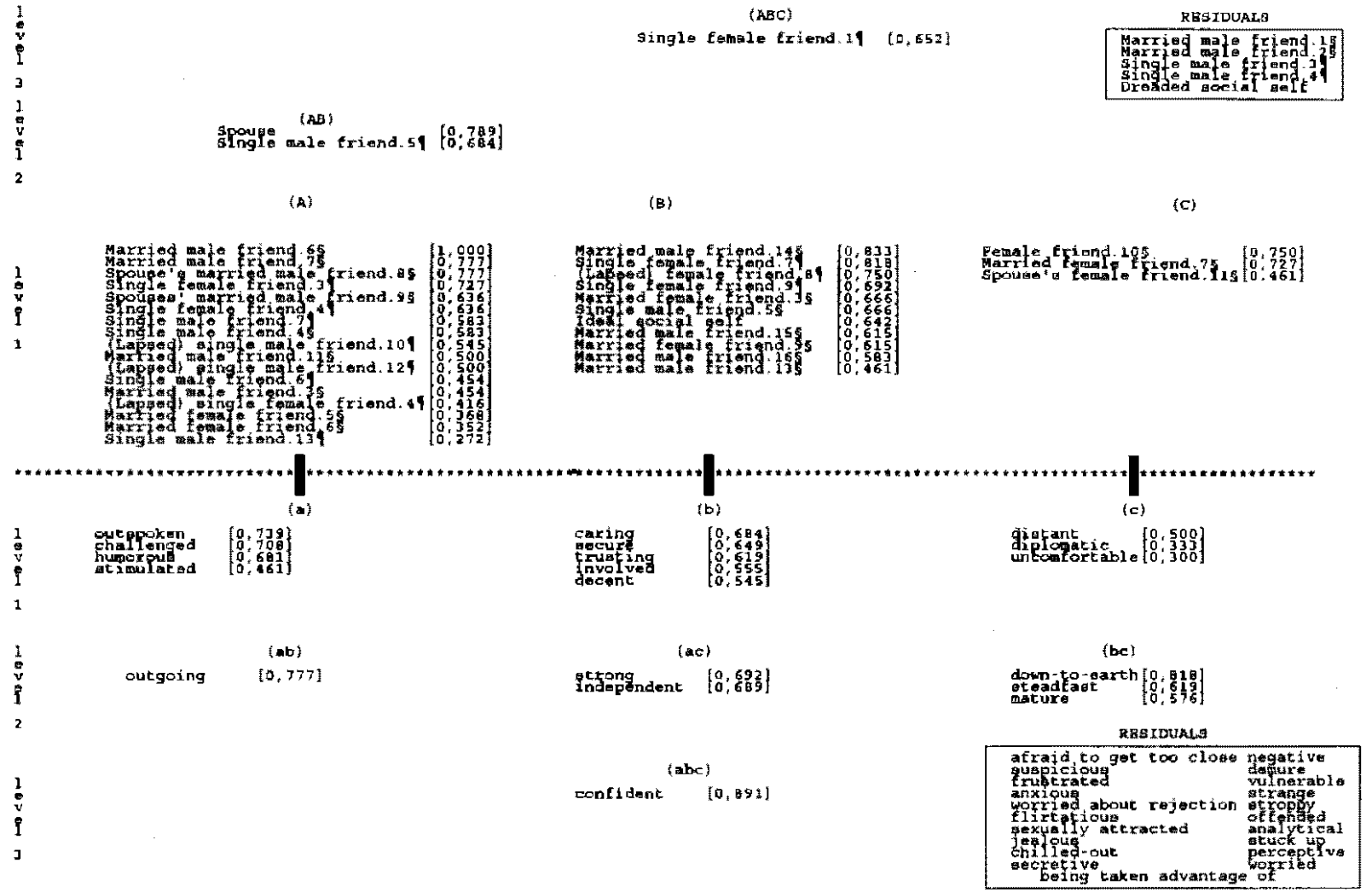
Working models contain information about one's own needs and goals, as well as those of others. These goals may be general (to develop a wider social network) or specific (to have an affair with Jane). "Although the attachment behavioral system serves the broad goal of maintaining felt-security, a person's history of achieving or failing to achieve this goal is expected to result in a characteristic hierarchy of attachment-related social and emotional needs" (Collins & Read, 1994). As a result, individuals differ according to the extent to which they are motivated to develop intimate relationships, avoid rejection, maintain privacy and seek approval from others.

The differences in the organisation of the attachment construct or mental models of self and others are reflected in differences in styles of attachment (Main et al., 1985). Individual differences in attachment styles probably reflect differences in the psychological organisation of the attachment system (Collins & Read, 1990). Different styles of attachment reflect variations in the mental representations of the self in relation to attachment. As such, they direct both feelings and behaviour and form

enduring cognitive models of attention, memory and cognition (Main et al., 1985). These models, in turn, lead to expectations and beliefs about oneself and others and influence social competence and well-being throughout life (Skolnick, 1986). Individual confidence in self, and a sense of being valued by others, are central aspects of secure attachment.

Existential security permeates Cheryl's data: in terms of Hazan and Shaver's (1987) measure of attachment style she rated herself as being 'secure', and in the RSQ (adapted version), her highest mean score (4,20) was in the 'secure' category. In the RSQ, she strongly endorsed statements such as "I find it easy to get emotionally close to people of the opposite sex" and "I am comfortable depending on the people of the opposite sex". By contrast, her low score for 'fearful' (1,75) reflects her lack of endorsement of items such as "I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to people of the opposite sex" and "I find it difficult to trust people of the opposite sex." These scores are consistent with her high mean scores with respect to those dimensions of attachment labelled 'availability' ($\bar{X}$ = 4,33) and 'use of attachment figure' or 'effectiveness of attachment figure' ($\bar{X}$ = 5,00). Within the same dimensional scale, she obtained a low mean score (1,00) for 'feared loss', both from her own and her spouse's perspective. Her highest mean score on the patterns of attachment scale was 4,14, for 'compulsive care-giving'. (Maximum mean score for each of the Attachment Pattern categories = 5.) Reinforcing this theme of security are the results of Cheryl's well-being ratings (Appendix K1): estimating her overall level of life-satisfaction at level '3', she rated herself as being maximally 'secure'.

How does Cheryl's mental model translate into self-with experiences in terms of her friendships, before and after marriage? Inspection of her SWOR (figure 10) reveals the prominence of the feature 'confident' (Feature-Class 'a-b-c') as a fundamental or core self-with-other experience and, as such, as a durable and ubiquitous aspect of her social identity: 'confident' (goodness-of-fit = 0,891) is how she describes herself regardless of with whom she is. Being constant or invariant, feelings of confidence give her a sense of self-continuity with regard to all her friendships. The majority of Cheryl's features are positive, with her only negative self-with-other experiences being contained in Feature-Class 'c' (including 'distant, and 'uncomfortable'). Significantly, they are applied most directly to four female friends (occupants of Target-Classes 'C' and 'A-B-C'), but to none of her male friends.



§ Scenarios including Cheryl as a married woman ¶ Scenarios including Cheryl as an unmarried woman

FIGURE 10: CHERYL'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

This is consistent with Cheryl's preference for male friends, and indicative of the successful way in which she integrated her circle of male friends into her new 'couple' friendship-orientation, after her marriage: "I'm still in contact with some of the men friends I had before I got married ... oh yes! They've got married and we've become friends with their spouses too. But those friends are now just as close to my husband as to me. We're both very secure in our relationship so friendships with other people don't threaten our relationship at all. Mostly, we share our friends - that helps." Considering Cheryl's experiences and beliefs about opposite-sex friendship, it follows that her scores for the all the sub-categories of the trust scale, both on a direct perspective and a metaperspective level, were high (Appendix K5).

Cheryl's responses in the Mental Model Questionnaire reflected strong agreement with the items "Love develops out of friendship with the opposite sex" and "Cross-sex friendships are fertile grounds for the development of love." Despite her beliefs, she reported having no difficulty in maintaining her opposite-sex friendships on a platonic level. Strong approval was also indicated for cross-sex friendship within the context of marriage. In the sub-section "Opposite-sex Friendship, Love and Sexuality", Cheryl denied sensing an element of romantic interest in her opposite-sex friendships, although she considered it 'true' of herself that her romances had also been friendships. In addition, her responses to the items in the sub-section "Inclusion of Spouse in Opposite-sex Friendship" indicated disagreement with items indicating that one's spouse should be included in such friendships. As an adjunct to the first item in the "Social Pressure" sub-section (including "People are inclined to call a friendship between two married people an affair."), she commented: "This does happen but it does not bother me or affect the friendship. It doesn't worry my husband because he has trust in me that it is a friendship."

Several of the occupants of Target-Class 'A' (who most directly activate Cheryl's self-with-other experiences of being 'outspoken', 'challenged', 'humorous' and 'stimulated'), are opposite-sex friendships whose nature has undergone transformation. Recounting her story about Don, (male friend #4), she explained: "Before he got married, Don had a definite interest in me, but I made it clear that we were just friends and that it would go no further." Once Don got married, he "settled down a great deal" and his wife became a close friend of Cheryl and her husband.

Cheryl split her friendship with Neil, male friend #7, into two phases (indicating their friendship before and after both of their marriages). Both friendship phases are

positioned in Target-Class 'A'. Of the first phase in her friendship with Neil, she said, "Before I was married, we started off as friends and then had a relationship - so I have a mixture of feelings for him." However, she added that, "... we reverted to a good friendship without any problems." Cheryl's friendship with male friend #6, Leon, was somewhat similar: "Leon was another person who got married after I did and the friendship then became a couple-friendship," she explained. Again, although she split her friendship with Leon into two time-phases, both were situated in Target-Class 'A', suggesting that these self-with-other experiences were not significantly affected by either of their marriages.

Unlike her relationships with both Leon and Neil, there were no romantic undertones in her friendship with George, male friend #5 and resident of both Target-Class 'B' and 'A-B': "Although we were friends and nothing more," she said, "I always thought that George would make someone a very good husband, one day." Her friendship with George was initiated when both were single (time 1): this phase of their friendship is represented in Target-Class 'A-B' (along with Cheryl's spouse). Cheryl's self-with feelings regarding both her spouse and George (time 1) cover a wide spectrum, being associated with the features contained in Feature-Classes 'a', 'a-b', 'a-c', 'a-b-c', 'b' and 'b-c'. Time 2 of their friendship was a phase during Cheryl's marriage, when George was still single. (This difference in status "didn't affect our friendship," she said.) However, Cheryl's self-with-other experience with George (time 2) is situated in Target-Class 'B', thus being associated with the features 'caring', 'trusting', 'involved', 'secure' and 'decent', but not 'outspoken', 'challenged', 'humorous', 'stimulated', 'outgoing', 'strong' and 'independent'. Thus, with regard to her friendship with George, Cheryl's marital status seemed to have an inhibiting effect.

Like the history and nature of her friendships, Cheryl's feature list contains a theme of consistency and stability. The boundaries imposed by her marriage - and that of her friends - appears to have had little in the way of major effects on her friendships. This is possibly a result of the sturdiness of her mental model regarding the positive and expansive role that friendship (specifically with the opposite sex) can play within a marital context. In the final interview session, Cheryl concurred with these conclusions, saying, "I used to be a black-and-white type of person, but not any more. My husband has had a lot to do with it. He's my best friend - he is a husband and a friend to me. Now, I know what I think, I know what I believe in, but I'm prepared to accept differences - differences in my friends and in my friendships, too. Things have evened out for me."

Securely attached, with her husband assuming the multiple role of both friend and spouse (a partnership reinforced by her essentially Eros/Agape love style), Cheryl's comments were a fitting testament to the balance and success with which she, as a married woman, had maintained her friendships - with both males and females.

8.7. ATTACHMENT AND RELATIONAL TYPES

An individual's attachment network is comprised of 'preferred relationships' in which "individuals regularly expect to find opportunities for companionable and/or supportive interactions which are experienced as more rather than less effective" (Heard & Lake, 1986). The people involved tend to be members of an individual's family and close friends, all of whom fluctuate in the position they occupy on the hierarchical attachment scale.

Investigating primary attachment relationships, Levitt, Coffman, Guacci-Franco and Loveless (1994) used a hierarchical mapping technique to plot those people to whom respondents felt so close and important that it would be hard to imagine life without them. The researchers examined the types of support exchanges with primary - and other - attachment figures. Primary attachment figures both received and provided aspects of confiding, respect, reassurance, sick care, and self disclosure more so than did other attachment figures. Levitt et. al (1994) interpret this in the language of attachment theory, arguing that such exchanges continue to provide adults with the type of secure base that mothers provide their infants, caring and comforting them.

Also focusing on primary attachment relationships, Hazan and Shaver (1987) propose an attachment-theory approach to romantic love, wherein the assumption is made that love is not only a social process, but a biological one too. As such, it functions as an evolutionary device to facilitate attachment between adult sexual partners who, as future

parents, need to represent reliable care-givers. In line with this theory, the boundaries of marriage function to hinder the development of cross-sex friendship, and to protect the bond between marital couples, in order to ensure reliable alliance between the partners.

From the perspective of Hazan and Shaver's (1987) socio-evolutionary model, people's orientations to close relationships are both continuous and developmental; moreover, the origins of adult love preferences and behaviours are located in early developmental experiences. Mediating processes (cognitive-emotional structures, or internal working models) account for the continuance of early relationship patterns into adulthood and also allow for later modification and change.

Taking into account both structure and function of close adult relationships, Sheldon and West (1989) differentiate interpersonal relationships into two functionally distinct components: the attachment component, based on the expectation of finding security and safety in an enduring relationship; and the affiliative component which serves to meet intimacy needs and to promote exploration and expansion of interests from the secure base provided by attachment.

8.7.1. **Affiliation**

Unlike love, friendship is not rooted in conspicuously biological processes. Friendships may contain elements of attachment although, like close relationships in the workplace, they are unlikely to be true attachment relationships (Weiss, 1991). For instance, only rarely does the loss of a friendship give rise to persistent grief. And, when a friendship is troubled, only seldom does a sense of emotional linkage persist over an extended time. For these reasons, even though attachment is a tie which binds individuals together over time and space, relationships with

friends tend to be more those of affiliation than of attachment.

The affiliative bond is based on the recognition of shared interests from which can develop a sense of mutuality, feelings of affection, respect and loyalty (Weiss, 1986). Friendships include a wide range of dyadic relationships, including relationships with acquaintances with whom one has occasional pleasant interaction; relationships with congenial companions with whom one spends much time in activities of mutual interest; and close, intimate relationships with a few valued persons whose company one seeks out purposefully (Ainsworth, 1989). Only few of these relationships are affectional bonds having an attachment component in which the partner is felt to be a uniquely valued person.

On the other hand, Henderson (1979) defines attachment relationships as a particular subset of an individual's social support and affiliative network, characterised by intensity and intimacy. This perspective assumes first, that attachment can be characterised using the same criteria as affiliation and second, that attachment and affiliation serve the same functions (Sheldon & West, 1989). In both cases, attachment provides preferred or more salient functions than affiliation. Nevertheless, the principle function of adult attachment behaviour is protection from danger (specifically, from threats to the individual's self-concept and integrity), whereas affiliative relationships serve to promote exploration and expansion of interests from the secure base provided by attachment (Sheldon & West, 1989; West & Sheldon, 1988).

The differences and similarities between attachment and affiliative relationships may also be rooted in specific interpersonal needs, such as those of intimacy or security. Using a 4-point scale, female respondents in Brown,

Bhrolchain and Harris's (1975) study rated the level of intimacy in several of their relationships. Although both relationship types A and B were 'close, intimate and confiding', there was an essential difference between the two categories: type A relationships were those involving attachment figures, whereas type B relationships were not. The results showed that it was only Type A relationships which provided almost complete protection against psychiatric reactions to stress. Type B relationships failed to provide even relative protection.

These differences, according to West and Sheldon-Keller (1994), indicate the difference between attachment and affiliative components of close relationships: in the absence of a stressor causing decreased security, Type A and B relationships fulfil similar affiliative needs, just as well as each other. However, if a stressor activates the attachment system, the need to re-establish a sense of security predominates. Since only Type A relationships have predominant attachment components, only these relationships meet the attachment needs.

Although both attachment and affiliative relationships are achieved through the same mechanisms (the development of close relationships), the two types of relationships have different functions and expectations (West et al., 1989). Whereas the goal of attachment is one of protection from perceived danger and the provision or maintenance of a sense of security, the goal of affiliation is social alliance through which the individual seeks companionship and support. Importantly, however, a "relationship becomes an attachment relationship when the primary purpose of the relationship is the provision of security" (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994).

Leigh's friendship with her best friend, Jean, had been especially close during the years when they were both unmarried. Indeed it seemed to have been characterised

by an attachment component. Having never sustained particularly strong bonds to her family members, Leigh developed an emotional dependence on Jean, with whom she shared a flat before either was married. At a later stage, however, when Leigh's spouse assumed the necessary attachment role, the character of her friendship with Jean changed. This transference of dependency suggests the hypothesis that the superimposing of attachment onto friendship is dependent on the availability and salience of more traditional attachment ties.

8.7.2. **Affectional bonds**

Marriage represents an affectional relationship of attachment, characterised by a substantial level of distress when disrupted. The intensity of adult attachment is best understood by one's reactions to real, threatened or imagined separations (Sperling & Berman, 1994). "Just as children display secure attachment by an absence of attention to the attachment figure, so do adults" (Weiss, 1991, p. 73). An essential characteristic of affectional bonding is that the two partners remain in proximity to one another. Any attempt by a third party to separate a bonded pair is resisted (Bowlby, 1979).

This resistance was illustrated by the some of the respondents' comments regarding their spouse's opposite-sex friendships: Tembi, having an anxious-ambivalent attachment style, recounted that, "There was a certain stage when I had to tell my husband he was overstepping the line with his friends. They were always phoning him. He must respect me! I told him, 'This is my home - if there's somebody who has something important to say about something at work, then keep it at work. It's that simple.' I had to tell him." Although she rated herself as having a secure attachment style, Charlotte was also not accepting of her spouse having opposite-sex friends: "I am not comfortable about it. Not at all. I try not to show it, but I don't like it at all - even his friendships with his secretaries, et cetera."

Threats to attachment arouse anxiety (Bowlby, 1979) and separation protest, one aspect of which is a sense of helplessness and fear, followed by despair and detachment (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). In mammals, the maintenance of affectional

bonds is affected through aggressive behaviour, either in the form of attacks on, or the frightening away of, intruders or in the form of punishment of the errant partner (Bowlby, 1979). Several researchers (Johnson & Rusbult, 1989; Simpson, Rholes & Nelligan, 1992) have found that the imposition of a threat to an existing relationship orientation may result in cognitive activity that has the effect of preserving the existing orientation. In real terms, the appearance of an attractive and available alternative partner to an individual who is currently committed to a relationship appears to cause the devaluation of the attractiveness of the alternative. Moreover, newly married couples might react strongly to movements away from each other, whereas couples who have been married for a long time may show only minimal activation of the attachment system; the security and safety they experience within the context of their relationship bodes against feelings of threat. Thus, attachment styles tend to move towards security in more long-term or committed relationships (Kobak & Hazan, 1991).

Security is not necessarily associated only with lengthy marriages, however. Although having been married for only four year, Cheryl displayed a high level of attachment security and trust, which translated into low resistance as regards her husband's friendships: "Neither my husband nor I are jealous people, so we've both been able to develop opposite-sex friendships."

8.7.3. **Romantic love relationships**

Exploring the similarities which underlie early attachment behaviours and later expressions of romantic love, Shaver and Hazan (1987) hypothesised that subjects' working models of self and relationships can be related to attachment style. The results of the research supported this prediction, indicating that individuals with different attachment orientations hold different beliefs about the course of romantic love, the availability and trustworthiness of love partners, and their own love-worthiness.

The researchers point out that these beliefs form part of a cycle in which experience affects beliefs about self and others and these beliefs then affect behaviour and relationship outcomes. Nonetheless, romantic love should not be taken to be a synonym for attachment. Rather, it is perhaps an elementary step towards a relationship which may lead to a permanent attachment bond (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994). Relevantly, too, love experiences contribute to developing permanent attachment in adulthood because something about intimacy and the meaning of being close to another person is experienced.

Applying attachment principles to romantic love relationships, Shaver and Hazan (1987) designed a measure of working models based on the assumption that conscious beliefs about romantic love (whether it lasts forever and whether it is easy to find, for example) are coloured by underlying, not fully conscious mental models of attachment. Subsequent research by Feeney and Noller (1990) supported Shaver and Hazan's (1987) findings: Secure subjects tended to have trusting attitudes towards each other; anxious-ambivalent subjects were the most likely to be dependent and to express a need for commitment in their relationships; and, avoidant subjects tended to endorse items measuring mistrust of, and distance from, others. Furthermore, mental model statements dealing with general views of the self and of human relationships discriminated amongst the three attachment styles more powerfully than did those items dealing specifically with beliefs about romantic love. Later research by Shaver and Brennan (1992) indicated that anxious-ambivalence was associated either with not being in a relationship, or with being in brief relationships. Likewise, avoidance was also associated with brief relationships and with lower levels of satisfaction and commitment.

In addition, attachment patterns are likely to bear some

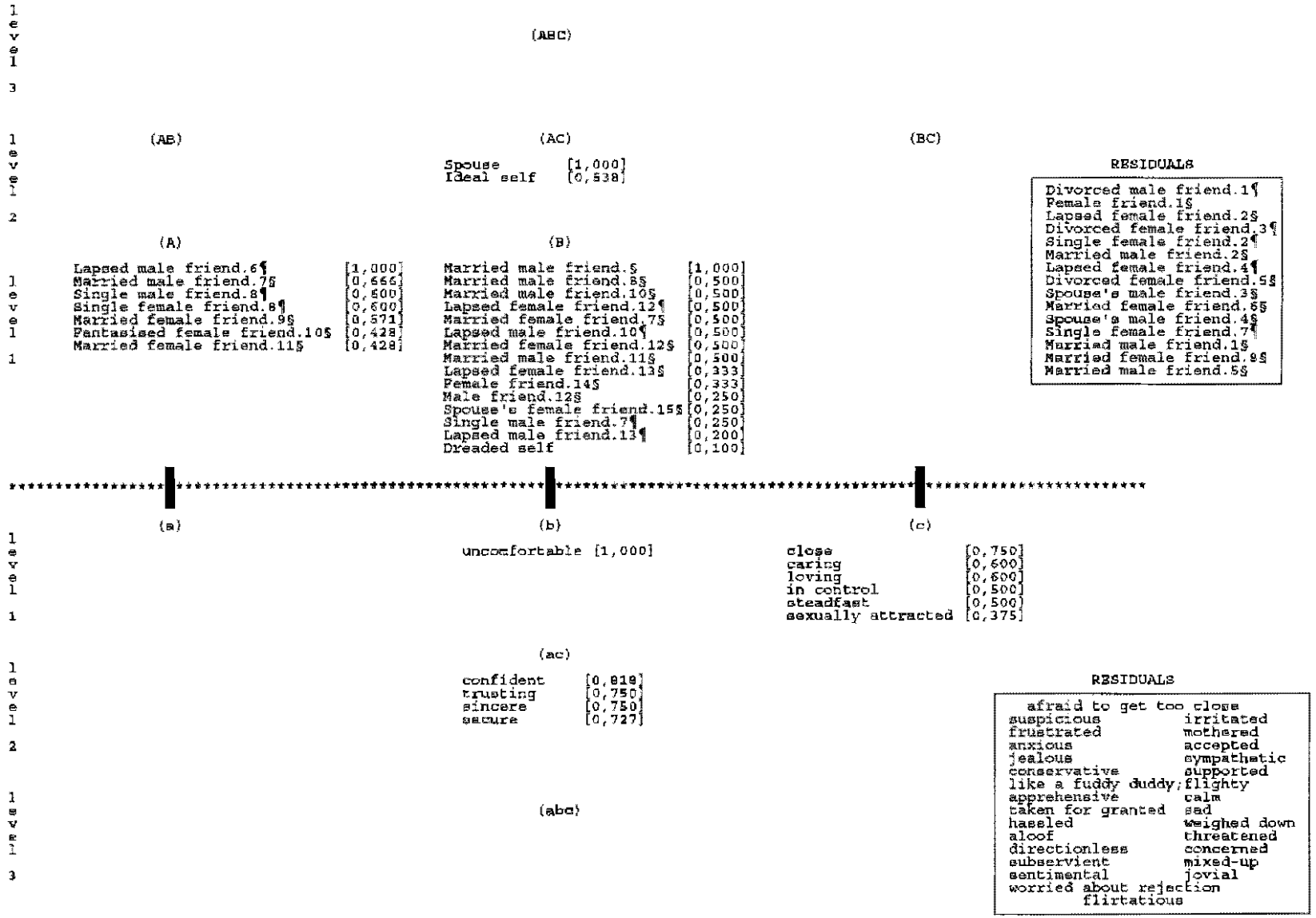
relation to styles of romantic love, such as those which have been described by Lee (1973). Levy and Davis (1988) set out to investigate the overlap of Hendrick and Hendrick's (1986) measure of Lee's (1973) lovestyles, Hazan and Shaver's (1987) description of attachment styles and the ability of these two measures to predict concurrent relationship characteristics among unmarried dating couples. Relationship characteristics were measured by Sternberg's (1987) Triangular Love Scale and Davis and Todd's (1985) Relationship Rating Form. Although the results indicated significant overlaps, neither approach completely subsumed the other. The love-style formulation did not capture the full information contained in the contrast between Secure and Avoidant styles and vice versa. Specifically, Eros and Agape were positively associated with the Secure attachment style and negatively associated with the Avoidant style. Ludus was positively associated with the Avoidant style and negatively with the Secure style. Moreover, Eros and Agape were associated with Intimacy, Passion, Commitment and Satisfaction, as well as with the use of constructive approaches to conflict. Ludus was negatively associated with the same variables. Mania was found to be positively correlated with passion and an Obliging approach to conflict, but not with high levels of Conflict/Ambivalence nor with dissatisfaction.

Clinton's scores on the Love Style Questionnaire (Appendix K9) indicated his predominantly Eros style, with his second-highest score being that for Storge. Considering Agape is a compound of Eros and Storge, and given that Clinton rated himself as having a 'secure' attachment style, the themes in his data are congruent with the results of Levy and Davis's (1988) research. The correlation between Clinton's love styles and attachment orientation was also evident in his responses to the Love Attitudes questionnaire, wherein there was strong endorsement of: his being immediately attracted to his spouse; their having the right chemistry between them; enjoying an intense and satisfying love relationship; becoming involved with his spouse quickly; and his spouse fitting his ideal standards of beauty.

Regarding Clinton's relationship with his wife, his responses on the Attachment Dimension Scale, from a direct and metaperspective perspective, were indicative of the mutually effective use of each other as attachment figures. Similarly, on both the direct perspective level and on the metaperspective level, Clinton rated himself and his spouse as having 'compulsive care-giving' patterns of attachment. In other words, in his view, both he and his spouse willingly cared for each other, sacrificed their own needs for the benefit of each other, and found satisfaction in doing so.

Despite his protestations to the contrary, sexuality did seem to be a central component of Clinton's mental models of opposite-sex relationships. He commented: "I definitely have to be physically attracted to a woman before I am friendly. I like someone pleasant to the eye. It's nothing sexual, I don't need to be sexually attracted, but ... they must be physically appealing." Notwithstanding this admission, Clinton's SWOR (figure 11) suggests the presence of feelings of discomfort (see Feature-Class 'b') suggesting ambivalence which may be rooted in denied feelings of sexuality regarding certain of his opposite-sex friendships. Such ambivalence could result from a conflict between his conscious belief system, on one level, and the less conscious aspects of his mental model, on another level. Indeed, Clinton's use of 'in control' (Feature-Class 'C') as descriptive of his 'ideal' social self (situated in Target-Class 'A-C'), hints at the presence of a repressive element functioning as a mechanism to aid his handling of unacceptable (subconscious) sexual feelings within the context of some of his friendships.

Commenting on his patterns of self-with-other constellations, he said, "Jees, this makes sense. I do feel uncomfortable about these friends - but for different reasons. Not for the same reasons. Jees, but I can't go into that with you ... not now." His reluctance to elaborate was carried over to his account of his friendship with Roz (lapsed female friend #4, a resident of the Residual-Target category). During a research-interview after he had returned from a holiday in which he had once again met Roz, having lost touch with her for 35 years, he said, "We had tea with her. I didn't recognise her at first, but then she smiled. But it wasn't the same, we couldn't talk about intimate things - the old days, or anything. Not with my wife there. It wouldn't have been right ... at least I didn't feel right doing it." Probed about his feelings, he cautioned, "... let's not talk about that any more; we met and it was nice. That's it." Would he continue to communicate with her? "Not immediately," he said, "I'll give it some time." The initial enthusiasm with which Clinton, during earlier interviews, had discussed his friendship with Roz had been significantly tempered. Possibly, he sensed an impending loss of control over previously repressed feelings, or even, subconsciously, feared that acknowledgement of such feelings would



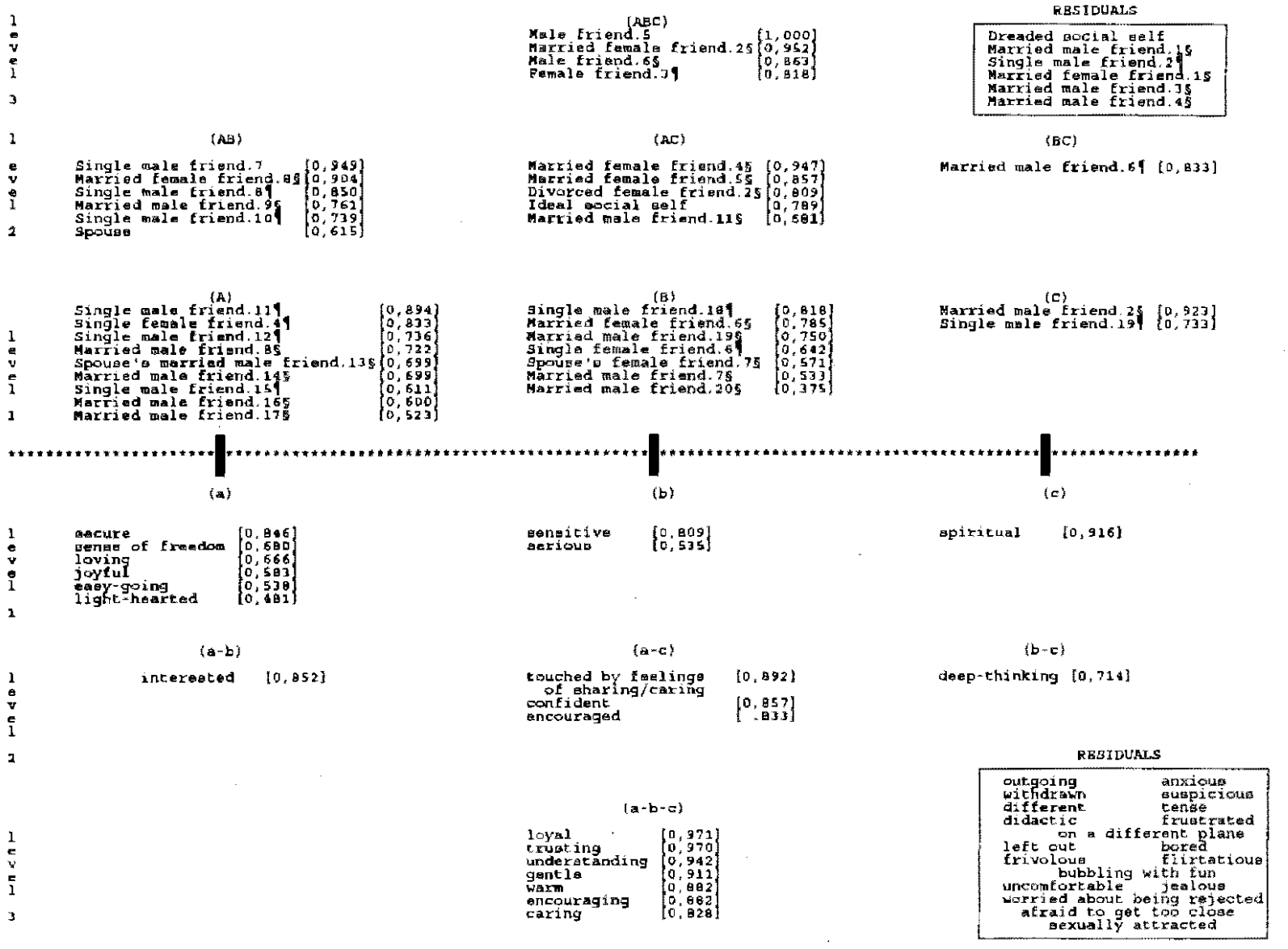
§ Scenarios including Clinton as a married man ¶ Scenarios including Clinton as an unmarried man

FIGURE 11: CLINTON'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

undermine the relationship he had with his wife, which he described as being "wonderful - a real combination of passion and friendship." It seemed no surprise, therefore, that along with his conception of 'ideal social self', his wife resided in Target-Class 'A-C', thereby being associated with all Clinton's positive self-with-other feelings including those of being 'confident', 'trusting', 'sincere', 'secure', 'close', 'caring', 'loving', 'in control', 'steadfast' and 'sexually attracted' (see Feature-Classes 'a-c' and 'c').

Flying in the face of Levy and Davis's (1988) research findings, were Leigh's and Irene's combinations of love styles and attachment patterns. Despite the differences in their attachment styles, their love styles displayed more similarity than difference. Irene rated herself as having a 'secure' attachment style and her highest scores on the Love Style Scale were for Storge and Agape (Appendix K9). Like Leigh, her lowest score was for Ludus. Leigh, who rated herself as having an 'avoidant' attachment style, also rated herself most highly as regards the Storge and Agape love styles. In terms of Attachment Dimensions (Appendix K8), both respondents scored highly in the 'availability' and 'use of attachment figure' categories (both on direct and metaperspective levels). Moreover, both respondents scored highly with regard to 'compulsive self reliance' and 'compulsive care giving' patterns of attachment. With reference to attachment patterns on a metaperspective level, both respondents registered low scores for 'compulsive self-reliance', thereby indicating that they considered their spouses to be reliant on them. Leigh's and Irene's scores on the adapted version of the Relationship Scales Questionnaire (Appendix K6) also bear similarities: they both score a mean of 3,50 for the two positive self-other models ('secure' and 'dismissing') and both obtain similar mean scores (2,25 and 2,50 respectively) for the negative self-other models ('fearful' and 'preoccupied').

There were, however, differences in the structures and contents of their SWORs (figures 12 & 13) even though, in both cases, elaborated or differentiated structures are evident. Although both respondents generated positive and negative features, it is only Leigh who uses negative features to describe her self-with-other experiences with friends. Irene's negative features (including 'withdrawn', 'left out', 'tense' and 'bored') are all cast into the residual-feature category (figure 12). All her friendships evoke positive feelings, with the contents of Feature-class 'a-b-c' ('loyal', 'trusting', 'understanding', 'gentle', 'warm', 'encouraging' and 'caring') being applied globally. In addition, the nature of her friendships (as defined by her friends' marital statuses, her own marital status and also the temporal setting of the friendship) seem to be evenly distributed throughout the representational space, indicating little in the way of direct influence of marital status.



§ Scenarios including Irene as a married woman

¶ Scenarios including Irene as an unmarried woman

FIGURE 12: IRENE'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

Although both Leigh and Irene were able to generate a substantial list of male friends, these targets coalesce according to very different self-with experiences. Notable in Irene's SWOR is the composition of the Target-Class 'A': 89% of the occupants of this class are male and 78% are lapsed friendships. (The two current friends occupying this class are Les, male friend #13, a friend of Irene's husband and John, male friend # 8, whom she describes as "a friend of the family - we don't see them so often.") The nine occupants of Target-class A, including Les and John, evoke in Irene, most directly, the feelings contained in Feature-Class 'a': 'secure', 'a sense of freedom', 'loving', 'joyful', 'easy-going' and 'light-hearted'. Significantly, they are not associated with Irene's feelings of sensitivity, seriousness (Feature-Class 'b'), spirituality (Feature-Class 'c') or her 'deep-thinking' attribute (Feature-Class 'b-c'). The occupants of Target-Class 'A' are thus most closely related to Irene's 'Loving-Carefree' dynamism which includes Feature-Classes 'a', 'a-b', 'a-c', and 'a-b-c'.

Once Irene was married, following periods of deep depression, religion came to assume a central dimension in her life. "As I've got older, it has become easier to make friends; things have really opened up for me. I move in Christian circles now and have met a lot of friends like that." Thus, the essence of Irene's 'Spiritual/Deep-thinking' (S-D) dynamism is associated with Feature-Classes 'c', 'a-c', 'b-c' and 'a-b-c' and most directly related to male friends #2, David, and Harold, #19, (Target-Class 'C'), both of whom are "long-standing friends ... people who have seen me through thick and thin." Irene's 'S-D' dynamism is also associated with the occupants of Target-Classes 'A-C', 'B-C' and 'A-B-C'. Most notably, this cluster includes Irene's 'ideal' social self (Target-Class 'A-C') but not her spouse, a resident of Target-Class 'A-B'. This is congruent with her comments that the friendship she experiences with her husband does not include the element of spirituality - a deficit which constitutes a major boundary in terms of their friendship.

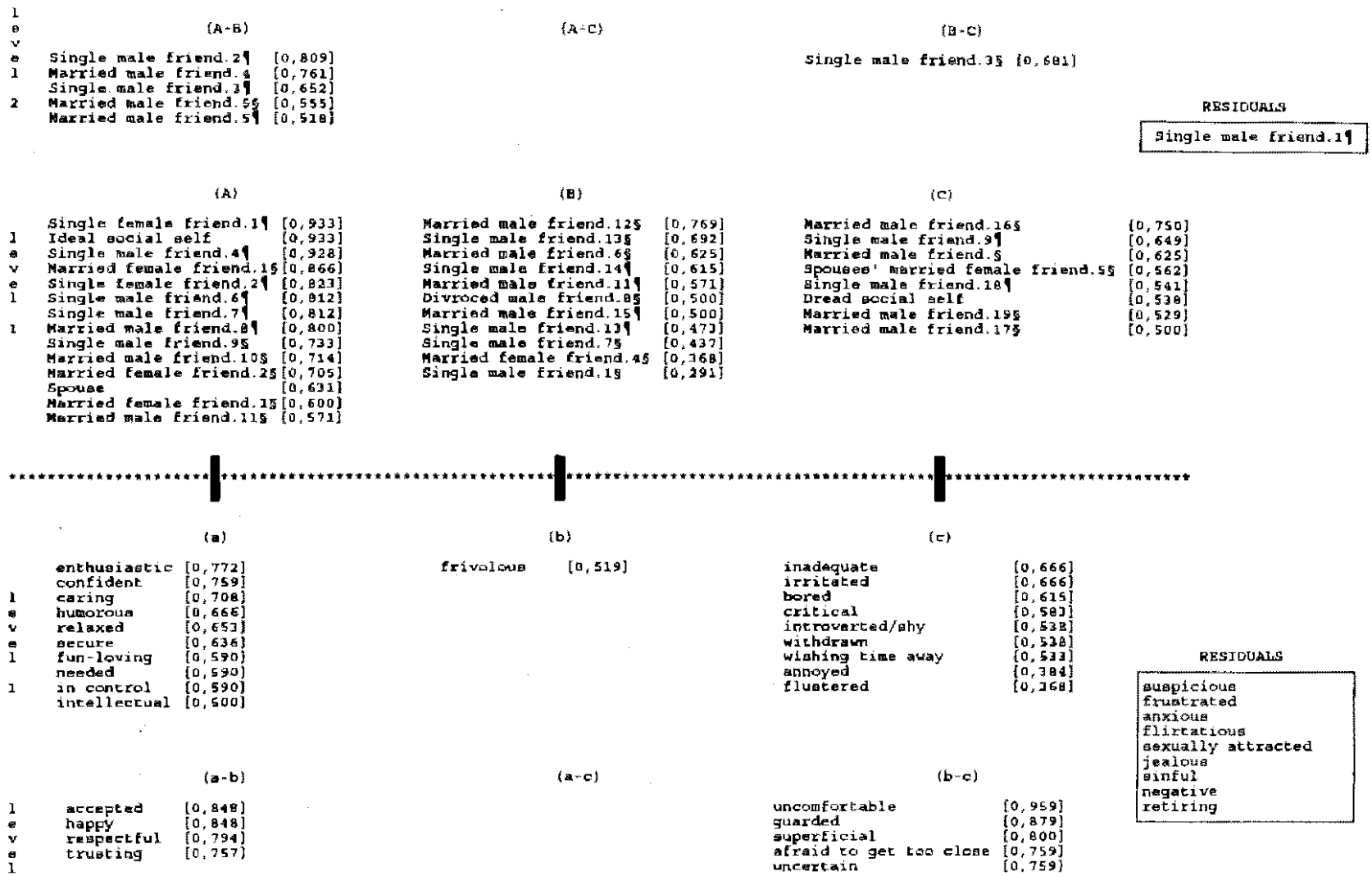
The effects of situational boundaries are apparent in several of Irene's descriptions of lapsed friendships. She indicated that certain friendships had atrophied because: "... there was a lack of understanding on their part; they didn't know why I wasn't so available. I wanted to communicate all the time - I just didn't have the energy. I was drained after two terrible pregnancies! Some people have a poor perception of others' plights." Likewise, Irene's interpretations of the scenarios in the projective procedure indicated themes of reserve and stasis in terms of friendship. She described some of the depicted opposite-sex friendships as having "become stale", and certain characters as having "become bored", or as being "a passive bystander, she's partaking but not partaking", and another as having

"no association with anyone of a similar type ... that's the problem with this friendship." In response to the (orange) scene of individuals sharing a meal, she commented, "...there's less involvement here. They are detached from it all. The one doesn't seem to interact. There are no smiles here, even though that's almost a smile. They're going through the motions." Although secure in her attachment orientation, her mental model of friendships thus seemed to include themes of disengagement and distance.

In a much more pronounced manner, similar themes characterise Leigh's SWOR (figure 13), which is divided into two distinct and opposing dynamisms: one which she labelled as her negative, 'Introverted/Uncomfortable' (I-U) dynamism (and which includes Feature-Classes 'c' and 'b-c') and the other which she named her positive, 'Accepted/Confident' (A-C) dynamism, and which includes Feature-Classes 'a', 'b', and 'a-b'.

Most directly associated with her I-U dynamism are the occupants of Target-Class 'C', including seven of her friends (all but one of whom are male; 5 of the 7 scenarios depicted are times during her marriage) as well as her 'dreaded' social self. Six of the seven friends in this Target-Class are individuals who are husbands of her female friends. The only female resident of Target-Class 'B' she described as "... a great friend of my husband. There's something special there - he's a very different person with her. When we're all together, there's a lot of laughing and giggling and remembering old times ... they always try to include me but somehow, I end up feeling out of it." About the targets who are husbands of Leigh's female friends, she said: "When one gets married, one's friends' spouses also become one's friends. I've found that difficult. I really long to have occasion to be with my girlfriends alone, without their husbands. One can't have intimate girl-to-girl chats when the husbands are there. The whole situation becomes so much more superficial."

Partly as a result of these experiences, Feature-Class 'c', containing 'inadequate', 'irritated', 'bored', 'critical', 'introverted/shy', withdrawn', 'wishing time away', 'annoyed' and 'flustered' has coalesced on level 1. On level 2, Feature-Class 'b-c' ('uncomfortable', 'guarded', 'superficial', 'afraid to get too close' and 'uncertain') is also associated with this set of Leigh's friends. 'Afraid to get too close' and 'uncomfortable' are 2 of the 3 features used in the present study as indicators of an avoidant style of attachment - the style which Leigh selected as being most characteristic of herself. Their inclusion in Leigh's I-U dynamism indicates an avoidant orientation in terms of her friendships, especially with males.



§ Scenarios including Leigh as a married woman ¶ Scenarios including Leigh as an unmarried woman

FIGURE 13: LEIGH'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

The negative feature superset 'b-c' is also associated with the residents of Target-Class 'B' and 'A-B', 94% of whom are male. Significantly, though, the occupants of Target-Class 'B', unlike those of Target-Class 'C', activate in Leigh feelings of ambivalence, expressed through the coexistence of both positive and negative self-with feelings: those listed in Feature-Class 'a-b' ('accepted', 'happy', et cetera) as well as those listed in Feature-Class 'b-c' ('uncertain', 'uncomfortable', and so on). Interpreting this incongruous pattern, Leigh described her friendship with Mike (male friend #13, cf. chapter 4). She had split her friendship with him into two separate phases: one representing her friendship with him before she was married and the other representing her friendship after she was married. Both phases are included in Target-Class 'B'. During phase 1, Mike, although in his 70s, was unmarried, but he had established a long-term cohabitating relationship with a girlfriend by the time of phase 2. She explained: "As a father figure, Mike was a good friend. Although I have always valued our friendship, before I was married, he made a few unwanted passes. Nothing ever was discussed, but we both knew that the limits of the friendship had been crossed. It happened only once or twice, but when I was younger, Mike's innuendoes annoyed me. So, yes, I did feel guarded and uncomfortable with him. After he started living with his girlfriend and later I got married, that side of the friendship changed - thank goodness - and we have resorted to having a good 'above-board' friendship. However, I always feel a little uncomfortable around him, probably as a result of our history, but also because I'm a little nervous that he'll inadvertently make comments which will make my husband suspicious of our friendship."

Leigh also split her friendship with Reg (married male friend #11) into two distinct phases, to indicate a change in their friendship brought about by the change in her marital status. Reference to Reg in the first phase of their friendship is located in Target-Class 'B', and again suggests Leigh's feelings of ambivalence. These feelings she attributed to Reg's domineering character: "Before I was married, Reg was very caring - I think he almost felt sorry for me. But, I never knew quite how his wife saw our friendship, which was based entirely on our mutual professional and academic interest. We would go off to lectures together - his wife never came - and would spend hours on the phone, discussing our interests. Somehow, I just felt uncomfortable that his wife was never included. After I got married, I began to feel much more assured. It was almost as if I felt that my being married sent a clear message of good intent to Reg's wife!" Thus, the second phase of her friendship with Reg, located in Target-Class 'A' is devoid of any negative or 'uncomfortable' feelings. Instead, the features which are associated with this phase of their relationship included 'relaxed', 'in control' and 'trusting'.

A somewhat similar story explained the ambivalence surrounding Leigh's friendship with Simon, male friend #5 and an occupant of superset Target-Class 'A-B'. Again, Leigh split her friendship with Simon into two phases, one before and one after her marriage. Simon is the husband of one of Leigh's best female friends and therefore, she explained, "by default, a friend of mine." Twice, however, he had made passes at Leigh when she was single, thus jeopardising her much-valued friendship with his wife. Leigh's comments indicated that, although the incidents had occurred over 10 years ago, and that her friendship with Simon had improved since she got married, she was reluctant to forgive him for treating his wife, her friend, in that manner and in so doing, compromising their friendship. "Now that I'm married," she explained, "I'm not at all afraid to be alone with him ... but there was a time when I would avoid even a friendly hug." In this case, Leigh's marriage had provided her with boundaries which acted as a safeguard not only protecting her friendship with Simon's wife, but simultaneously, harnessing her friendship with Simon within acceptable and platonic limits.

Leigh's story about her friendship with Grant, male friend #8 (Target-Classes 'A' and 'B'), also illustrates the effect that marriage - and divorce - had on their friendship. She initially met Grant when he was married and she was single. They enjoyed each other's company: "Grant always showed an intelligent interest," she said. Not surprisingly, then, the features which Leigh uses to describe her self-with-Grant experiences, whilst he was married (Target-Class 'A'), included 'intellectual' and 'enthusiastic' (Feature-Class 'a'). Years later, just as Grant and his wife were getting divorced, Leigh got married. Although Leigh considers Grant to be a friend of both herself and her husband, she reported detecting a certain level of disapproval from her spouse, regarding her friendship with Grant. "My husband once remarked that Grant always looks at me when he talks. I've noticed that he does, but I don't think it's anything sexual, it's just that we share interests and are often on the same wavelength. However, I'm cautious when we're all together and I find myself consciously trying to bring my husband into the conversation and being careful how I speak to Grant, what compliments I pay him, et cetera."

These experiences resulted in Leigh's friendship with Grant altering somewhat after the time of his divorce and her marriage. Her self-with-Grant feelings, at this time, are located in Target-Class 'B', and thus are still associated with the features of 'happy' and 'accepted' (Class 'a-b'), although they now exclude those contained in Feature-Class 'a' ('enthusiastic', 'confident', 'relaxed', and so forth). Instead, they incorporate the features germane to Feature-Class 'b' ('frivolous') and 'b-c' ('guarded', 'uncertain', et cetera). Interpreting the SWOR, Leigh commented, "I am guarded but not because I think Grant

might make a move ... because I care about the impression I give my husband ... his feelings are more important than my friendship with Grant. Actually, as time goes on, we seem to see less and less of Grant. Perhaps he, too, feels ill at ease? And, as for 'frivolous' - well, I guess I find that by bringing a superficial tone to the friendship, I help to allay any fears my husband might harbour as regards to the seriousness or intensity of my friendship with Grant."

Despite the important role which friendship assumed in Leigh's life, ("my friends are my family", she commented) Leigh's priorities in terms of marriage and opposite-sex friendship were obvious. Significantly, the third most important bipolar descriptor which she generated as a core dimension of well-being (Appendix K1) was 'having deep friendships - having shallow friendships', on which she rated her present state of well-being as midway between the two extremes. She listed 'happy marriage - unhappy marriage' as the second most important contributor to her well-being and on this scale, she rated her present situation as one point removed from the positive extreme. Congruent with her attachment-style profile, Leigh rated 'secure - insecure' as being the most important contributor to her well-being. On that scale, she rated herself as being one point removed from the negative extreme. Hence, Leigh's dilemma: to maintain a balance between obtaining the security she needed from her spouse as attachment figure, on the one hand, and to foster the friendships which so richly contributed to her sense of well-being, on the other.

In this regard, much hinged on Leigh's construal of her husband's needs and expectations. From a metaperspective, she rated her husband highest on the 'compulsive care-seeking' factor of Attachment Patterns (Appendix K7), thus construing in him a high level of dependency. Furthermore, her own feelings of attachment insecurity might also have contributed to the ways in which she construed her husband's approval of her opposite-sex friendships. Feelings of uncertainty dominated her responses in the sub-section of the Mental Model Questionnaire, entitled "Spouse's Approval of Opposite-sex Friendships": she was 'unsure' of 7:8 of the items, endorsing positively only "My spouse is uneasy about my developing friends of the opposite sex." Moreover, Leigh's avoidant attachment orientation is congruent with her relatively high mean score for 'compulsive self-reliance' on the Attachment Patterns scale.

8.8. ATTACHMENT AND MARRIAGE

Berman et al. (1994) point out that in adulthood, intimate

relationships such as marriage require a reciprocal process that encompasses both care-seeking or attachment, and care-giving functions. Reciprocity of caregiving and attachment functions is essential for a successful marriage. Each spouse needs to be able to act in ways that are protective and nurturing, and, likewise, to be able to accept protection and nurturance.

8.8.1. **Attachment activators in marriage**

Mental models of relationships affect the activation, deactivation, and creation of goal-based structures for guiding interpersonal behaviour (Read & Miller, 1989). The construction of attributions and explanations, a process which is essential for relationship functioning, is strongly influenced by working models (Collins & Read, 1994). Thus, a man who has felt abandoned in childhood can easily attribute to his wife, intentions of desertion, thus misinterpreting her actions in terms of such intent and then responding in ways which he considers appropriate to the situation he believes exists. Consequently, the potential for misunderstanding and conflict within the marital dyad is rife, with marriage partners often oblivious of the intricate web of bias impacting on their marital beliefs and expectations.

The potential for interpersonal misunderstanding was highlighted by the different ways in which the respondents construed the situations depicted in the projective procedure. Leigh's avoidant attachment pattern, manifest in her 'dismissing' and 'fearful' patterns of relating to opposite-sex friends (RSQ, Appendix K6), was evident in the way she construed the scenarios. In response to the red card, she said, "I don't like this ... someone is going to get hurt. I don't think that fat gent would bat an eyelid to have an affair with that woman. What about her husband though? He'd be left. Deserted. He probably deserves better."

By contrast, the secure attachment style of Cathy was evident in her identification of the woman, rather than the man, as the more likely initiator of an illicit love affair: "The

woman in white is not happy with her husband. He's not happy with himself - he has a low self image. She'll have an affair - I bet!" Also rating himself as having a secure attachment pattern, Clinton's interpretation was free of ulterior motive: "OK, the fat boy well, he's listening in depth to what his wife's saying - she's the one in red. You know how I know that? Well, he's wearing a red tie to match her dress! Also, because the other two are casual and well, she's casual too. And ... he ... it's going to be something funny that's said. They're going to laugh. There's going to be a punchline soon - that's what they're all waiting for."

Internal working models of attachment mediate marital partners by shaping and responding to the behaviours of each in a complex interplay between overt behaviours and the meaning each person attributes to these behaviours. On these attributions and behaviours, hinges marital adjustment. Kobak and Hazan (1991), for instance, found that spouses with secure working models (self as relying on partner and partner as psychologically available), as opposed to models of insecurity, reported better marital adjustment.

Individuals develop patterned ways of dealing with feelings and impulses, and of coping with attachment arousal. They also develop a particular organisation of needs, attitudes, expectations and beliefs about self, spouse and others. Within this historical context, they construct future relationships with others (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). Although each individual's attachment behavioural system is engaged by specific activators, if the system is activated, the individual's responses are constrained to a set of attempt behaviours, which in turn activates the spouse's attachment system.

Berman et al. (1994) propose a model to explain this complex process. They consider that, although attachment is a component of individual personality, it is affected by the individual's sensitivity to attachment activators and the behaviours and attachment styles of the individual's attachment figures. Accordingly, activation of attachment in

marriage occurs in a two-stage process, involving (a) the behaviours of the attachment figure, and (b) the self's internal working model of attachment. The first stage of the process is the behaving of the attachment figure in ways that alter the proximity-distance between the self and the spouse. This primary activation can occur in different contexts, in response to behaviours that change the physical/psychological proximity of the attachment figure.

The second stage involves the filtering of the behavioural responses via the internal working model of attachment, activated by the subjective experience of danger or threat, or by the unavailability/unresponsiveness of the attachment figure. The attributions, expectations and beliefs (about both self and spouse) that are inherent in the internal working model provide feedback which will maintain activation of attachment if the overt behaviour matches the invariant of the internal working model. If it is incongruent with the internal working model, the person attributes his/her spouse's behaviour to non-attachment factors and deactivates the attachment system.

Should the behaviour be interpreted as unavailability or unresponsiveness, then the attachment behaviour system of the self is activated. The individual then responds with attachment-mediated behaviours or actions that either overtly solicit proximity or reject it and, by so doing, elicit the attachment system in the partner. The goal then becomes one of re-establishing optimal security and proximity in order to reduce or eliminate anxiety. When both partners' attachment systems are activated, they continue in cycles of behaviour-interpretation-response-interpretation until one or both persons determine that the meaning is not that of unavailability/unresponsiveness. Each partner's attachment system is deactivated only when proximity and/or security is restored to a homeostatic balance.

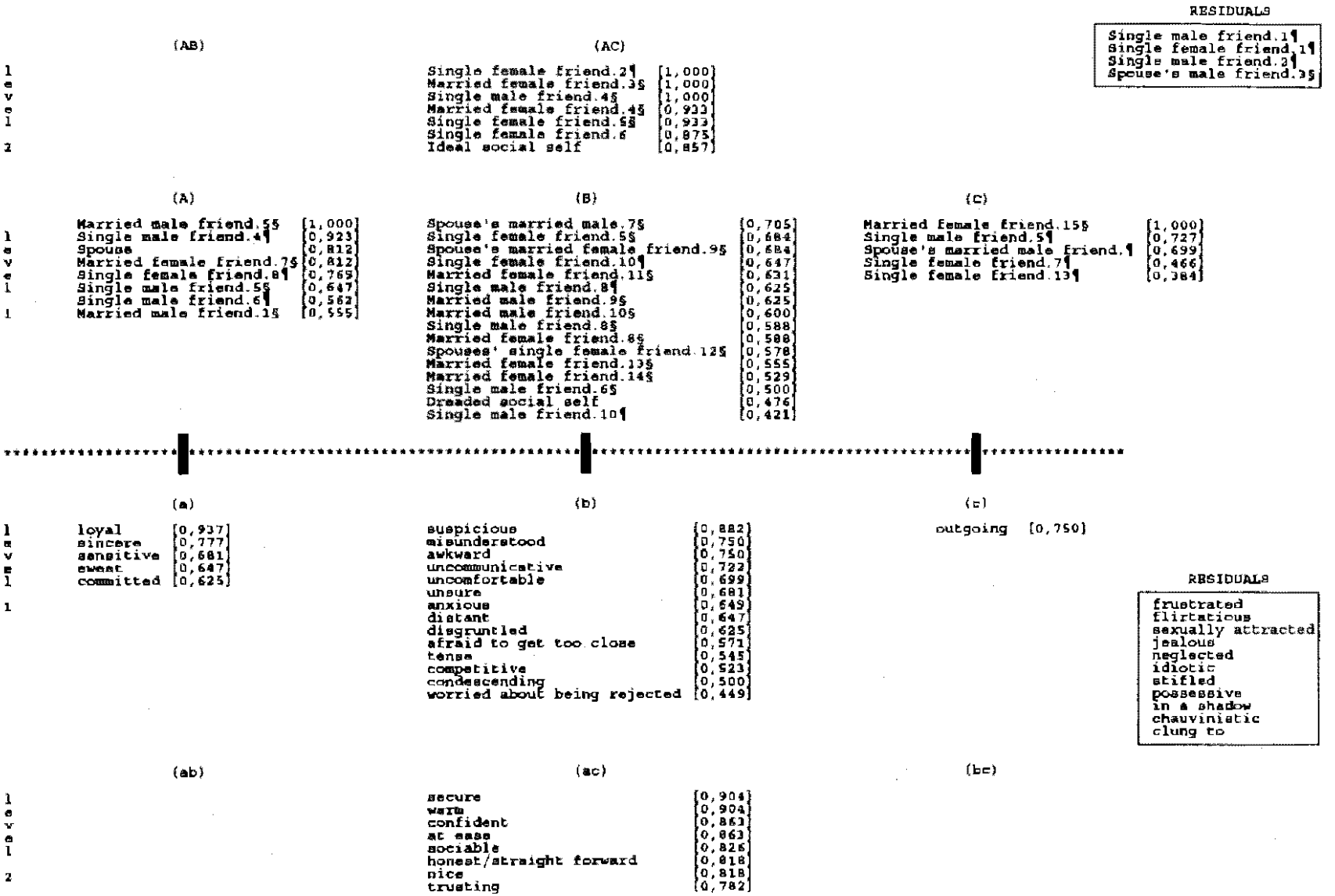
This interactive process was well-illustrated by Leigh's account of a meeting with a school friend, Wayne. Despite having left school some two decades years earlier, they had kept in contact with each other, mostly via Christmas cards. Tom had been married and was now divorced. Leigh decided not to tell her husband about the luncheon - until afterwards. He was furious. By telling him about her meeting with Wayne, she activated his attachment system. He seemed to interpret her having lunch with another man as distancing herself from him and, thus, as a threat or potential loss. Upset, he demanded to know why she had "gone behind his back" and not discussed it with him first. His anger then functioned to activate Leigh's attachment system and her fears of rejection: she grew morose and quiet, thus distancing herself from her spouse. Feeling increasingly insecure and anxious, he grew more angry, finally leaving the room and sulking. In essence, his response was determined by the nature of his attachment system which in turn, elicited a distancing response from his wife. In this way, a cycle of attachment-based interaction was maintained.

In the case above, as in any marital interaction, two factors determine whether the attachment internal working model is engaged and an attachment interaction is initiated: vulnerability to experiencing threat/anxiety as a result of the withdrawal of the attachment figure, and the extent to which there is real hostility/rejection intended in the change of proximity. Berman et al. (1994) point out that the more consistent the partner's behaviour is with the person's attachment activators, the more likely the person is to maintain the attachment system. When the person's behaviour is inconsistent with the expectations for distancing, he or she is less likely to engage or maintain activation of the attachment system. Therefore, the more differentiated and articulated the attachment internal working model, the more difficult it will be to have congruence between it and behaviour. When spouses have more consistent attachment internal working models and more common deactivators, it is easier for them to deactivate the system. Moreover, Berman et al. (1994) postulate that the presence of an insecure attachment style in one spouse will significantly affect the marital adjustment and the attachment behaviour of both spouses.

Ann's case is one in point. Although her perception of her husband's attachment dimensions and patterns (Appendix K7 & K8) indicates high mean scores for 'use of attachment figure' (4,66) and 'compulsive care-giving' (4,57), a high score is also obtained for 'separation protest' (4,00). Ann and Russell's marital relationship was also typified, on both direct and metaperspective levels, by high levels of trust, with particularly high scores being registered for the 'faith' component. Despite these indications of secure attachment within the marital dyad, reinforced by Ann's self-rating as having a 'secure' attachment style, she displayed repeated concern about her husband's feelings as regards her opposite-sex friendships. Discussing her friendships she insisted: "I have to think about Russell. I always put myself in his position. I think about how I would feel. That makes the difference." Ann's self-with-other representation (figure 14), graphically illustrates the effect that her perception of her husband's uncertainties had on her friendships with the opposite sex.

A specific area of interest is Ann's friendship with her male friend #6, David. He shares a position in Target-Class 'A' (indicating Ann's friendship with him before she was married) along with Ann's spouse and several friends, whom Ann classified as "my best friends - the people I really care about - or who have meant a lot to me." Feature-Class 'a' is most directly connected with this Target-Class and it comprises items which draw it away from other classes of target friends, making it a distinctive unit. The individuals comprising this Target-Class share qualities which enable Ann to experience herself as 'loyal', 'sincere', 'sensitive', 'sweet' and 'committed'. The themes present in this class lend themselves to being labelled as Ann's 'Loyal/Committed' (L-C) dynamism. The individuals contained in Target-Class 'A' also activate, although less directly, Ann's internalised experiences of feeling 'secure', 'warm', 'confident', 'at ease', 'sociable', 'honest/straight forward', 'nice' and 'trusting'. Notably, Ann's feelings of secure attachment converge in this Feature-Class 'a-c'.

A markedly different dynamism is represented by Target-Class 'B' and its association with Feature-Class 'b'. The friends in this class activate negative feelings in Ann: feelings of being 'suspicious', 'misunderstood', 'distant', 'afraid to get too close', 'tense' and 'disgruntled', et cetera. Significantly, David (along with Ann's dreaded social self) assumes a place in Target-Class 'B' and is therefore associated with Ann's 'Tense/Suspicious' (T-S) dynamism. Her story about her friendship with David throws some light on the influence her marriage had on their friendship: "David is an English professor at the university. We come from the same farming background - hence the friendship. He was very warm and



§ Scenarios including Ann as a married woman ¶ Scenarios including Ann as an unmarried woman

FIGURE 14: ANN'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

friendly and always put me at ease, yet he was intellectual and 'weird' - for me. At times, I enjoyed his egocentricity but ... Russell saw him as a threat (although, strangely enough, he was the last one who should have been a threat to him!). Because of that, our friendship dissolved. I still speak to him occasionally, but really, only on the odd occasion. I think Russell felt that, as he was an English professor and I had a degree in English, we shared a bond that he was not part of. From that point of view, he saw him as a sort of 'intellectual threat'. So, because Russell really dislikes David and his friendship is really not that important to me anymore, I was ready to allow the relationship to dissolve."

Mark (male friend #8) is another of Ann's male friends who occupies Target-Class 'B', and in so doing, belongs to her 'Tense/Suspicious' dynamism. Unlike her internalised self-with-David experiences, which were significantly influenced by her marriage, her friendship with Mark was less obviously affected by her perception of her husband's feelings about the friendship. Instead, Ann's relationship with her spouse affected her friendship with Mark in a different way. She explained that "...there was a sort of sexual tension between Mark and I. I admit that I thought he was very special at one stage, but after meeting Russell (two complete opposite personalities), I wonder how I ever considered him as anything - even as just a friend. I am very wary of him now that I'm married. I sometimes find him bit too friendly, usually when Russell's out the room. For example, he'll hold my hand or touch me or playfully tickle me and I really do not like it. I've made my feelings quite clear to him, too."

Allan (male friend #7 and also a resident of Target-Class 'B') was initially a friend of Ann's spouse. Although she and Allan formed and maintained a friendship through her spouse, the relationship soon became troubled: "There developed a fierce battle over Russell. Allan thought I was a passing, yet irritating, phase in his friend's life. He didn't realise that we were bonded emotionally. When we got married, our friendship dissolved completely." Ann expressed similar feelings about Martie (female friend #12, and resident of Target-Class 'B'), whom she described as also being primarily a friend of her husband. "I dislike her," she said, "because she has a close relationship with him. I know I can trust him but I often wonder if I can trust her. As much as I hate to admit it, she does make me feel insecure." The same is not true of Tracey (female friend #15), a female friend of Russell, who is located in Target-Class 'C' and therefore evokes in Ann a feeling of being 'outgoing', 'secure', 'warm', 'confident', and so on. (Feature-Class 'c' and 'a-c'). Significantly, however, unlike Russell's friendship with Martie, his friendship with Tracey includes her husband.

Lionel (male friend #10 and occupant of Target-Class 'B'), also evokes Ann's Tense/Suspicious dynamism, both before and after her marriage. She commented that, before she was married, he intimidated her. In retrospect, she realised that she never had positive feelings when she was with him, "therefore, after he got married, I ended our friendship completely. We are so distant now that even if we do happen to meet by chance, we hardly greet one another." In this case, it was Lionel's transition into marriage, rather than Ann's, which symbolised the end of their friendship.

Comparing Ann's friendships with the men in Target-class 'B' with her friendships with the women, yields a different set of themes (yet with certain similarities) in terms of marital influence. Her close friendship with Shona (female friend #5), for example, dissolved over her relationship with Ann's spouse. She explained, "We parted company over Russell. She had dated him previously and was not very complimentary. She was very likable, though, and I miss having contact with her sometimes. But, our relationship will never be the same as it was before my marriage. She and I now have totally different priorities." Her friendship with Felicia (female friend #8 - an occupant both of Ann's Loyal/Committed dynamism and her Tense/Suspicious grouping) also dissolved as a result of marital influence, this time more directly from Felicia's side: "She has a marriage of convenience and this has made her bitter...I find her values and mine now differ a great deal." Ann's self-with-Felicia experiences after they were both married are included in her 'Tense/suspicious' dynamism - thus being associated with the negative feelings that now characterise Ann's attitude towards their lapsed friendship. Thus, the influence on Ann's friendships, of marital boundaries impact on her friendships both with men and women, albeit in somewhat different ways.

Individuals have multiple internal working models of relationships which, like the activators of internal working models, overlap. Berman et al. (1994) consider this to be particularly obvious in the activation of sexual and attachment internal working models. Physical contact and gazing are the primary activators for both, although this is not necessarily the case for secondary activators. The secondary activators for attachment are changes in proximity and anxiety or anger, but those for sexuality are arousal and increased proximity. Inaccuracies in the discrimination of the secondary activators may create confusion between

attachment and sexuality. It could be that the individual then experiences confusion of the adult sexual drive and attachment, because they both involve physical contact. Berman et al. (1994) consider that this may partly explain why women have more intimate friendships and benefit more from them than do men. In Western cultures, women friends, unlike men friends, are likely to hug or touch each other, possibly because these behaviours stimulate the attachment system in female-female friendships.

8.8.2. **Threats to marital-attachment security**

As an evolutionarily adapted behavioural system, secure attachment is based on a combination of trust and empowerment, functioning to ward off threat. Sperling and Berman (1994) define adult attachment as "the stable tendency of an individual to make substantial efforts to seek and maintain proximity to and contact with one or a few specific individuals who provide the subjective potential for physical and/or psychological safety and security" (p. 8). Insecure attachment, on the other hand, arises from a representational model rooted in feared loss of the attachment figure which, in turn, predisposes the individual to lack confidence in the attachment figure's availability, responsiveness and permanence (West et al., 1989). In turn, this leads the individual to live in constant anxiety lest he should lose the attachment figure (Bowlby, 1973). A stable self-reinforcing system evolves because the behavioural responses to insecure attachment lead to specific patterns of interpersonal behaviour which function to strengthen the representational model. This model predisposes the individual to lack confidence in the attachment figure's availability in both the present and the future (West et al., 1989).

From this perspective, secure attachment is characterised as the maximal congruence between the individual's working

model of attachment and his/her actual relationship with the attachment figure. Insecure attachment stems from representational deficits in which apprehension concerning the availability of the attachment figure predominates. Marris (1991) comments that "all unintelligible events are disturbing, but unintelligible events which also disrupt our purposes and attachments are doubly threatening" (p. 82).

Leigh related that, in the initial stages of their courtship, her husband-to-be was a member of a large group of friends, both male and female. The group was accustomed to doing things together: going hiking in the mountains, going out for pancakes or dinner or meeting at one another's house. There was only one apparent romance in the group; all other members seemed to look upon each other as 'just' friends. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of teasing and laughter, and physical contact such as hugging. Leigh admitted that when she was in the group's company, she often felt alienated and uncomfortable. Even though her husband-to-be seemed to be aware of her feelings, the attention the women paid him worried her and made her withdraw more and more from the group. Consequently, he also withdrew from the group, perhaps because he sensed her discomfort. Even before they were married, Leigh seemed to look upon him as an attachment figure and to perceive the potential threat of loss. She construed his involvement in the group as alienating because he was not as accessible to her as she wished him to be. Her coping response was to withdraw from the group, which in turn led to her partner's withdrawal from, and the subsequent collapse of, an entire friendship network.

Once formed, working models behave heuristically by guiding actions and plans about how to behave when the attachment system is activated (Bretherton, 1987). Working models are secure when an individual forecasts psychological availability from others, viewing the self as efficacious in situations requiring comfort or support (Sroufe, 1989). Individuals with insecure working models forecast rejection or inconsistent response from attachment figures and therefore easily perceive threat. When working models predict a lack of psychological availability, anger, normally used to protest a partner's inaccessibility, may be expressed in an exaggerated manner in the form of jealous or aggressive responses or even withdrawal (Rusbult, Zembrodt &

Gunn, 1982). These responses are likely to elicit defensive reactions from the spouse and the negative cycle of dysfunctional response set in motion may, in turn, perpetuate negative expectations concerning self and other.

This type of dysfunctional cycle of interaction characterised Lesley's first marriage. She explained: "I needed to get permission to go anywhere. Once I went to a wedding and I came back at 9 p.m.. My husband was so angry that he beat me up very badly. Have you any idea what's it's like to have to beg for your life? ... I needed to be there for him all the time. He was easily provoked. I'd never dare have male friends! All I could think of were ways to please him, to be what he expected me to be - ways to keep myself out of trouble. He always thought he was above the law and that frightened me. I grew to always expect a beating."

According to the theory of psychological reactance (Brehm, 1992), all individuals have a set of specific behavioural freedoms, including actions, thoughts and feelings. When an individual's specific freedom is threatened, he/she becomes motivated to re-establish it. In this way, barriers to relationships - threats to the freedom to have a relationship - can increase attraction. More frequently, however, threats to relationships are likely to result in responses of jealousy.

Discussing the theme of freedom (or lack of it) within her marriage, Pula, a 24-year-old Pedi interviewee, highlighted the culturally-based constraints impinging on her friendships. She asserted: "It's not good to have friends that are not my husband's friends. If I meet a friend and James doesn't like that friend, I leave it. He doesn't like it. Especially other men. He gets cross. James must be friends with my friends; otherwise there's going to be a problem. And my family - they don't like it, either."

Sexual jealousy is ubiquitous; although some cultures have learnt to cope effectively with it, none has been able to eliminate it. As a protective reaction to a perceived threat to a valued relationship (McKinney & Sprecher, 1991), jealousy functions as a boundary-setting mechanism (Reiss, 1986). Because the sexual realm in relationships is

especially sensitive to insecurity and competition, the Gordian knot of jealousy is particularly likely to arise when extradyadic relationships have a perceived sexual content. "In the extramarital area, some societies stress the pleasure aspects of sexuality in order to keep self-disclosure to a minimum and thereby discourage any stable, personal bonding outside of marriage" (Reiss, 1986, p. 210).

Social norms are inclined to define jealousy as appropriate when important social relationships are threatened. Thus, most societies sanction jealousy regarding one's spouse's sexual activity with a third party. The experience of sexual jealousy is manifest in a spectrum of feelings, including those of exclusion and loss (Clanton & Smith, 1977). Feelings of loss are, in turn, translated into an experience of loneliness and a perceived lack of interpersonal intimacy (Derlega, 1984). These feelings are intensified if an individual interprets his or her spouse's friendship as contributing to, or responsible for, the unavailability of his/her spouse. The experience of loss is also consonant with the re-evaluation of self in terms of marital success or failure. In addition, according to cognitive dissonance theory, loneliness can result from feelings of one's partner being unavailable, coupled with the belief that the unavailability is likely to endure.

As relationships develop, so individuals become sensitive to the potential for loss. This may be more salient in relationships when stability is not firmly established, than later when passion is blunted and commitment is well entrenched. However, even when there is no evidence of jealousy-evoking extra-dyadic relationships, some individuals will display signs of worrying, vigilance, suspiciousness, mistrust, snooping, testing the relationship, and attempting to control the partner's behaviour (Bringle & Buunk, 1991). Suspicious jealousy is also most prevalent among those with low self-esteems who are

relatively dependent on, and insecure about, their relationships.

8.9. ATTACHMENT AND JEALOUSY

Perhaps fuelled by Freudian emphasis on sex and sexual motivation, conscious or subconscious, women have traditionally been looked upon as sex objects and any interest shown in them has been interpreted, more often than not, as sexual interest (Lampe, 1985). Compatible with male-dominated capitalistic society stressing material possessions and personal property, is the practice of viewing women as part of men's rightful property and as such, not to be encroached upon by others. Thus, men's experiences of jealousy are likely to be greater in societies where they have relatively more power than do women; alternatively, women's experiences of jealousy tend to be greater in societies that are more egalitarian (Reiss, 1986). The basis of this hypothesis is the supposition that, because sexuality is a valued element of society, the more powerful members of society will have greater access, and fewer restrictions, to it.

From a sociological or group perspective, jealousy functions in the social system as a force aimed at defining the legitimate boundaries of important relationships such as marriage. The norms of all societies usually stress affection, duty, and pleasure as the three key reasons for marital sexual boundaries (Reiss, 1986). When the normative boundaries are violated, jealousy occurs and indexes the anger and hurt that are activated by a violation of an important norm. "Jealousy norms are indicative of the existence of strong beliefs about the legitimate boundaries of a particular relationship" (Reiss, 1986, p. 47).

Boundary limitations apply to all relationships, sexual or not. Close friendships, for instance, are defined in terms

of what interactions with others are acceptable. Any violation of priority boundaries can lead to feelings of jealousy:

Cheryl's comments framed such a context: "I don't like jealous friends - that drives me away. Not possessiveness either. I don't like feeling suffocated in a friendship, I shy away from people who suffocate me. It's just not worth pursuing those friendships. It's not worth the irritation - the heartache, if you'd like to call it that."

Dovetailing with a societal-level definition, jealousy from an interpersonal or social psychological perspective, is a response to a socially defined threat, by an outside person, to an important relationship. Any act that symbolises a 'betrayal' of the marital relationship - a lowering of marital priority or a devaluing of the marital relationship - can evoke jealousy. Jealousy can also be regarded as a secondary emotion, consisting of the situational labelling of one of the primary emotions such as anger or fear. Reiss (1986) points out that men's reactions to feelings of jealousy are usually those of anger, whereas women's feelings are those of depression. This is not surprising in a male dominated culture where women tend to turn anger inwards, towards themselves, and thereby to produce depression. Even in more egalitarian societies, the cultural expectation that women should not express aggression may prevail.

Examining the effects of relationship variables on jealousy, White (1981) concluded that desire for exclusivity was the strongest predictor of jealousy in both males and females. However, in "addition to norms that stress affection or obedience to power rules (duty) as the bases for feeling a 'violation of boundaries', males and females may feel jealous because of a third reason, the pleasure value of sexuality" (Reiss, 1986, p. 57).

8.9.1. **Jealousy and marital sexuality**

As part of her propositional theory of human sexuality, Reiss (1986) proposes that: (a) important social relationships are culturally defined in ways that are intended to institutionalise protective mechanisms, and (b) marital sexuality will involve jealousy norms concerning the ways, if any, to negotiate extramarital sexual access without disturbing the existing marriage relationship.

Buunk (1981) reports that although both sexes experience jealousy within the framework of marriage, women tend to experience more, possibly because of traditional socialisation which has emphasised the importance of marriage for the self-esteem of women. The results of Buunk's (1981) study are congruent with those of research by Clanton and Smith (1977): feelings of jealousy in marriage usually originate from feelings of being excluded from the activities of the spouse. For women, however, jealousy is also created by other perceptions, as well as feelings of uncertainty and inferiority.

In Gerstel's (1988) examination of the ways in which divorce loosens the constraints which marriage places on outside relationships, a jealous, controlling spouse was the most frequently mentioned barrier in marriage. This was more consequential for women than for men: 45% of the women but only 27% of the men subjects spoke about the limitations brought about by their spouse's controlling behaviour. Moreover, Gerstel (1988) considers that women's friendships, in general, may compete with their obligations to their family. Women's friendships, which are often based on emotional care giving, draw on the very resources that husbands may see as owed to themselves. Men's primary family obligations, on the other hand, are material rather than emotional so their friendships detract little from their family obligations. Thus, friendships may interfere

with what wives 'owe' husbands but less often with what husbands 'owe' wives.

In the context of the romantic-love phase of Mary's relationship with Dale, jealousy accumulated as a result of his construal of not being afforded the attention he considered to be rightfully his. Mary explained: "He became jealous of the time I spent with my son, Robert. He couldn't understand why, in the evenings, I might have the energy to spend time with Robert but that I didn't have the energy always to spend time with him." Leigh, too, mentioned time as being the focus of her husband's jealousy: "It's not so much where I am, or who I am with, but the fact that I appear to be showing preference for places and people, other than him."

Jane's husband's jealousy was a central factor in her avoidance of opposite-sex friendship. Discussing his reaction to her having male friends, Jane reasoned that it was his perception of threat that initiated reactions of jealousy: "He's jealous - maybe too impulsive - until he realises there is no threat." Likewise, in her description of one of her lapsed opposite-sex friendships, Cathy hinted at the role of her husband's feelings of uncertainty in the development of his jealousy: "I once grew friendly with a chap I worked with. I never knew if he was gay; I still don't know. He was intuitive - that's why I say he might have been gay. He also never had girlfriends, but he wasn't effeminate. We became great friends, Patrick and I. My husband got to know him, too. At first he was jealous because he was unsure of the relationship we had."

Showing insight gained from his involvement in psychotherapy, Ron commented on his longstanding but lapsed relationship with a live-in companion: "She was jealous ... very possessive, always reading things into the friendships I had with other women. She wanted to know why I made eye contact with this one and why I said such-and-such to that one. You see, she had a bad relationship with her mother - also her father really - there was no attachment, if you know what I mean. So, she's found it hard to be attached in adulthood. She was married ... has two children. I'm quite secure, though, so even if I didn't approve of her friends and her behaviour with them, I thought she was entitled to do what she wanted to do. I never stopped her."

Because some non-marital relationships are defined by society as unimportant, the relationship boundary limits are correspondingly vague and jealousy is unlikely to develop. For instance, a man is unlikely to feel jealous if his

friend visits the prostitute he has just left (Reiss, 1986). But if that same friend were to visit his wife, then his feelings would be different because of the activation of the attachment system. Because marriage is not a matter of indifference, marital sexuality is protected by boundaries "armed" with jealousy norm sensors.

8.9.2. **Jealousy and opposite-sex friendship**

"The tension between friendship and kinship relations is nowhere clearer than in attitudes towards friends outside of a marriage" (Rawlins, 1982, p. 346). The potential credibility and viability of cross-gender friendship conflicts with the traditional proprietary and jealousy-generating nature of both marriage and friendship. Jealousy is a common reaction to cross-sex friendship and probably explains why existing friendships diminish at the time of marriage and why relatively few new ones begin after marriage (O'Meara 1989). Since sexuality is a repetitive aspect of marital relationships and takes on special symbolic meanings, extramarital cross-sex relationships are often perceived as threatening the total meaning of the existing marital relationship.

"Friendships and activities which inconvenience the partner or disrupt agreed-upon routines are more apt to evoke jealousy than similar involvements which are thoughtfully planned" (Clanton & Smith, 1977, p. 222). External events can produce emotional chaos in a relationship, with the severity of the effect being dependent on the individual's perception of the interaction. It might be hypothesised that a jealous reaction is likely to be most probable and most severe for those individuals who have a greater number of sequences and plans meshed to sequences of the partner's chain, for those who perceive that few substitute alternatives are available, and for those who perceive that the external person represents a very high threat of

interruption (Berscheid, 1983).

Acknowledging the role of trust in this context, Solomon (1960) concluded that the more a person is likely to engage in trusting behaviour, the greater the power he has relative to the other. Barry (1970) interprets power as a feeling of well-being and inner security and suggests that individuals with stable identities are likely to be more trusting of their spouses and so to avoid destructive issues of conflict regarding their interpersonal relationships.

Tembi admitted to being jealous about her husband; her comments indicated her belief of on-going competition amongst women, for men. In this respect, she experienced feelings of insecurity and an over-riding fear of loss. Consequently, 'fear of loss' featured as a prominent attachment dimension in her profile, and she demonstrated a particularly low level of marital trust (see Appendix K5). Her ratings on the RSQ endorsed most strongly a 'dismissing' pattern of attachment with regard to opposite-sex friendships and it was this pattern which was most obvious in her comments about her husband's philandering: "I feel that if he has an affair and he makes me aware of it, then he doesn't respect me. Men are never satisfied. One must do these things carefully - avoid me becoming suspicious. Respect yourself!" Mulling over reasons for her husband's frequent absences from home, Tembi displayed resentment that she was not included in his activities. "If he's married, why should he be frequenting elsewhere?" she demanded to know.

The genesis of Tembi's anxiety about her husband's 'friends' lay not only in her experience-based schemata, but also, in Kellian terms, in her under-dimensionalised understanding of impending experience and her fragmentary or partial construal of events. In other words, she experienced anxiety because of the difficulty she had understanding and predicting her spouse's behaviour. Significantly, her rating of the 'predictability' factor in the trust scale was particularly low: 10:25. Surprisingly, however, Tembi's responses in the Mental Model Questionnaire reflected her belief that opposite-sex friendships could exist without the tension of sexuality: for example, she strongly endorsed the item "It's possible to have a friendship with someone of the opposite sex, without the relationship becoming romantic" and she negatively endorsed "It is impossible to remain just friends with a person of the opposite sex." Clearly, her experience of her husband's opposite-sex friendships was demanding an adjustment of her working model - in essence, of her personal construct system. Her comments indicated a resistance to

such change, however, and the tension or pressure so created probably resulted in feelings of anxiety and hostility. Nonetheless, her neutral endorsement of the item "Friendships with the opposite sex turn into love affairs" suggests the process of change had indeed been set in motion - albeit slowly and reluctantly.

In relationships of limited intimacy, the individual has many sequences and plans which are not meshed with those of the partner. "'The Achilles heel' of any relationship lies in the sequences and plans that each partner, for one reason or another, simply cannot facilitate for the other. When a third person can not only facilitate those plans, but also the sequences and plans that the original partner has been fulfilling, one can expect that the fabric of the original relationship should be severely weakened by the emergence of the third relationship" (Berscheid, 1983, p. 167). Thus, individuals external to the dyad who are perceived to represent a particularly good 'mesh' with the partner's current sequences and plans are likely to pose the greatest threat. Frequently, a relationship, initiated and maintained because it facilitates certain unfulfilled plans, cannot fully or adequately substitute for all of the old meshed behaviour sequences and plans shared with his or her partner. The individual faces a dilemma if both his/her spouse, as well as the third person, is needed for the maximum facilitation of his/her behaviour sequences and plans.

8.9.3. **Marital privacy**

Within the context of cross-sex friendship, sexual jealousy can arise from a spouse's feelings of exclusion from an important personal aspect of the relationship. The resultant feelings of neglect have the potential to lead to the judgment that the established relationship has been devalued. For reasons such as these, cross-sex friendships are likely to be met with more social disapproval for married individuals than for single ones (Hess, 1972).

Privacy was a central theme in Jane's descriptions of her marriage and her friendships. It was also a component of her social identity: "I'm a very private person," she confided, more than once. As a personality who rated her own attachment style as being 'avoidant', privacy was also a central element in her working model of friendship, especially with the opposite sex. Examining the scenes depicted in the projective procedure, she made several comments illustrating the value she attached to privacy: "This chap is tuning in to a private conversation," she remarked about a character in the red scenario. "This young chap with a hat is rude - he should be listening to his own group of friends ... not eaves-dropping here. The other lady is a little old for him, yet he is attracted to her. The red lady speaks too loudly - she has a lot to say! She reveals a lot ... maybe she should keep some of it to herself," she added, somewhat censoriously.

Admitting to having a jealous spouse, she commented: "Opposite-sex friendships within a marriage should only be encouraged where genuine, long-lasting friendships already exist between couples. The most recent partner should be made welcome. I'm always careful and sensitive enough to include all parties equally."

Violations of 'privacy' in marriage may lead to the feeling that the priority of the marital relationship has been reduced. Cross-sex friendship is likely to be seen as a potential rival to the time and energy devoted to uninvolved partners. There is also the awareness that both the pleasure and the self-disclosing aspects of the friendship draw one away from the marriage. Potential feelings of exclusion and intrusion are taken into account by most of the norms that regulate extra-marital/relationship actions. The same principle of seeking to avoid an exclusionary and intrusive action that violates the boundaries of the relationship is likely to be present in all attachment relationships.

Some of these concerns were expressed by Mary: "Friendship with the opposite sex makes things difficult, especially for women. You're taking time away from your husband. That's true for having male and female friends. Of course, Christo, my ex-husband, was dead scared I'd tell his work colleagues how abusive he was ... especially that I'd tell the men. He was dead scared that it would be leaked to his boss in the police-force. He wouldn't let me have friends. He isolated me. I wasn't allowed to have friends. He

wanted me to be with him and no-one else. It's all about control and that's what he did - he controlled me. He suspected that I had a male friend at work, but he could never believe that Dale was just my friend. When we got divorced, Christo was obsessed about whether or not I had moved in with Dale. That's all he cared about. Actually, I think the divorce would have been easier for him to accept if I told him that I had left him for another man. That he could have understood. But he couldn't understand that I would leave him just because he was physically abusive."

Paula's husband employed a similar strategy to bolster the boundaries of their marriage and so to ensure privacy. He, too, had prevented his wife from forming or maintaining friendships - especially with men. Paula explained, "Ivan would have been a jealous man, but I was never allowed to meet anyone so he never had any cause to be jealous."

8.9.4. **Jealousy-management**

A product of any relationship characterised by high levels of interdependence and personalised concern is maintenance difficulty (Wright, 1978), often exacerbated by factors such as sexual jealousy. Whether or not an extra-marital cross-sex friendship will pose a threat to the participants' marriages largely depends on the ways in which it is construed by all involved.

Defining the friendship reality enables the parties to a relationship to understand what is happening between them; essentially, the preservation of order is achieved through predictability and control (Kaplan, 1976). Feelings of threat within a relationship may also be addressed through a process of redefinition attuned to the relationship's evolution (Wilmot, 1980). Using a dialectic perspective, Masheter and Harris (1986) documented the development of a couple's relationship, from an intolerable marriage to a compatible post-divorce friendship. The researchers noted that the partners in their study defined and redefined their relationship on a variety of dimensions of meaning.

Describing how he had redefined his relationship with his ex-wife, Clinton commented,

"I'm totally neutral about her. If she arrived and said that she would be emigrating and I'd never see her again, well, it would be like telling me that today's Wednesday. I feel nothing for her ... yet we're more friendly today than we've ever been!"

There are various ways in which redefinition can restore threatened relational functioning. According to Levinger (1965), in the event that an individual construes his/her spouse's friendships to be a threat, the spouse can attempt to (a) increase the positive attractiveness of the marriage; (b) decrease the attractiveness of the alternate relationship i.e. the friendship, or (c) increase the strength of the boundaries against the threat of marital conflict resulting from the friendship. By decreasing the external attraction posed by the friendship, the spouses would be encouraged to look to each other more as objects of need and companionship gratification. However, the resultant burden this places on each spouse makes it "neither a necessary nor a sufficient means of creating positive consequences for the relationship" (Levinger, 1965, p. 28).

Strengthening marriage boundaries is the least likely means of promoting marital cohesiveness. Without an increase of internal attraction, barrier maintenance does not heighten the satisfactions that partners gain from their marriage (Levinger, 1965). In fact, altering the boundaries represents a potential source of disruption and is likely to lead to interpersonal tension. "Relationships are open systems that are amenable to regenerative changes, but we know little about the sources and dynamics of regeneration" (Levinger, 1980, p. 536).

In the face of possible disruption of a marital relationship as a result of the altering of boundaries, there are two ways that the relationship can be maintained: by suppression or by expression. Kaplan (1976) explains that maintenance-by-suppression constrains individuals from broaching the subject.

Helen for instance, described a marital system in which certain issues were clearly suppressed. She expressed uncertainty about her husband's relationships with other women: "I don't think he's ever had an affair since we've been married. Before we got married, I know he went out with several women but I don't think it was serious. He doesn't open up, though, he doesn't talk about those things. They're just not discussed." Similarly, she and her husband had agreed not to discuss the unwanted attention she inadvertently drew from men, both within her social circle and her work environment.

In cases like this, potential interpersonal problems within the bounds of the marriage are avoided or smoothed over and much of the associated tension is drained off outside of the marital relationship. As a homeostatic mechanism, suppressive maintenance aims to achieve a return to equilibrium by providing for the release of tension, often through joking and laughter. However, in the process, elements potentially useful to the system or the relationship may also be lost; much of the energy that might be available for constructive change is disregarded - as is a wealth of information about the system's operation. Unless criticisms are voiced, the collective understanding and appreciation of the relationship is restricted. In cybernetic terms, suppressive-maintenance techniques sacrifice a valuable source of feedback about the relationship and thus stunt growth and development. In addition, tension is more likely to build up in a suppressively maintained relationship because of the only-partial efficacy of displacement and indirection. The potential for explosive releases of tension is high and eruptions in this regard can change the relationship markedly or damage it irreparably (Kaplan, 1976).

By contrast, maintenance-by-expression allows for the verbalisation of concerns but tends to rearrange the relationship rather than solve any potential problems. Kaplan (1976) explains that the tension, aggression and dissatisfaction that constitute the material for change (in other words, the waste products of the relationship) are

often just recycled. Nonetheless, feelings are routinely expressed; the function of expressive-maintenance is performed by means of extended exploration of, or passing references to, mutual feelings about relationships in a way as to make it relatively easy to accept what is said.

According to Reiss (1986), there are several other ways of managing the potential clash of extra-marital dyadic relationships such as cross-sex friendships. Apart from avoidance of the emergent issues, segregation is a coping mechanism which involves the lowering of social visibility. Integration is a relatively uncommon coping method, characteristic of sexually open marriages, wherein each of the spouses agrees to accept the other's additional relationships, be they sexual or not. Reiss (1986) points out that in the western world, these modes of handling marital jealousy are closely related to the three major motivations for marriage: love, duty, or pleasure. For instance, if the love aspect is stressed, integration of extra-marital relationships is difficult because love leads to the desire for exclusivity. If the pleasure aspect is stressed, then the avoidance approach is less likely because the pursuit of pleasure, when not combined with love, encourages seeking other partners in a more open fashion. Even if the duty aspect of marriage predominates, the public display of outside relationships tends to be avoided and the priority of marriage continues.

In effect, then, marital boundaries, based on attachment needs, function to preserve and protect the marital status quo, in the face of threat, such as that represented by friendship relationships outside of the marital situation. These boundaries define the existence of the relationship and separate it from other relationships, by controlling relationship limits. The concept of boundary, as a structure which facilitates or impedes the passage of materials between the organism and its surrounding environment, is

consequently of critical importance in understanding opposite-sex friendships as extra-marital relationships.

8.10. SUMMATION, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The assertion that attachment is affected by both members of a dyad (Bowlby, 1969; Ainsworth, 1989) gained support from the data recovered in the present study. Moreover, as in Lesley's case, it seems that different attachment orientations may be evoked by different social contexts or stimuli. This indication is in line with Bowlby's (1973) initial theoretical propositions as well as later hypotheses by several researchers (Bretherton, 1991; Ogilvie & Ashmore, 1991). It may be that individuals hold both core and peripheral attachment orientations, with those of a more peripheral and selective nature being more context-specific and thus, activated more discriminantly and judiciously. Recent findings suggest that individuals do, in fact, possess a range of attachment orientations whose relative accessibility determines their relational cognition (Baldwin, Keelan, Fehr & Enns, 1996).

Data from the present study indicated that positive relational experiences, combined with a secure attachment style, result in positive interpretations and expectations of future relational outcomes (Eddie). Negative experiences, together with insecure attachment styles, tend to be associated with negative expectations regarding social outcomes (Paula, Tembi). Where there is conflict between relational experience and existing mental models (based on ingrained cultural beliefs), conflict, frustration and ambivalence can occur (Tembi).

Evidence was gained for Bowlby's (1979) assertion that mental models which are embellished through experiences associated with strong emotions (such as the domestic

violence experienced by Mary and Lesley) tend to dominate existing or subsequently-established models. The scripts thus established, even though dysfunctional, become comparatively more accessible than others and are therefore the most readily applied. In Paula's case, avoidance of heterosocial relationships was a well-used script which functioned to stunt the development of her friendships.

An individual's metaperceptions of his/her partner's attachment needs also influence interpersonal patterns (Sally), although not always in functional ways. In Mary's case, metaperceptions repeatedly acted to predict negative outcomes, regardless of the existence of cues to the contrary. In this role, Mary's metaperceptions both biased perception and functioned as self-fulfilling prophecies. Where a spouse assumes a central attachment role within the marital context, attachment feelings towards friends seem to be less salient (Eddie). Where this is not the case, attachment feelings may be experienced more easily or expansively within the context of friendships (Lesley).

Metaperceptions also play a role in the experiences of trust within a marital dyad. Low trust and insecure attachment orientations seem to translate into heightened sensitivity about rule transgressions within the marital context (Tembi). In these cases, set within the context of marriages of a relatively brief duration, marital attributions appear to focus on factors external to the marital dyad, rather than on personal motives.

In line with the suppositions of Rempel et al. (1985), the respondents in more established marriages tended to depend more heavily on attributions about their partner's motivations and less on encodings at the behavioural level (Paula). Secure attachment orientations, associated with confidence, seem to be associated with metaperceptions of spousal trust and to translate into non-threatening friend-

ship experiences with the opposite sex (Cheryl). Congruent with Strahan's (1991) finding, a secure attachment style seems to be associated with high trust scores (Cheryl, Eddie, Pam, Susan, Ken, Clinton). Secure attachment also seems to be related to acceptance of spousal opposite-sex friendship (Cheryl) whereas insecure attachment orientations tend to yield more readily to feelings of jealousy and threat, expressed through anger, anxiety and fear (Tembi).

Perceptions of threat to the marital bond can result in experiences of jealousy. Jealous feelings might arise from a spouse's construal of time and attentional limitations (Leigh, Mary) - a particular dilemma for the avoidant personality, who characteristically values these two commodities. Jealousy may also originate from the construal of threat to an attachment relationship, in terms of potential damage by outside influences (Ron).

Jealousy appeared to be experienced most acutely by Tembi, an anxious-ambivalent personality, whose jealous feelings seemed to be rooted in her construal of interpersonal exclusion, and expressed through anxiety and hostility. The avoidant personalities seemed less inclined to construe exclusion as threatening; perhaps they had learnt to expect rejection or to welcome the privacy it can afford (Leigh, Jane). These individuals seemed to be more sensitive about intrusion into the marital context. They consequently tended to experience jealousy as a reaction to the infiltration of others across their marital boundaries.

An individual's metaperception of her/his spouse's mental model as regards his/her friendships with the opposite-sex seems to have an impact on the depth and course of those friendships (Ann, Leigh). In Leigh's case, what constituted the boundaries of marriage in terms of her friendships with the opposite sex was her perception of her husband's disapproval of those relationships. Leigh's avoidant

attachment orientation also seemed to translate into her using marital boundaries effectively in controlling (or avoiding) potential sexuality in opposite sex friendships. The threat of sexuality breaking through in opposite-sex friendships may also be managed through repression and denial, as might have been true in Clinton's case. The element of sexuality in opposite-sex friendships can also be controlled by processes of relationship-definition: for example, Irene established a spiritual base for her opposite-sex friendships, thus redefining them and surrounding them with socially-approved, legitimate boundaries.

Being recently married means a large amount of boundary setting, experimenting, trying out and adapting (Ann); later on, boundaries are perceived, established and acknowledged more easily and adhered to more readily (Clinton). Thus, boundaries of attachment can have both functional and inhibitory effects on marriage and friendship. In chapter 9, the concept of boundaries is explored in depth, with particular attention being paid to their bi-directional and intricate effects in terms of opposite-sex friendship.

CHAPTER NINE

BOUNDARIES AND FRIENDSHIP

> You would not find out the boundaries of the soul, even by travelling along every path: so deep a measure does it have. (Heraclitus)

Against the background of social-cognitive principles underlying relational behaviour, coupled with the influence of attachment, this chapter evaluates the impact of the boundaries of marriage on friendship experiences. Beginning with an explanation of the nature of interpersonal boundaries, the chapter investigates the manifestation of cognitive boundaries in social rule- and belief-systems. The ways in which boundaries of marriage function are then examined, and the influence they exert in terms of friendships - especially with the opposite sex - is discussed. By delving into the heart of the boundary concept, chapter nine represents a confluence and amalgamation of the various themes contained within this thesis.

9.1. THE NATURE OF BOUNDARIES

The concept of boundaries "deals with differences between individuals at the most basic levels - differences in the structure of our minds and brains. Such differences, as we are beginning to see, underlie how we learn, think, and remember; how we react to chemicals and how we react to other people" (Hartmann, 1991, p. 248). Social behaviour is surrounded by constraints - metaphorical semipermeable membranes, operating on cognitive, behavioural, affective and temporal levels. Within the context of relationships, physical boundaries operate according to a broad range of factors, including money and property, whereas cognitive and emotional boundaries include beliefs, thoughts, ideas, needs, interests, relationships, confidences, secrets, roles

and rules.

Certain structural and normative variables create the preconditions necessary for the emergence of a primary relationship. In terms of friendships, these structural features influence the opportunities which individuals have to interact with each other. In this respect, cross-sex friendships are particularly susceptible to specific inhibiting and constraining structural boundaries (Babchuk, 1965). Thus, "...any social encounter, any focused gathering, is to be understood, in the first instance, in terms of the functioning of the 'membrane' that encloses it, cutting it off from a field of properties that could be given weight" (Goffman, 1961, p. 79).

The dynamics of encounters, and of social relationships in general, are linked to the functioning of the boundary-maintaining mechanisms that disassociate the relationship selectively from the context of which it is also a part - in essence, from the wider world. This is what Huston and Levinger (1978) are referring to when they explain that close relationships "are affected not only by the larger cultural environment and the individual personalities of the partners, but also by the pair's own history of interaction with each other and with the matrix of social relationships within which their evolving partnership is fit" (p. 132-133).

In the present study, one of the core reasons given for avoiding - or being wary of - friendships with the opposite sex was the potential influence of outside opinion or pressure to conform. Even Cheryl, who greatly valued her friendships with the opposite-sex, agreed with the statement: "People gossip about a friendship between two people of the opposite sex if one or both is married" (Mental Model Questionnaire, Appendix E1). Although she also agreed with the item: "People are inclined to call a friendship between two married people, an affair", she elaborated by adding, "...but it does not bother me or affect the friendship."

Helen construed outside influence differently. She indicated strong agreement with 80% of the items in the "Social Pressure" sub-section of the Mental Model Questionnaire - and 'agreed' with the remaining item. "Take my hairdresser," she said, "... it's Brian's hairdresser too and even Brian has said that he has got the hots for me. I said, 'Rubbish!' - but you see how easy it is for people to start talking? It's just not worth pursuing the friendship." Thus, Helen's metaperceptions - in Kellian terms, the ways in which she anticipated external events and the construction processes of others - formed an impenetrable boundary to the friendship, long before it became established.

Fundamentally, boundaries raise basic issues concerning the nature of relationships to ourselves, others and the cosmos (Eigen, 1986). No matter how complex a boundary is, it actually marks off nothing but an inside and outside which exist not in themselves, but in the boundary so established. In this sense, boundaries are illusions, products not of reality but of the way we map and edit reality (Wilber, 1979). As a function of new experience, boundaries are dynamic and ever-changing. Indeed, Eigen (1986) considers that one of the deepest mysteries of the human self is the radical and continual shifting of its sense of boundaries.

A boundary "can be distorted in itself in the sense of being too weak, or fractured, or even absent when needed" (Davis & Wallbridge, 1981). Boundaries can also be healthy or unhealthy; a healthy relationship hinges on each party having healthy boundaries. The criteria which characterise healthy boundaries include their appropriateness and protective functions, as well as their clarity and flexibility (Whitfield, 1993). At the other end of the spectrum, the unhealthy pole, are psychotics, who are riddled with profound boundary problems.

9.1.1. **Permeability**

The character of a relationship is based, in part, upon the rules regarding the properties of the situation. These barriers or boundaries are more like screens than solid

walls (Goffman, 1961), functioning not only to select but also to transform and modify. Thus, in order to enlarge and expand relational horizons, the re-zoning and re-mapping of boundaries is necessary. When boundary rules are changed, much more than the re-ordering or transformation of patterning occurs. "Some of the potentially determinative wider world is easefully disattended; some is repressed; and some is suppressed self-consciously at the price of felt distraction" (Goffman, 1961, p. 65). Where there is disattention, there will be no tendency to modify the boundaries, but where there is conscious distraction, there will be pressure on the rulings. Although boundary rules are not always threatened directly, they do alter the psychic worlds of those who must interact in accordance with the rules.

As shared cognitions, boundary rules provide relationships with stability by regulating potentially disruptive sources of conflict (Henderson & Argyle, 1986). To use a military metaphor, a boundary line is also a potential battle line because it marks off the territory of two potentially opposed and warring camps (Wilber, 1979). Establishing boundaries manufactures opposites and, since the world of opposites is a world of conflict, to establish a boundary is to prepare oneself for potential conflict - in effect, to don character armour.

Like personal constructs (Kelly, 1955) and marital systems (Minuchin, 1983), the boundary between a system and its surrounding environment or surrounding relationships is frequently described in terms of permeability. This is an abstract concept which, in terms of systems theory, refers to the relative ease or difficulty outside persons or elements experience in moving into and out of the marital system (Steinglass, 1978). The degree of boundary permeability is contingent on several factors, including marital status. For instance, it may be easier for married men to

make sexual forays into unmarried territories than it is for unmarried individuals to invade the territories of married individuals.

Ron's comments qualified this assertion: "...men who are married are less available as friends. And as for my women friends; if they weren't married, a relationship would develop. That's not always inevitable, but it could happen." Barriers also seem to be contingent on gender-based societal expectations, as Ron indicated: "...if I got married, I would remain friends with the women I am friendly with now. There'd be no problem. But, if I were married, I wouldn't approve of my wife having or keeping her men friends. That's just the way it is."

Thus, in some cultures, men are able to impinge upon women to greater degrees than women are able to invade their fellow man's world. "Whenever there is a power differential, the more favored group generally has more freedom to cross barriers than has the less favoured, although its penetration tends to be superficial" (McCall & Simmons, 1966, p. 27).

Like the husbands of Mary, Paula and Lesley, Helen's first husband controlled her friendships from a position of economic power: "... all our friends were his friends. I had none of my own. He was very domineering; I was at home with the kids and he was the one who met the friends and would bring them home. He showed no interest in my friends. And, when we got divorced, I lost him - and the friends!"

Sally (an interviewee), talked of her marriage to her (second) husband: "...he's Greek, Cypriot really. That excludes me to a certain extent...; but I do endeavour to be friendly to his friends. I would be very disappointed in myself if I thought I was coming over in an unwelcoming way. But they speak Greek and that excludes me. I think Kris likes the fact that he can speak privately with his friends, without my knowing the conversation's content. I once tried to learn Greek but Kris wasn't keen; he gave me no encouragement at all. I think he really likes speaking a language I don't understand."

Having studied friendship in rural Thai society, Piker (1968) describes the collective beliefs which function as constraints impinging on cross-sex friendships: abstinence

from sexual relations is difficult over protracted periods; gossip is inevitable - even sexual abstinence does not prevent it; and, men and women are unlikely to have enough in common to establish deep, platonic friendship bonds (Piker, 1968). Anthropologist Jacobson (1968), analysing the factors underlying the organisation of elite Africans in a town in Uganda in the 1960s, reported that, consistent with the principle of friendship with social equals, men and women do not readily form friendship bonds with each other. This social pattern originates in the elite's definition of men as being socially superior to women, partly because women do not have equal education or occupational backgrounds.

9.1.2. **The 'Janus bifrons' feature**

An important feature of social boundaries is that they face in two directions (McCall & Simmons, 1966). They prevent individuals from moving outside of certain prescribed constraints towards interactional possibilities beyond, and they also prevent specific categories of individuals from entering a particular social world. In other words, there are two sides to a boundary: that which includes those within and that which excludes those without (Reiss, 1986). Since there is no unity without distinct identities, and boundaries function to define and differentiate identities (Cloud & Townsend, 1992), marital partners can establish a distinct identity by separating themselves from others, using boundary marking techniques.

As a middle-aged unmarried woman, Rosemary (an interviewee) described the boundary she perceived with respect to one of her couple-friends: "Being unmarried and having friends who are married can cause so many problems. Take that family I was mentioning. They used to go to my church. The wife always kept me at arm's length. Well, that was because her husband found someone he could really talk to in me. So, every time he saw me, he'd make a point of coming over to me and talking. His wife didn't like the attention I was getting. I could feel it. It was only because he could talk to me and I'd listen.

His wife made it her business to let me know I was intruding. I didn't pursue the friendship after that."

9.1.3. **Mutability**

Boundaries can be amended or altered; they are not static, unchangeable phenomena. "Changes in important boundary perception customs take considerable time to develop on the individual or the cultural level. Premarital sexuality changes much more easily, for it does not involve risk to an established relationship, but rather can be the basis for establishing a marital relationship. Changes in extramarital sexuality involve important marital and family boundaries in a more direct, confronting fashion, and thus change occurs much more slowly. Nonetheless, our boundaries are changing" (Reiss, 1986, p. 66).

Whilst feasible, boundary mutability is not always functional or desirable. In terms of opposite-sex friendship across the boundaries of marriage, Rosemary advocated that: "I wouldn't get too friendly with the men I know because it would cause havoc in my friendships with their wives. There are restrictions in situations like that, and those limitations have to be respected." Cheryl pointed out an additional risk: "If the friendship ever turned towards being romantic, then it would be difficult to ever re-establish the friendship. But then friends shouldn't allow that to happen."

9.2. INTERPERSONAL BOUNDARY FUNCTIONS

Social boundaries affect not only with whom one may interact, but also the form the interaction may assume. Social structural factors also affect the 'when' and 'where' of interactions. Indeed, "the social order of a society imposes quite stringent bounds upon the interaction possibilities within its culture" (McCall & Simmons, 1966, p. 30). In most social relationships, we have a choice: (a) not to get too close, to keep others at arm's length; to maintain a distance; to avoid commitment or, (b) to get involved - on any one of various levels. The implicit

boundaries set up in any of these cases are an integral part of relationships, constraining and controlling the extent and depth of the commitment.

Social boundaries are not absolute, nor are they impenetrable, tending rather to impede than to prevent individuals from crossing them. They may be thought of as useful barriers to activities and situations about which individuals feel uncomfortable. In the work context, for instance, a young married woman can legitimately turn away from the sexual attentions shown her by her superior. In situations like this, individuals construe social barriers as keeping others out, rather than as ways of keeping themselves in.

Elaborating on the attentions of her hairdresser, Helen hinted at the safeguards - or boundaries - which prevented their platonic friendship from being transformed into a sexual relationship: "I'm quite friendly with my hairdresser and one of my friends said that when she has her hair done, all he ever talks about is me ... despite the fact that he got married two months ago! It just wouldn't be worth pursuing the friendship - not for his marriage or mine, or for the children. So, I'm going to change my hairdresser!"

Reiss (1986) explains that "...each society sets boundaries for important relationships, particularly marital relationships, in which people are expected to invest themselves deeply in terms of duty, pleasure or affection" (p. 72). Through various boundary-setting mechanisms, culture defines what ought to be considered a threat to that relationship. In this respect, boundaries function to minimise conflict, particularly among those who have high investment of self in others, such as kin, friends, and intimates themselves.

Lesley provided some insights into her perception of the Portuguese culture to which she belonged. She explained, "Portuguese men frequently drink excessively and abuse their wives. It's something of a tradition," she said, "and the acceptable way for women to cope with it is to keep quiet." It was also acceptable for men, but not for women, to have affairs and dalliances. Moreover, at all costs, women needed to be married: "It's considered

shameful not to be. It doesn't matter what's going on in the marriage - how unhappy a woman is - as long as she's married."

Social boundaries may not function only as constraints. In fact, if individuals are not aware of the limitations they face, they may feel no deprivation at all (McCall & Simmons, 1966). But, if they do become aware of a wider range of possibilities while the boundaries continue to restrain them from being realised, then this knowledge may create discontent and restlessness.

Both Lesley and Mary were painfully aware of the restricting impact of their marriages on their social lives: "I found myself in a very abusive relationship," Lesley admitted. "I learnt through bitter experience and now I seem to have come around in a full circle. After I was divorced, my social world opened up. I'd rather have a friendship than a sexual relationship, you know. Friends put things in perspective far better than husbands do!" Similarly, Mary commented: "As a wife, I would get upset that Christo wasn't always reliable. I needed a friend then, but he wouldn't allow me to have one. When we got divorced, I found myself with no friends."

9.2.1. **Equilibrium-maintenance**

Family therapists make particular use of the structural concept of boundaries. Minuchin's (1983) model of relationship functioning emphasises the social context which defines the constraints within which individual behaviour exists. Utilising a concept from pure systems theory, Minuchin (1983) describes the boundaries of a particular system as comprised of the rules defining who participates with whom and how this is done. In this respect, the function of boundaries is to protect the differentiation of the system, thus maintaining equilibrium: "... one would expect, therefore, that, at the midpoint of any particular stage, a marriage is in a relative state of quiescence, percolating along at a predictable and patterned style. Although this style may be more or less inventive, more or less adaptive, more or less 'functional' in terms of the

marriage's ability to maximise its resources and productivity, what would be found on close examination of such a marriage would be phenomena associated primarily with maintenance patterns" (Steinglass, 1978, p. 354).

Every marital couple or family is a subsystem which has particular functions and makes specific demands on its members. Importantly, the development of interpersonal skills achieved in these subsystems is predicated on the subsystem's freedom from interference by other subsystems, whilst permitting acceptable degrees of contact between the members of different subsystems. The clarity of the system's boundaries is significant for its effective functioning, ensuring that both husband and wife are clearly enough defined as a separate system to be protected from interference by competing systems, such as in-laws, children or friends. In essence, the clarity of marital boundaries makes it easier for a marriage to thrive.

Interviewee, Sally, explained how her husband clarified the boundaries surrounding their marital system - in so doing, controlling potential interference from outside influences: "Kris feels he need to protect our marriage in some ways: for instance, by not agreeing to my attending even church activities if there are men there. He's especially sensitive about situations where there's a context of fun. But, on the other hand, he doesn't mind my going on church retreats because he knows there's an atmosphere of study and meditation - it's a serious context. He wouldn't welcome a church camp where families went, either. He wouldn't like me anywhere where there was fun and games!" Although these restrictions lent a functional clarity to the marital boundaries so imposed, ironically, their restrictive nature seemed to contain a potentially destructive force: "In a way, I have a love-hate relationship with Kris!" Sally added, pondering on her insights.

From a structural theoretical perspective, Steinglass (1978) explains that "the priority of boundaries is ... important insofar as it subsidizes the functional capacity of the inherent or generic needs of any social system" (p. 328). However, problems can arise when boundaries are so rigid as to prevent interaction between the marital subsystem and the

outside world or the couple's social milieu. Potential threat can also result from the restriction of interaction between husband and wife within their separate subsystems, such as those represented by their work.

Instead of referring to the qualitative differences between dysfunctional and functional boundaries, Minuchin (1983) considers that different boundary-types relate to different transactional styles. Families are conceived as lying somewhere along a continuum of boundary functioning and transactional style whose poles form two extremes: enmeshed (diffused) and disengaged. Diffused boundaries describe family systems in which family members have little autonomy because they are enmeshed in each other's lives. The type of family functioning characterised by enmeshment is over-involvement with one another; interpersonal boundaries are diffuse and the individual's autonomy is restricted.

When the members of a subsystem turn in among themselves to develop their own microcosm, there is an increase of communication and concern among the subsystem members. Distance decreases, boundaries are blurred and the differentiation of the family system diffuses. Such a system can become overloaded and lack the resources to adapt under stressful circumstances. By contrast, overly rigid boundaries characterise systems in which the family members are disengaged from each other. Where families develop overly rigid boundaries, communication across subsystems becomes difficult and the protective functions of the family are at risk.

Minuchin (1983) considers that the structure of relationships and the boundaries therein, are crucial conditions underlying explanations of behaviour. Thus, from this perspective, the motivations for establishing cross-sex friendships vary. Within an enmeshed marital system, the motivation may represent an effort to personally claim and control

an aspect of interpersonal territory. Alternatively, the motivation to develop opposite-sex friendships might reflect involvement in a marital system with rigid boundaries in which the couple are disengaged from each other.

Minuchin (1983) recognises a central dimension of a marital relationship as its transactional structure. Different from the sequential diagrams associated with a communication perspective on marriage, the structural perspective views the husband, wife and their context as three parts of a jigsaw that interlock in a characteristic pattern. The emphasis is on the fitting together of the parts and on the constraints placed on behaviour by the context in which the behaviour occurs. Minuchin (1983) mentions two constraints on the form that transactional patterns take: the generic or inherent needs of the social system and the shared expectations of each spouse.

9.2.2. **Homeostatic control mechanisms**

From a systems perspective, an open system such as a family is a complex integrated whole with organised patterns of interaction that are circular rather than linear in form. Elements in a system are necessarily interdependent, contributing to the formation of patterns and organised in their behaviour by their participation in those patterns. Family systems have homeostatic features that maintain the stability of their patterns but are recurrently altered by events which trigger a period of exploration and a necessary reorganisation of patterns. When the system is challenged, the patterns must be revised. Complex systems are composed of subsystems which have their own integrity, and which are defined metaphorically by the boundaries between them. The interactions across subsystems are governed by implicit rules and patterns (Minuchin, 1988).

Notwithstanding the significant contribution of systems theory, many theories of marriage are social perspectives involving social cognition; social exchange and social learning principles; or psychodynamic theories involving psychoanalytic, and object relations theories. Dicks (1967), for instance, working within an object-relations framework, identified three main levels of subsystems which operate in the dyadic interaction of marriage. The first level is the public system of sociocultural values and norms. The second level is the subsystem of personal norms, whereas the third level is related to unconscious forces, derived from repressed internalised ego-object relations.

In the present study, repression emerged as being a common method of managing the unconscious forces inherent in marital systems. For example, recounting the destructive nature of her first marriage, Helen mused, "I've been through a lot but my mother always instilled in us that we were survivors and I remember that all the time, even though, yes, I know I'm just repressing my feelings." Helen's ability to successfully repress negative experiences is possibly exemplified by her maximally negative endorsement of item 49 in Hartmann's (1991) Boundary Questionnaire (Appendix D): "Every time something frightening happens to me, I have nightmares or fantasies or flashbacks involving the frightening event." Her Personal Boundary Total (related to personal experiences and emotional sensitivities) was 179:396, thus leaning towards the thicker end of the continuum - the pole more directly associated with the tendency to repress unacceptable impulses.

9.2.3. **Psychodynamic functions**

Hartmann (1991) dichotomises personality along a continuum on the basis of boundary structure. At the one end of the continuum are individuals who have thick boundaries which are well-defended. At the other extreme, are individuals who have thin boundaries and who are especially sensitive, experiencing thoughts and feelings simultaneously. Having thick boundaries implies maintaining a good degree of separateness, being surrounded by walls or defences against what is perceived as excessive or inappropriate closeness. A

person with thin boundaries, on the other hand, tends to become over-involved in relationships and to merge with others' identities. Although this thin-boundary quality has a vulnerability to it, it can also serve defensive purposes: merging with someone, and so losing oneself in romantic fantasy, can function to keep one from having to face the harsh realities and constraints of a relationship (Hartmann, 1991).

From a psychodynamic view, much material found in the id is kept out of ordinary waking consciousness, through defence mechanisms. These mechanisms can act as boundaries or barriers which deny or repress. Thick boundaries are likely to signal strong repressive abilities where unacceptable responses are kept well out of awareness. Thin boundaries, on the other hand, represent less repression of unacceptable impulses and less distinction between id and ego. Since it is the strength of the superego which can result in rigid or inflexible personality traits, an individual with thick boundaries is governed by 'shoulds' and thus tends to be astutely aware of norms and constraints in behaviour (Hartmann, 1991).

On Hartmann's Boundary scale (Appendix D), wherein the lower the score, the thicker the boundary structure, Clinton's scores indicated a thick boundary structure: Personal score 90:396; World Total 62:156; Sumbound 152:552. Congruently, he seemed to lead a life of constraint and regimentation, often expressed metaphorically or symbolically. "Our routine never changes. We wouldn't want it too, either - that unsettles us," he admitted. "I collect clocks," he added. "I have one in every room and they all must chime together; I never switch them off, not even at night, but they must all chime together! I go crazy if they don't - if one is out of synch."

The theme of control seemed central to Clinton's construal of reality. For instance, in Hartmann's Boundary Questionnaire, he rated as "not at all true" of himself: "My day-dreams don't always stay in control" (item 25) and "In my daydreams, people kind of merge into one another or one person turns into another" (item 82). Moreover, inspection of his SWOR (figure 11) indicates that he generated 'in control' as one of his

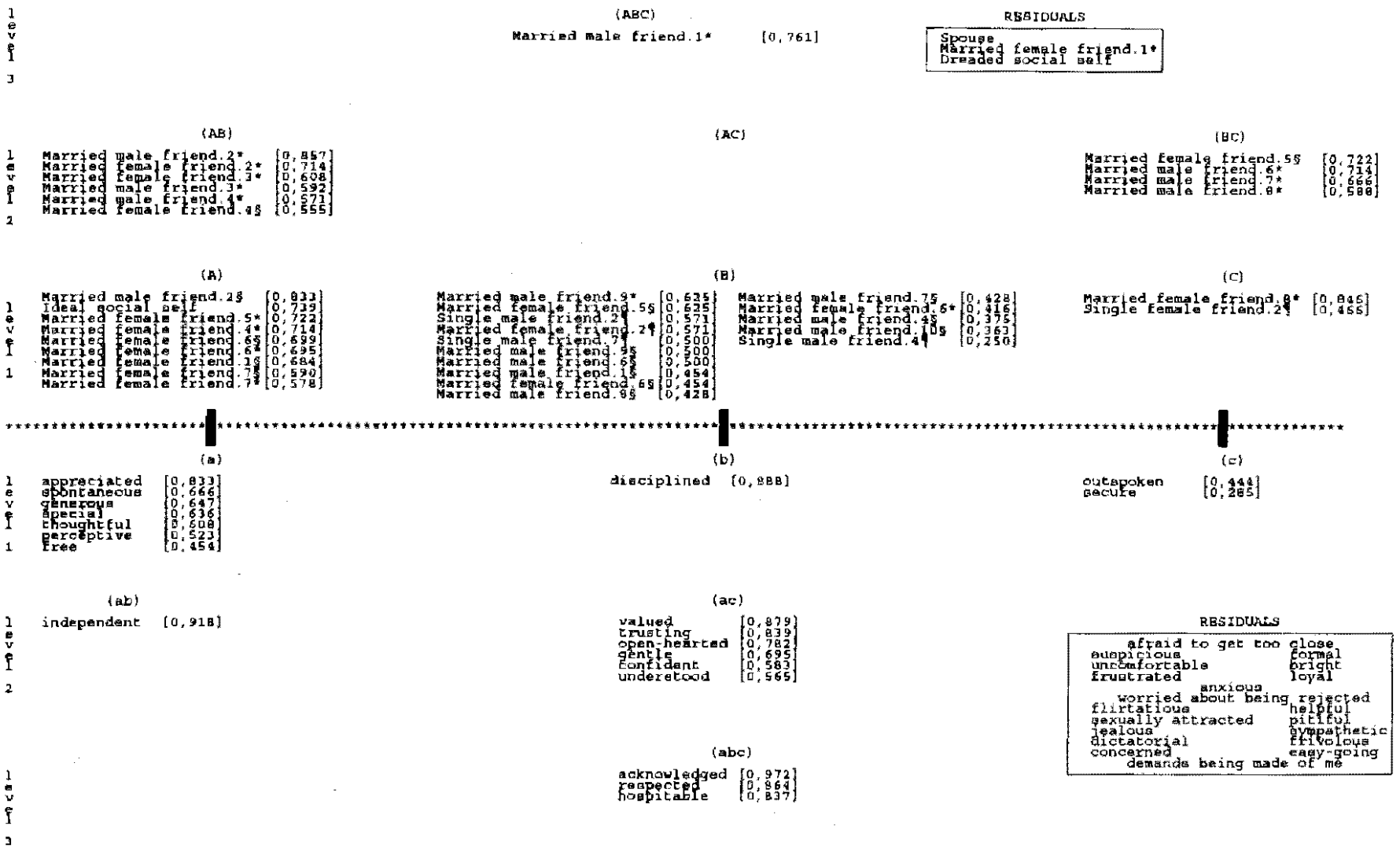
self-with constructs, applying it to his conceptualisation of his 'ideal social self' as well as to his spouse. In so doing, he highlighted the duality of his wife's role, both as his spouse and as his 'ideal' friend.

Also significant in Clinton's SWOR, is the large portion (67%) of friends (occupants of Target-Class 'B') contained in the representational space (excluding residuals and spouse) who are grouped together with his 'dreaded self-social'. With these targets, Clinton admitted to feeling 'uncomfortable' - possibly because of the lack of control he had experienced in terms of his friendship with them. Overall, Clinton's data indicate that, as is characteristic of thick-boundaried personalities, he tends to repress his feelings, or to use the defence mechanisms of control (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991) and denial to suppress major aspects of his relational world "at the price of felt distraction" (Goffman, 1961, p. 65).

Although less extreme than Clinton's structure, Paula's boundary structure also emerged as being comparatively thick: Personal total 154:396; World Total 81:156; Sumbound 235:552. Likewise, the self-with-other feelings which she experienced within the context of her friendships with the opposite-sex, especially during her marriage, appeared to be symptomatic of a well-defended personality. These factors, together with the restrictive nature of her marital relationship, and the alienation which Paula experienced therein, appear to have had profound implications for the way in which she construes her social world.

Inspection of Paula's SWOR (figure 15) indicates that her reaction to the boundaries imposed by her marriage on the friendships represented in Target Class "B" was one of defence, inducing her to feel 'disciplined' (Feature-Class 'b'), and 'independent' (Feature-Class 'a-b'), whilst at the same time, 'acknowledged', 'respected' and 'hospitable' (Feature-Class 'a-b-c'). Significantly, too, the majority (60%) of the interpersonal scenarios represented in Target-Class 'B' are temporally situated within Paula's marriage. She explained that her friendship with Brian, married male friend #4, "suffered a severe onslaught" during her marriage. There were issues, she explained, regarding his friendship with her husband that she needed to discuss with him - particularly regarding her husband's "homosexual tendency and his desire for Brian." She considered that, since her divorce, "the way has opened for the friendship with him and his wife."

Frequently, Paula commented on feeling 'disciplined' in the context of her friendships with men - especially married men and particularly during her marriage. For instance,



¶ Scenarios including Paula as an unmarried woman; * Scenarios including Paula as a divorced woman

§ Scenarios including Paula as a married woman

FIGURE 15: PAULA's SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

describing her friendship with Neil (married male friend #6, a component of Target-Class 'B'), before her divorce, she said : "He was married, therefore our communication was disciplined. Furthermore, I don't think I ever saw him while not in the presence of my husband - this was inhibiting in all respects." She added that, although she was not fearful of intimacy with her male friends, she avoided it. In other words, she defended herself against its development. Similarly, she admitted that she didn't have any close male friendships: "They're all friends within a particular context - I haven't encouraged close friendship beyond that. I have always been most cautious." Congruent with her avoidant attachment style, the comments she made about her male friends contained themes of distancing and evasion.

The themes of mistrust and suspicion also seem to pervade Paula's relational schemas, expressed through her conviction of "being watched" and "spied on." On one occasion, she seemed particularly distraught and explained: "I'm terrified. Someone was waiting for me when I got home last night. Now, I see they've painted a red spot on my gate. I'm living in a marked house - I'm caught up in something political. I'm in danger, but the police won't help. They know what's happening, but they won't let me in on it." Paula's anxiety grew in intensity as she recounted incident after incident to elaborate on, and justify, her suspicions. Regardless of whether or not her construal of reality (including that of her marital context) was delusional or not, it was evidently very real to her. The meaning she interpreted from the reality she construed, was certainly sufficient motivation for her to erect boundaries of distance and evasion, which were so apparent in her relational mental models.

A contrasting theme in Paula's SWOR is that of openness (Feature-Class 'a-c') and hospitality (Feature-Class 'a-b-c'). Noting the cardinal position of 'hospitable' within her SWOR, Paula said, "Friendliness and hospitality are deep within my soul; I want to get close to people but I keep my distance. I'm very cautious - uncertain. I'm quick to feel awkward with men friends and to step back. I'm a bit overwhelmed by the attention sometimes. Acceptance is a very big issue for me." Despite her feelings of awkwardness and uncertainty within the context of male friends, all the features associated with those feelings ('afraid to get too close', 'uncomfortable', 'worried about rejection') are classified by HICLAS as residuals. This contradiction between her relational mental model and her self-with experiences points to the possible existence of repressive forces, characteristic of thick-boundaried personalities. Thus, belying the complexity of her relational mental models, her SWOR seems to contain three (similarly toned) dynamisms: an

Outspoken/Confident dynamism (Feature-Classes 'c', 'a-c', 'a-b-c'); a Disciplined/Respected grouping (Feature Classes 'b', 'a-b' 'a-b-c') and a Perceptive/Independent one (Feature Classes 'a', 'a-b', 'a-c', and 'a-b-c').

The constraints which Paula's marriage imposed on her relational world were not confined to her friendships with men. One of her female friends, Penny (#4 in Target-Class 'A') recounted that, at one point, she had considered Paula to be "a wall with no door." Albeit impenetrable, in certain respects, that wall proved to be functional for Paula. Her friendship with Bobby, male friend #3, a resident of Paula's Target-Cluster 'A-B' took an unexpected - and unwanted - turn, following her divorce. "I sense that Bobby is attracted to me," she said. "I must now step right back and avoid him - keep away from him, even in the presence of his wife. I now keep my distance - a pity because he's such a lovely person. He kissed me on the cheek - it appeared to be a brotherly peck but, wow, that was well concealed!" Consequently, she grew to feel uncomfortable in the presence of Bobby. Bemoaning the attrition of a long-standing friendship, she admitted to feeling frustrated "because a good friendship has been spoiled."

The comparison of Paula's SWOR with that of Charlotte (figure 16) reveals a degree of concordance, reflective of the similarity between the two subjects' boundary structures. The elaboration of their clusters is very different, however, with Paula's structure being organised in a much more complex, differentiated manner. Charlotte's SWOR indicates no cardinal self-with experiences, applicable to all her friends. Indeed, she uses only 27,5% of the features to describe her friends, applying the same features, to a greater or lesser degree, to each one. What results are two central dynamisms: the one, labelled 'Secure/Friendly/Helpful' (Feature-Classes 'a', 'b', and 'a-b') is applied to her friends, spouse and 'ideal social self', and the other, labelled 'Timid/Anxious/Uncomfortable' (Feature-Class 'c'), is applied idealistically, to her 'dreaded social self', only.

On Hartmann's (1991) scale, Charlotte emerged as being a particularly thick-boundaried personality (Personal Total 89:396; World Total 56:156; Sumbound 145:552). Charlotte's friendships, like Paula's, do not appear to induce in her, any negative self-with feelings whatsoever, despite her having generated several negative descriptors during the feature-generation session. In both subjects' SWORs, all negative features are assigned to one of two peripheral categories: 'residual' or 'dreaded social self'. It therefore seems as if both respondents either avoid or deny their experiences of negative self-with-friend feelings.

In Paula's case, all those features which may be construed as having negative nuances

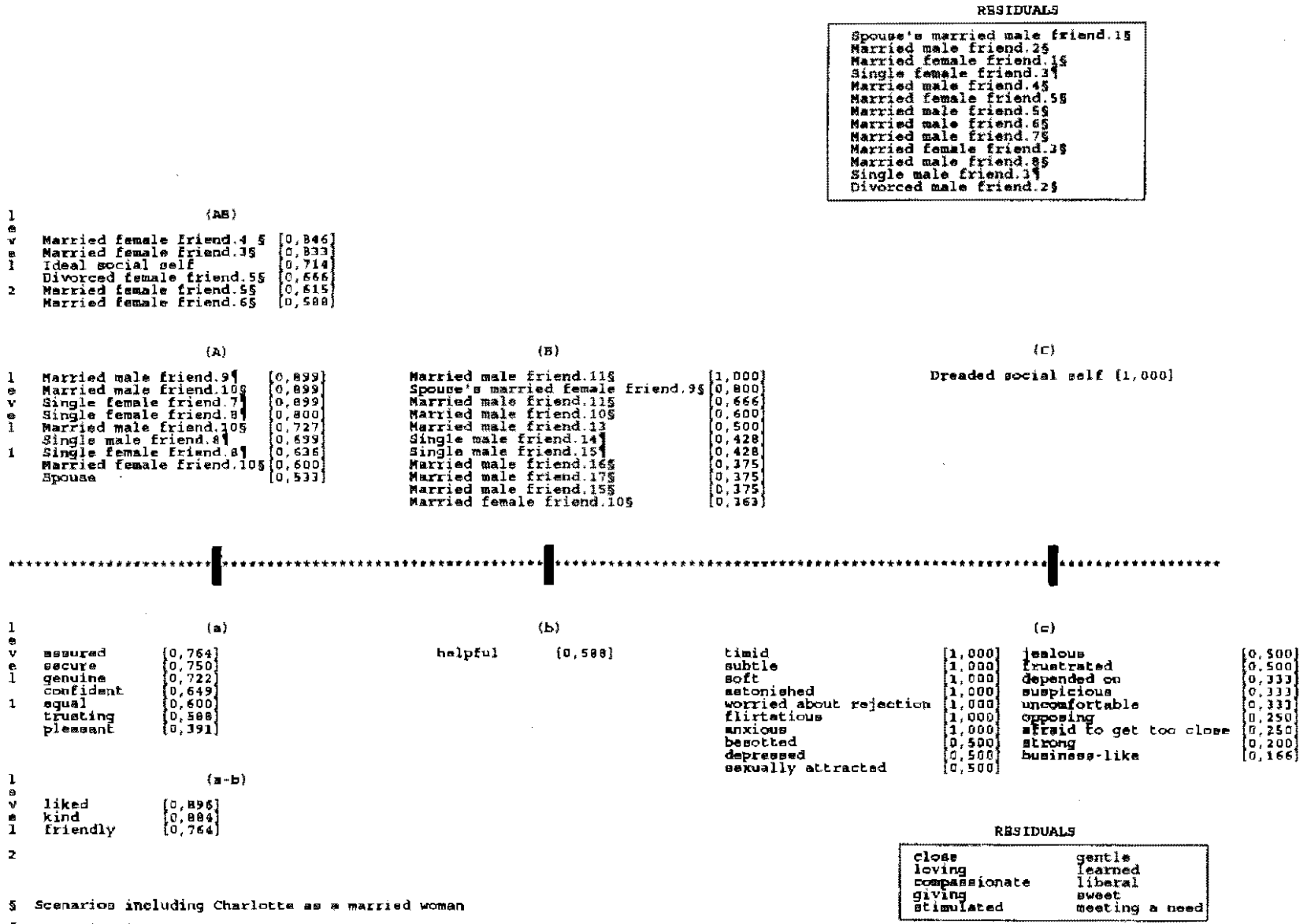


FIGURE 16: CHARLOTTE'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

(including 'dictatorial', 'pitiful' and 'frustrated') are dumped by HICLAS into a residual category, whilst in Charlotte's case, all negative features (including 'suspicious', 'opposing' and 'timid') are included with the features describing her concept of 'dreaded social self'. Similarly, the feature-set which describes Charlotte's dreaded self includes the researcher-generated features having a sexual overtone ('flirtatious', 'sexually attracted', 'afraid to get too close') as well as one of her own descriptors: 'besotted'. In Paula's case, these researcher-generated features are categorised under 'residuals'. In both cases, however, the supersession of friendship over sexuality is reflected in the two women's "Storge" love styles (see Appendix K9).

Other similarities between Paula and Charlotte's profiles include their high scoring on the attachment pattern 'compulsive self-reliance' (Appendix K7) and also on the 'dismissing' category of the Relationship Scales Questionnaire (Appendix K6). Congruent with her dismissing orientation as regards men, Charlotte commented about her husband: "...I've grown very self-sufficient. I don't rely on him at all. I'm content in my own right. Recently we went away together and I found it very difficult to relate to him. It took some time before we re-established our old bond." Of necessity, Paula had developed a sense of self-reliance within her marital context: "I just could not rely on Ivan at all, even when it came to providing for the children. It was up to me, eventually, to do anything I could to cope by myself. I grew not to need him..."

Consistent with Hartmann's (1991) description of thick-boundaried personalities as having solid belief systems, Charlotte expressed agreement with 80% of the items in the category "Acceptability of Cross-sex Friendships in Marriage", contained in the Mental Model Questionnaire, wherein all five of the items relate to 'shoulds' or 'should nots' in terms of friendship with the opposite sex. Strong agreement was expressed for the item: "After marriage, a person ought not encourage friendships with people of the opposite gender." The one item about which she expressed uncertainty was: "It is acceptable for a married person to have opposite sex friends." Nonetheless, she expressed strong agreement with all five of the items in the "Inclusion of Spouse in Opposite-sex Friendship" category. Likewise, Paula's responses in the questionnaire also reflected a sturdy relational belief system - possibly a reaction to the frustrations and injustices she had experienced during her marriage. This was well-illustrated by her 'strong' disagreement with 83% of the items in the "Loyalty" section, which included such items as "Being faithful to one's spouse entails doing without opposite-sex friends" and "Friendship with the opposite sex is a form of marital betrayal."

9.3. BOUNDARIES OF COGNITION

Although Hartmann's (1991, p. 49) definition of boundary as a broad dimension of personality is rooted in psychoanalytical and psychodynamic principles, his description of it as "an aspect of the overall organization of the mind" captures the essence of, and is securely anchored in, social-cognitive theory. From a social-cognitive perspective, the dilemmas inherent in sustaining cross-sex friendships within a marital context are produced by the structure of beliefs about the nature of such friendship, the elements of definition of both cross-sex friendship and marriage, and by the disposition of time. In this way, Johnson and Leslie (1982) argue, constraints or boundaries "are socially constructed and culture-specific rather than universal" (p. 35).

Based on clinical experience, observations and interviews, Hartmann (1991) hypothesises that boundary structures can metamorphose in a number of ways and in either direction, and that they tend to thicken with age.

In support of this observation, it was noted that 3 of the 5 retired respondents in the present study registered relatively thick boundaries: Ken (Sumbound: 170/396), Susan, his wife, (Sumbound: 182/396) and Pam (Sumbound: 203/396). The boundaries which Ken construed as impinging on his life and his social world were evident in his descriptions of his working life: "Don't get too close - that's what I say and that's what I've always said. You see, in my position on the mine, I was never able to socialise with people - because of my position, you see. It just wouldn't be the done thing to be seen to socialise with people on the mine. Mining communities are small - scandals start. So I never got close. Especially in the case of friendship ... being friendly to women was just not done - you must know how it is, surely? Just a little interest shown in one way and the whole community starts to talk. Women friends were definitely out. I would never have women friends. People are too interfering. Mining communities - they're such small set-ups. Friendships were just not on."

Evident throughout Ken's comments was the importance he attached to 'oughts' and

'shoulds'. A detached style of heterosocial relating was reflected in his high mean score (4,20) for the "Dismissing" category in the Relationship Scales Questionnaire, indicating his relatively strong endorsement of items such as "It is very important to me to feel independent from the opposite sex" and "I prefer not to have people of the opposite sex depend on me." Ken also rated himself as having a secure attachment style: indeed, the theme of security permeated his relational mental models. Congruent with this orientation, his motivation for avoiding interpersonal contact appeared to be more a pragmatic status-maintaining boundary-setting mechanism, than a reclusive reaction to fear of rejection, as seems to be characteristic of personalities with avoidant attachment orientations.

Ken defined a friendship as "Two people who are completely loyal to each other, no matter what the circumstances; friends forever. A friend's a person who would support you no matter what." Although he declined to take part in the compilation of a SWOR, explaining that there was no one he really considered to be a friend, he partly revealed the contents of his relational mental model through his accounts of past friendships. From that data, emerged the following constructs: 'interfering', 'ruthless', 'uppity', 'eager to start a row', 'loyal', 'unfriendly', 'helpful' and 'difficult'.

Echoing similarities in beliefs about sociality, his wife said, "We made it our rule not to get too intimate with anyone here. You know what happens - it can become too personal. We like to see people and sometimes we have visitors but in general, we keep them at a distance." Significantly, in responding to the MMQ, both Ken and Susan persistently endorsed extreme positions (either 'strongly agree' or 'strongly disagree') for all items in 14 of the 15 categories. It was only in the sub-section "Opposite-sex Friendship, Romantic Love and Sexuality", that they both expressed less stringent views and beliefs.

9.3.1. **Norms, beliefs and expectations: boundary building blocks**

Being rooted in beliefs, attitudes and expectations, interpersonal boundaries are also influenced by religio-moral standards. Followers of the Judeo-Christian tradition are admonished to avoid not only the sin of adultery but also the suspicion and appearance of sin. In this way, it is considered immoral to place oneself, or someone else, in situations of temptation or potential scandal.

The religio-social ideal of marital permanence creates boundaries around the relationship in order to protect it against threat. Based on the belief that the family is the cornerstone of society, is the fear that one of the partners may find someone else more attractive or desirable and that this might threaten the continuance of the existing marriage. This is particularly true in western societies where an individual is considered a potential spouse regardless of his/her current marital status.

Although both Paula's and Charlotte's relational mental models were based on Christian mores, these rule systems influenced their interpersonal lives in different ways. "Basically," Charlotte explained, "I have the Lord and I don't really need anyone else." The prominence of spirituality in Charlotte's life (in a sense, her attachment to God) may account for her undifferentiated SWOR (figure 16): she admitted, "I don't give much deep thought to my friendships." In a sense, her spirituality reinforced the boundaries surrounding her relationships and, in so doing, hinted at her possible use of rationalisation as a defence mechanism.

Paula was different. A deep-thinker, she explained, "I think that the church is not addressing friendship adequately. Fellowship is one of the themes of church life, but I don't think enough is done. I am a regular church-goer, and I have come to the conclusion that I don't have to compromise either my religious feelings or the friendship club. Friendship is a meaningful relationship - it's so important - it should be a more central aspect of church life." As is evidenced in her SWOR (figure 15), Paula's critical appraisal of the role of religion in her social life seemed to have resulted in greater introspection about, and reflection on, the role of her friendships in her life.

Whereas friendships may be acceptable because they are a positive force leading to social solidarity, adultery is not, because of its potential as a divisive force. "Consequently, friendships between members of the opposite sex which include a married person but exclude the spouse are generally not encouraged" (Lampe, 1985, p. 321). Because commonly-accepted or sanctioned patterns and interpretations of opposite-sex friendships are absent, individuals who cross these undefined, nebulous boundaries

are likely to be unaware of their parameters.

By means of an anonymously-answered questionnaire, administered to 247 respondents, Lampe (1985) tested the societal norms regulating opposite-sex friendships within marital contexts. The results indicated that over 90% of respondents believed that it was acceptable for both husbands and wives to have such friendships. Yet, only 70% of the subjects said that they would encourage or permit their own spouse to do so. Over 20% of respondents expressed the belief that cross-sex friendships with a married individual could not remain non-sexual. The results of the study also bore testimony to the consequences of a lack of clearly defined social norms regarding cross-sex friendship. Approximately half of the respondents were unsure of what was socially accepted behaviour regarding opposite-sex friendships involving a married individual. These subjects interpreted opposite-sex friendships as romantic involvements, and admitted to feeling uncomfortable about them, unless their spouses were included.

Similarly, Ackerman (1963) found that couples with conjunctive affiliations to shared networks of friends were less likely to experience serious problems in their marriages. Other researchers (Bott, 1971) have also noted the importance of connected kinship and friendship networks for stabilising a pair relationship.

A major theme noted in the present study was the importance of conjunctive friendships within marriage. "Cross-sex friendships are difficult to come to grips with, but if they do develop, then they must include one's spouse and should never be pursued singularly," Sally (an interviewee) prescribed, thus encapsulating the beliefs of most of the respondents. "Also they should be conducted within a home setting, not outside of the home ... always in the presence of the spouse, too! Everyone should know what's going on," she advised.

There are several possible reasons for the lack of role-

clarity and approval regarding opposite-sex friendships. In typical male-female relationships, behavioural norms permit the fostering and strengthening of positive feelings and emotional bonds, which in turn, can facilitate the development of romantic relationships. However, in cross-sex friendships, such prescribed and sanctioned guidelines are inappropriate and dysfunctional, especially for married individuals. Moreover, traditional marriage in western societies has meant physical and emotional exclusivity - an exclusivity which can be encroached upon, or violated by, opposite-sex friendship.

Interpersonal perception within the context of opposite-sex friendship is complicated by the absence of socially defined heterosocial roles. Both participants and observers lack the know-how of common understanding and uniform interpretation. Most times, the situation results in uncertainty and stressful confusion for the participants in the interaction and leads to feelings of discomfort for non-participants (such as spouses). In essence, the resilience of inappropriate relational mental models results in inaccurate interpersonal interpretation which, in turn, heralds inappropriate responses. Relying on existing mental models and thus on the known and familiar, individuals on both sides of the interpersonal boundary tend to use the closest socially recognised and defined role, that of lover, as the basis for understanding what is for each of them, unknown and unfamiliar. Thus, ironically, what begins as a platonic, approved relationship may unwittingly become one which is socially disapproved and discouraged: an adulterous affair. Moreover, it is often easier for individuals to assume the role of lover rather than friend (Lampe, 1976, 1985), since those relational schemas are likely to be more readily available.

9.4. BOUNDARY RULES

Individuals enter marriage with a set of conscious and unconscious expectations, beliefs and demands which they hope and expect will be fulfilled (Sager, 1976). This interactional contract defines the rules of the marital relationship. The synthesis of the two sets of contracts results from the definition of the processes by which the contracts are met. This 'contract' reflects not only what the spouse will do, but also what the individual will do in exchange for the partner's compliance.

Although the nature of the contract is highly personalised and, to a certain extent, unique to the specific marital dyad, marital situations and interactional episodes are not entirely subjective and phenomenological; there is also an underlying body of cultural conventions, consensually established, which comprise the building blocks of subjective representations (Forgas, 1982). Moreover, it is relevant to consider more than simply the attributions that spouses make for each other's behaviour. Also important, are the constraints they perceive to be affecting their behaviour as well as that of their spouse, the alternative outcomes they believe the spouse could have brought about, and the perception of the partner's consistency of behaviour in interacting with them (Arias & Beach, 1987). Thus, an understanding of the function and role of rules in personal relationships requires an understanding of the ways in which relationships are construed (Ginsburg, 1988).

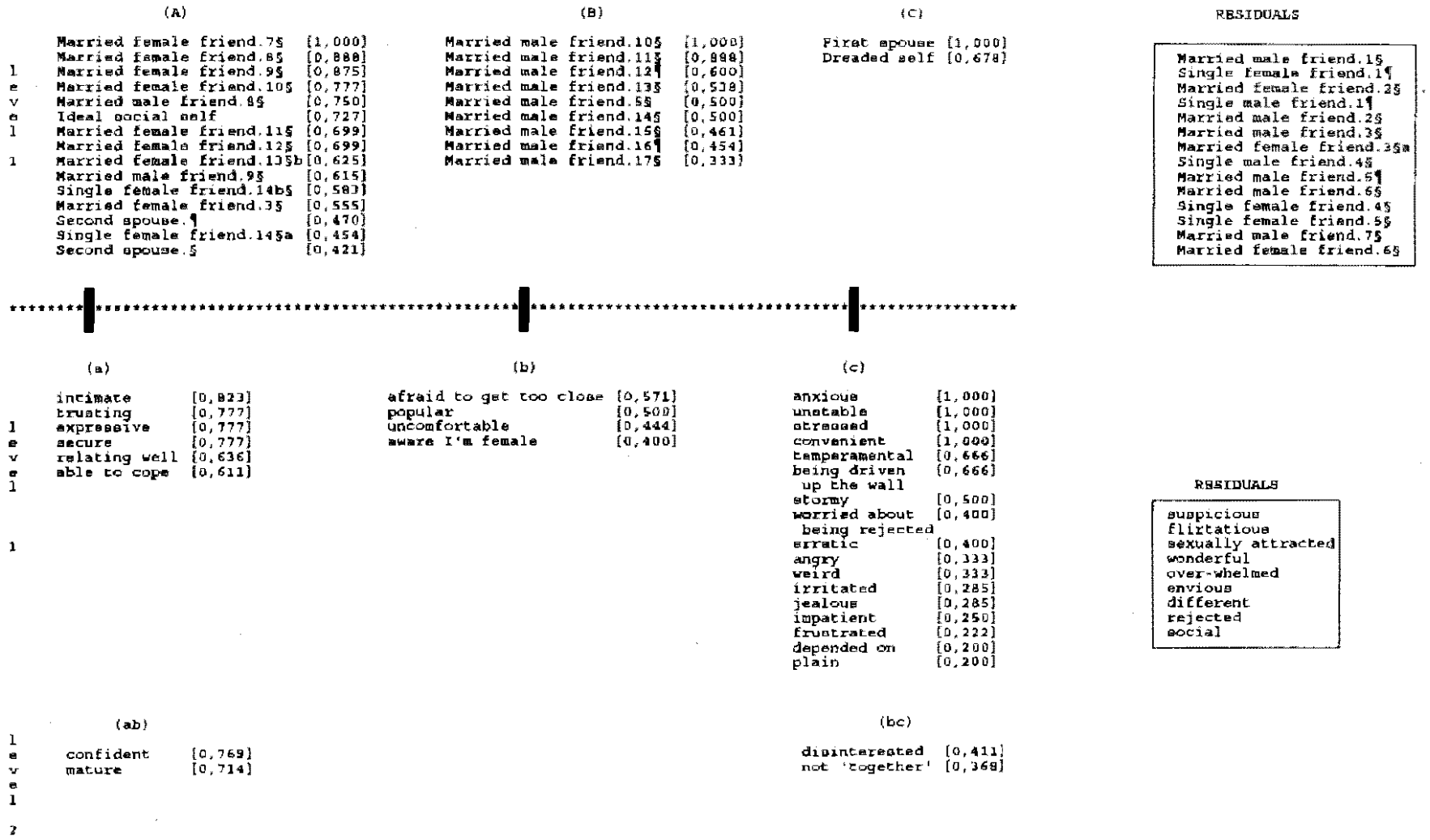
Rules exert a major influence with respect to the members of the primary relationship and also, the other relationship-clusters of which the individual is a part. Rules are functional and necessary for the coordination of behaviour, regulation of intimacy, (Argyle, Furnham & Graham, 1981; Henderson & Argyle, 1986), the maintenance of existential security and rewards, as well as the minimisation of

conflicts. Social relationships therefore tend to be rule-bound (Harre & Secord, 1972) and when transgressions occur, disruption is likely to result.

Argyle and Henderson (1984), and Argyle, Henderson and Furnham (1985) explain that rules promote the attainment of goals commonly sought in relationships. To some extent, therefore, it is possible to predict, with reasonable certainty, what rules are likely to operate in any specific type of relationship. Argyle et al. (1985) categorise the rules governing social relationships, in general, as being those about: (a) sustaining or signalling intimacy, (b) exchanging rewards, (c) regulating potential sources of conflict, (d) self-presentation, (e) privacy, (f) sex, and (g) public conduct. Rules also guard against temptations and help with threats to relationships, or the difficulties therein.

Based on her own heterosocial experiences, Helen pointed out the marital difficulties she had experienced through rule transgression: "I suppose friendship with the opposite sex is possible - but not for me. Let me give you an example of what can happen. When I first got married, we had a set of friends - his friends - whom we saw lots of. We saw them for 8 years, almost every weekend. We all got along well ... even in terms of opposite-sex relationships. We used to play games together over the weekends. Then my ex - whom I always thought of as being a little kinky - decided that we should swap partners when we played the games. So, it would be a case of partners holding each other's hands to wish each other good luck and a kiss to say, 'Well done.' But then it progressed. Then it was a kiss outside in the dark so that no-one could see. It got out of hand. One night there was skinny dipping and then I could see things were about to happen; then I realised my marriage was really on the rocks. I didn't want to expose my kids to that - their father kissing someone else, skinny-dipping and so on. When I think back - I think it was so awful. But that's what I mean about cross-sex friendships. The physical contact starts innocently, perhaps, but it always leads somewhere..."

Helen's SWOR (figure 17) clearly illustrates her apprehension about opposite-sex friendship. HICLAS recovers two central, gender-based constellations of self-with-other experiences: a male-dominated dynamism, related to Target-Class 'B', and characterised



§ Scenarios including Helen as a married woman

¶ Scenarios including Helen as an unmarried woman

FIGURE 17: HELEN'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

by negative, anxious and uncertain feelings, and a female-dominated dynamism, associated with Target-Class 'A' and characterised by positive, confident feelings of security. Although Helen rated herself as having a 'secure' attachment style, this style is expressed only in relation to her friendships with females, through the terms 'trusting', secure', 'confident' (in feature-classes 'a' and 'a-b'). Terms associated with an avoidant attachment style surface in Feature-Class 'b' ('afraid to get close'; 'uncomfortable'). These terms relate most directly to the residents of Target-Class 'B', all of whom are married male friends. Significantly too, 78% of the scenarios depicted within this Target-Class included Helen as a married woman. Notably ill-at-ease, she also felt 'not together' and 'disinterested' (Feature-Class 'b-c') when with these targets. Significantly, too, Helen rated herself on the Relationship Scales Questionnaire, as having a 'dismissing' style of attachment as regards her relationships with the opposite sex. Interpreting her own SWOR, Helen commented, "I'm aware of the possibilities when it comes to friendships with men - the inevitabilities, really - but I feel I can control them. They don't worry me so much anymore - I cast them aside. That's probably why it appears that I have a 'dismissing' style."

Feature-Class 'c' includes the three researcher-generated descriptors of an anxious-ambivalent attachment style: 'anxious', 'worried about being rejected' and 'frustrated'. The rest of the contents of this feature class is also indicative of negative feelings - all of them most closely related to Helen's conceptualisation of her 'dreaded social self' (Target-Class 'C') and, most directly (given the high goodness-of-fit index of 1,000), her self-with-other experiences with her ex-spouse.

The features contained in Feature-Class 'a-b' ('confident' and 'mature') are associated both with Helen's self-with-other experiences with the targets in Class 'A' as well as those in Class 'B', but not with her experiences with her ex-spouse and her dreaded self. These two features represent a very marginal degree of similarity in self-with-other experiences between the two dynamisms. In all other respects, the two dynamisms exist as totally exclusive, separate bundles. Also noticeable, is the absence of Feature Class 'a-b-c', which would represent Helen's cardinal features. In other words, there are no features which are common to all of Helen's self-with experiences.

Although Helen's positive dynamism contains mostly female friends, it does contain two male friends. Of male friend #8 (Edwin), Helen said, "Edwin is a very down-to-earth person, and a good non-sexual friend. He really could be either sex and I believe our relationship would be the same. I like and respect him enormously and I feel totally

myself in his company." Thus, devoid of a sexual component, Helen's friendship with Edwin approximates her friendship with her female friends. Her construal of him as 'non-sexual' is likely to contribute to the platonic and 'trusting' (Feature-Class 'a') friendship she shares with him - a friendship with which she feels she is 'able to cope' (Feature-Class 'a').

However, her memory of her friendship with married male friend #9 (Winston), also included in Target Class 'A', was different in this respect: "During my first marriage," she recalled, "when I was really young and had only been married a short while, Winston and I fell in love. Maybe, on reflection, it was not love but infatuation - however we felt very, very deeply about each other." On the surface, Helen's account suggests the presence of a sexual element within the friendship. However, the value she placed on friendship over and above sex, even in romantic relationships suggests a reason for her inclusion of Winston in this Target-Class: "I could do without sexuality, you know. I mean sex ... I could do without it ... even in marriage. I'd far rather have friendship, companionship, emotional support. But, men are different." Hence, too, the reason for the simultaneous inclusion of her second spouse, both prior to their marriage and after their marriage, in Target-Class 'A'. Clearly, she considers her second spouse to be a friend, first and foremost: "We were friends long before we were married. Long before there was anything sexual."

Helen's commitment to the notion that friendship is often a starting-point for romantic love was illustrated by her endorsement of specific items in the Mental Model Questionnaire. She 'strongly agreed' with the items "Love develops out of friendship with the opposite sex" and "Cross-sex friendships are fertile grounds for the development of love." She also showed agreement with the items: "In terms of relationships with the opposite sex, love and friendship are synonymous" and "Friendships with the opposite sex turn into love affairs." Possibly, it is this aspect of her relational mental model which forms the genesis of her feelings of 'being afraid to get too close' and being 'uncomfortable' within the context of her friendships with men. This, together with the difficulties she has experienced in keeping her friendships with men platonic (... "even now, I have problems with men. All my life I've had a problem ... I mean, it's always the same. Sex! Every man I get to know just wants to go to bed!"), and her perception of her present spouse being jealous, constitutes a boundary between herself and her opposite-sex friends. The implications of Kelly's 7th corollary (that of experience) seem pertinent: Helen's script, or hypothesis, about men's intentions was confirmed in each successive friendship she formed with them and, in turn, reinforced her mental model of men having sexual- rather

than friendship-orientated agendas.

Regarding her husband's reaction to her having friends of the opposite sex, she commented, "He's uneasy about it because he's jealous. He reminded me, once, that I had had an affair with him whilst I was still married to Richard. So, he said, how can he be sure that I would never do it again? You know, have an affair. I guess he has a point, but I really don't want to mess up my marriage or my children. I really want this marriage to work." Despite her spouse's apparent uncertainties, Helen's direct- and meta-perspectives regarding trust indicated relatively high scores (Appendix K5), with her perception of her spouse's rating of her, higher than her rating of him. Her commitment to making her marriage work, and in so doing, trying to avoid introducing the threat of opposite-sex friendships, was reflected in her high score for the Agape (all-giving, selfless) love style (Appendix K9). She also expressed discomfort about her husband having opposite-sex friendships. Highlighting the importance of context as a factor in her feelings of security, she explained, "I'm jealous too. That's perhaps because I'm not secure in the marriage. We've had out stormy times - especially regarding the children - and I've never felt really secure, so no, I wouldn't want him to have female friends."

Although Feature-Class 'b', which relates most closely to Helen's self-with-other experiences with the residents of Target-Class 'B', does not contain an overt theme of sexuality, her comments about these friends do. Brian (male friend #11), a member of the fitness club which Helen managed, had made it clear how he felt about her: "He hung around like a puppy and was quite open in asking to see me, to go for lunch et cetera ... then, once he left the club ... when he was no longer involved with running ... he started showering me with a lot of attention. He made it very blatant. He invited us over for a meal as a family twice but it was awful. I was so uncomfortable. He still phones me from time to time."

Regarding Daniel (male friend #16), a friend of her first husband, Helen explained: "I'm sure that if I had said 'yes' he would have had no qualms about having an affair with me. He was sexually attractive and a fun person, but basically not my type." Mark, married friend #17, also made Helen uncomfortable, a feeling which she seemed to experience in conjunction with a heightened awareness of her sexual identity: "Mark is a ladies' man and is very attractive and good at building up ego - however, I always felt uncomfortable in his company because I only ever saw him with my husband around. He made me feel very aware of being female and would flirt quite openly." This discomfort was clearly related to Helen's perception of her husband's disapproval of her having opposite-sex

friends. In the Mental Model Questionnaire, she endorsed as 'very true' the items: "My spouse is uneasy about my developing friendships with the opposite-sex" and "My spouse is/would be wary of my having friendships with the opposite-sex." All other items (such as 'My spouse seems to disapprove of my maintaining friendships with people of the opposite sex' and 'My having friends of the opposite sex causes/would cause tension in our marriage') received endorsements indicating that they were 'true' of her.

Both male friends, #13 and #14, Carl and Bradley, are men whose friendships with Helen are contained solely within the context of work. In her friendship with Graham, a member of her staff, Helen perceives an ever-present threat of potential romance: "I know that he's interested - just the comments he makes...if he was given the slightest encouragement, he'd make something of it. Perhaps he doesn't see it as I do - as sexual - it wouldn't mean the same to him, I know." And similarly, it was Carl whose blatant sexual interest in Helen (expressed through gifts of perfume and chocolates) was described in Chapter 5.

The theme of sexuality is expressed less conspicuously, although more intricately, in Helen's SWOR. The researcher-generated terms 'flirtatious' and 'sexually-attracted' are dumped by HICLAS in the residual feature category, thus indicating that Helen does not consciously acknowledge sexual feelings as part of any of her self-with experiences with the individuals contained in the representational space. Her firm sexual identity, expressed in her maximal, negative endorsement of item 136 in the Boundary Questionnaire ("I can easily imagine myself to be someone of the opposite sex") and in the feature/construct 'aware I'm female' (Feature-Class 'b'), assumes a central role in her experiences of self-with-male occupants in Target-Class 'B'. The message portrayed in Helen's conceptualisation of the rules which she considers to apply to her friendships with men is congruent with this pattern: "no physical contact and no discussion about sex." Acting as boundaries, these rules are functional in controlling the ubiquitous element of sexuality which Helen construes in her opposite-sex friendships.

The theme of sexuality in Helen's construal of opposite-sex friendship may also be suggestive of her use of projection as a defence mechanism - a wall or barrier against the surfacing of desires unacceptable to the ego. Support is given to this hypothesis by Helen's admission that "being a Christian is my whole identity" - an identity which inherently includes the most stringent constraints against succumbing to the instinctive lure of sexuality.

Helen's Sumbound score (269/552) falls approximately mid-way between the two extreme

poles. This balance is achieved through her relatively thin "World" boundary (World Total: 90/156) and her comparatively thick "Personal" boundary, reflected by her Personal Total (179/396). Inspection of her responses to the items in the Personal category of the Boundary Questionnaire (Appendix D) is revealing. She maximally endorsed, "I am very careful about what I say to people until I get to know them really well" (item 5): thus, the intimacy of Helen's friendships with men, truncated from the beginning, by her expectations of their sexual agendas, is dealt a further disservice by the consequent limitations she imposes on self-disclosure to them. Restricted self-disclosure and constrained intimacy thus function to prevent Helen's friendship with men from developing beyond a superficial level. Moreover, Helen's endorsement of "When I get involved with someone, we sometimes get too close" (item 53) and "Sometimes it's scary when one gets involved with another person" (item 64) indicate the schemas upon which her self-with feelings of 'uncomfortable' and 'afraid to get too close' (Feature-Class 'b') are founded. These cognitions, together with their associated emotions, are likely to be the cornerstones upon which Helen's interpersonal boundaries are established. With these boundaries firmly in place, and with the associated inhibitive rules judiciously enforced, Helen thus isolates herself from the rewards which may be reaped from meaningful heterosocial friendship.

Characteristically, rules are often not overt and conscious, "or the tangible result of real bargaining" (Jackson, 1965, p. 592). During interaction, two individuals subtly exchange clues as to how they are defining the nature of their relationship. This set of behavioural tactics is modified and a definition of behaviour is agreed on by the manner in which the participating members respond. Marriage, in particular, can be likened to a bargaining process which defines the rights and duties of the spouses. Using the metaphor of quid pro quo to describe the nature of such a relationship, Jackson (1965) points out that this formulation is the pattern imposed by the observer on the process and nature of marital interaction and should be understood metaphorically with the tacit preface that 'it seems as if....'.

Most fundamentally, boundary rules regulate the number and kind of activities to be shared by the members. Secondly, boundary rules screen out and even deny the existence of

other relationships, thus protecting the esprit de corps of the primary relationship. The denial of the existence of other past, present and future relationships fosters intimacy, effectuating the goal of social relationships - the provision of role support - by making that role support more precious by its uniqueness. Thirdly, boundary rules regulate the number and range of identities allowed into and out of the social relationship, thus protecting and promoting intimacy.

Examining the organisational features of social relationships, McCall (1970) postulates that relationships have certain structural properties: a focus (or a set of goals), the creation of a social reality to effectuate that focus, and a set of boundary rules which help the individuals to achieve their focus. Boundary rules of social relationships are norms which function to preserve the focus of the relationship: the identities of the members. These norms, according to Bates and Harvey (1975), do not exist and operate only externally to the actors who possess them. Instead, they are behavioural rules located within a person. Two people can be said to share a norm if they agree about the norms that apply to a particular situation. Rules can also exist without the participants in relationships agreeing about the norms therein. This lack of normative consensus usually leads to conflict in a relationship and exerts pressure for the partners to establish a normative working consensus (Peplau, 1983).

Boundary rules of social relationships are primarily concerned with activities (McCall, 1970). Individuals become attached to the person with whom they share activities and from whom they require adequate role support. Boundary rules determine what activities will be shared within (or let into) the relationship, thus determining what identities will be supported. They also act as guides to behaviour, impinging on the individual in two ways. Firstly,

they act as obligations establishing how one is morally constrained to behave and secondly, they act indirectly as expectations establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to oneself (Goffman, 1967).

In Helen's case, marital rules seemed to function towards constraining the nature of the friendships both she and her husband maintained: "We have a very closed social life; we don't really meet a lot of people ... there're the neighbours and then my friends who live elsewhere - but that's about it. We're friends with our neighbours, but it's not a formal friendship, we might just have tea there or they come to us for tea." In terms of relational constructs, the theme of formality-informality characterised Helen's expectations of most of her friendships: "My best friend lives down the road; we have dinner there and they have dinner with us, so it's more formal," she said.

Helen's responses in the "Privacy" sub-section of the Mental Model Questionnaire revealed her agreement that "Having opposite-sex friendship invites unwanted intrusion into one's marriage" and that "A marriage is put at risk when the spouses develop friends of the opposite sex." She expressed uncertainty as regards the remaining three items in the sub-section, all of which relate to opposite-sex friendship being an infringement of marital privacy - an uncertainty which suggests her metaperceptions of her husband's disapproval about such friendships. She explained, "He has a history of rejection and that spills over into trust - if you've been rejected, you don't trust people, you shove them away, even if you need them desperately. He has always rejected people out of hand."

In contrast, commenting on the effect of marriage on her opposite-sex friendships, Cheryl said that it was "...no problem. My husband is not jealous and he doesn't feel threatened." Moreover, her friendship expectations hinted at her perspicacity: "I've really lost patience with my women friends. Now I have a different focus. I don't envy people, I just accept them as they are and I expect them to do the same to me!"

9.4.1. **Marital boundary rules**

Social interaction has a dual theme: the wider world is introduced but only in a controlled and sometimes disguised manner. Structures such as norms, rules and maxims provide information of what is 'normal' or expected against which to predict and understand behaviour and to make inferences

about why violations occur (Read & Miller, 1989). Marital relationships are governed not only by the rules of law but also by informal rules existing within the bounds of any relationship (Argyle & Henderson, 1985). Some of these rules, when transgressed, can lead to the collapse or disruption of a relationship.

Marriage is bounded by a metaphorical fence with a gate through which reality can either be admitted in convenient or appropriate portions, or can be denied entry. Rules often lead to long-term advantages for the individual, at the expense of short-term losses. They also benefit third parties. External restraining forces or barriers in marriage are represented, inter alia, by society and significant others, whereas internal restraining forces represent those obligations which the partners feel (Levinger, 1979). Although ground rules in marriage are hardly ever discussed before marriage, they are assumed to be the same for both spouses (Neubeck, 1969).

It became apparent in the present study, that individuals are not always aware of the ground rules held by their spouses. This was most evident in Helen's response when asked what expectations she thought her husband held, regarding her friendships with men: "I don't know; we've never discussed it! I'll have to talk to him about that!" she quipped. Likewise, Clinton commented, "I don't know what her ideas are," and Charlotte admitted, "We've never discussed it." Summarising most respondents' views, Cathy said, "I'd say he hasn't given it a thought."

As a marital system, the spouse-spouse dyad is characterised by interaction having implications for the establishment, internalisation and expression of rules. The contents of boundary rules are interactively established and in this respect the quality of intimacy is emergent (Reedy, Birren & Schaie, (1981). Any "engaging activity acts as a boundary around the participants, sealing them off from many potential worlds of meaning and action" (Goffman, 1961, p. 25). Marriage partners must decide what constitutes a betrayal of

intimacy - a break in the boundary rules - by determining those rules in the first place. At the same time, broader social norms establish what degree of intimacy is proper for that type of relationship. For instance, physical intimacy is a norm for all marriages but few friendships. Furthermore, some spouses decide that it is physical intimacy, only, that needs to be restricted to themselves, while others decide that all forms of intimacy should be restricted.

Since a perfect match seldom occurs between an individual's ideal representation and his/her partner, the individual may attempt to modify the partner's behaviour. Through mutual shaping, interaction patterns and marital rules become fixed and cyclic. From a systems perspective, ideal representations are what guide spouses in mate selection through a process of cybernetic goal seeking and mapping. These behaviour patterns are "overt manifestations of unconsciously negotiated compromises between spouses concerning the rules which are to govern the exchange process in particular and husband/wife interaction in general" (Bagarozzi & Giddings, 1983, p. 211).

One of the conditions under which opposite-sex friendship may survive within a marital context, is the obligation that the friendship will not compete with the responsibilities of family or occupation. Friendship dyads evoke restraints if they threaten to divert emotional energy from family relationships, work, and community attachments. In this regard, it is the societal constraints on dyadic intimacy that function to prevent the redistribution of cathexis away from larger social systems, such as family and community. Community can also impose another type of pressure. Adherence to conventional social norms can create a barrier against divorce or marital breakup, thereby lowering divorce proneness and discouraging relationships which are potentially threatening to the marital bond. However, friendships

are more readily approved of if they imply integration into these more inclusive social systems.

9.4.2. **Rules as defence**

As an intricate part of interpersonal boundaries, proscriptive and prescriptive rules exist to allow certain aspects of life to be quietly and unobtrusively expressed, as much as to exclude other aspects entirely. As forms of inscription, rules also make whole realms of behaviour possible and play an important part in the social construction of reality (Argyle, Graham, Campbell & White, 1979).

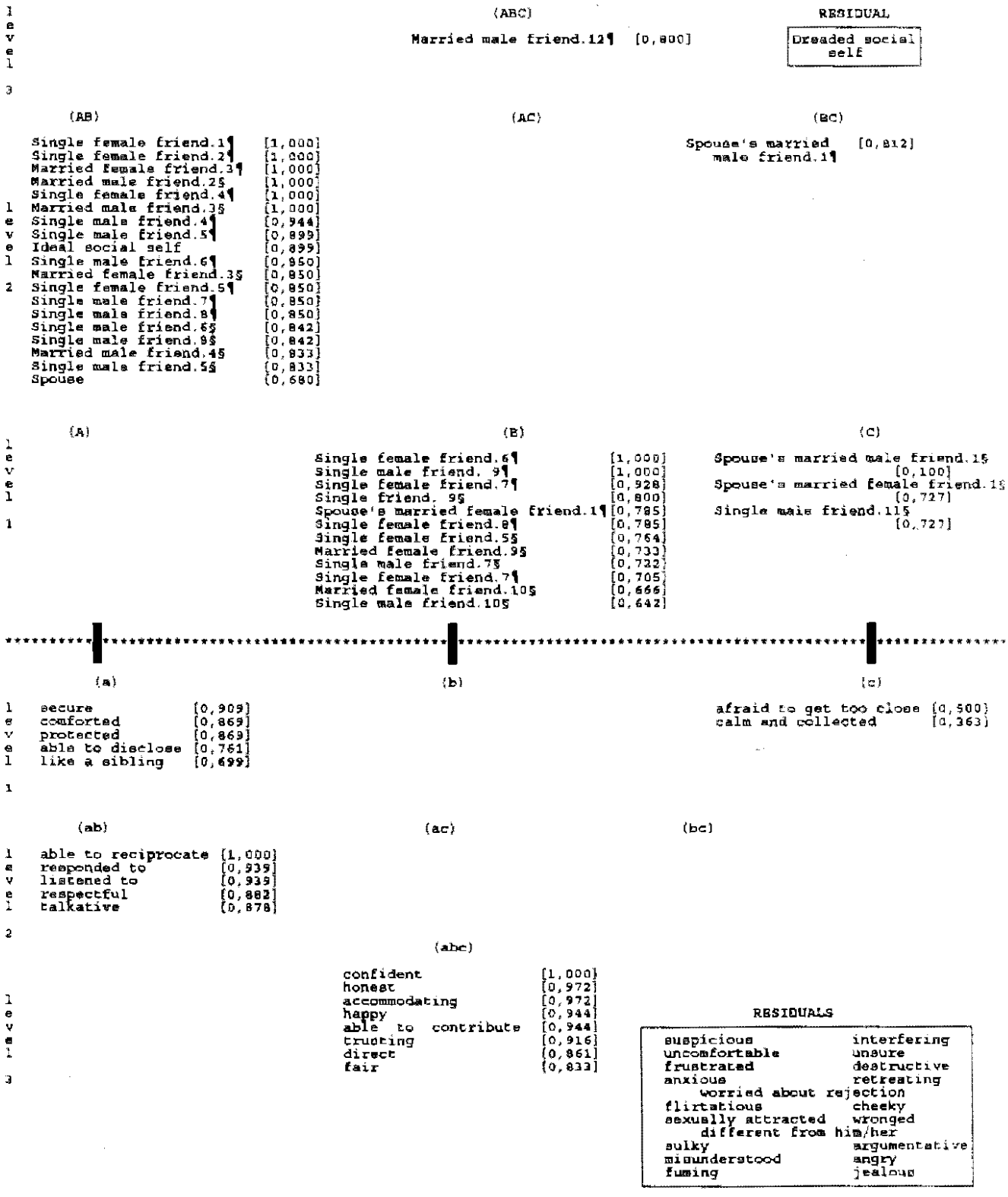
Boundary rules of relationships deal with several kinds of threats to the reality being constructed within, although their primary function is to include, exclude, or transform activities. In this sense, their function is to screen out any elements of the larger social world that would make the necessary esprit de corps impossible. In this way, boundary rules function to protect both the existent reality and the emergent culture of a relationship by excluding or inhibiting disruptive individual feeling states through defence mechanisms such as repression and denial.

Acting as boundaries, defence mechanisms (including sublimation, altruistic surrender, regression, repression, reaction formation, denial, inhibition, introjection and identification, reversal, displacement, projection, intellectualisation, undoing, and fantasy) defend the marital system, transcending individual ego and/or id defence manoeuvres. They also serve to defend the individual's ego in the marital relationship and to control impulses and their related effects. The potential for fulfilment and/or frustration in marital bonds accounts for the low threshold at which each spouse's defence mechanisms are likely to be triggered. "The forces that activate the defence mechanisms can be within the individual

(intrapsychic), within the marital system, or within objective reality outside the marital system" (Sager, 1976, p. 38). They influence a significant number of the partners' transactions and contribute to the quality, style, and expressed rules of their marital system (Sager, 1976).

Reflecting well-defended relational schemas, Tembi's SWOR (figure 18) displays an incongruence between the affective representation of her self-with-other experiences and the cognitive contents of her mental models. On the one hand, in discussions, she revealed a high degree of relational frustration and resentment, not only as regards her spouse, but with respect to her friends as well. An important property of Tembi's self-with-others structure is the absence of negative qualities - a pattern bearing similarity to that reflected in the SWORs of both Paula and Charlotte. All negative features, including those which Tembi liberally applied to certain friends in the feature-generation interview, appear as residuals. Consequently, the majority of features with which Tembi chooses to describe her self-with-other experiences are positive (including 'secure', 'comforted', 'protected', 'responded to'). Although a large proportion of the features she generated were negatively toned ('fuming', 'sulky', 'misunderstood', 'unsure', 'destructive', 'cheeky', 'wronged', 'retreating', 'interfering', angry') she denied ownership of them when reflecting on her self-with-other experiences. Unlike Charlotte, Tembi did not even apply these negative features to her concept of 'dreaded social self'. Thus, Tembi seems to employ the defence mechanism of 'isolation': in Hartmann's (1991) terms, "keeping emotions walled off from thought" (p. 39). Functioning as a boundary, isolation helps Tembi to avoid the experience of pain by permitting cognitive expression, devoid of the associated emotions. To acknowledge that negative affect is a component of her self-with-other experiences appears to be too threatening to Tembi's self identity. She thus disavows, or denies the existence of, all negative self-with features, construing them, instead, as 'not me' experiences.

Of the six love styles, Tembi rated the 'Pragma', (shopping-list) style, based on rational calculation and described as being a compound of Storge (friendship love) and Ludus (game-playing love), as being most descriptive of herself. Congruent with the themes of inconsistency and ambivalence in Tembi's data, she rated the 'Storge' love style as least descriptive of herself. Moreover, although Tembi's invariant self-with-other set of features (Feature-Class 'a-b-c') contains the descriptor 'trusting', her mean scores on the trust scale are low: dependability = 8:25; faith = 19:35; predictability = 10:25; total = 37:85. She also considered that her husband would show a similarly low level of marital



§ Scenarios which included Tembi as a married woman
¶ Scenarios which included Tembi as an unmarried woman

FIGURE 18: TEMBI'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

trust: dependability = 8:25; faith = 9:35; predictability = 13:25; total = 30:85. Tembi's comments bear testimony to her trust-related concerns: "My husband doesn't enjoy going out together with me, so he goes out alone. Who knows where he really goes..." Anxiously cracking her knuckles, she added, "Then he displaces his anger onto me. There should be no displacement in a marriage. Most men like to displace their anger onto their wives. Usually there's a problem between them and their mistresses." Trust, as an element in friendship, also features in Tembi's descriptions of her ideal concept of friendship. She explained, "My friendships must be based on trust. I must be able to confide in a friend - I can't carry the heavy load of worries myself, it costs so much heartache and high blood pressure ... even heart attacks."

Feature-Class 'a-b-c' (containing 'confident', 'honest', 'accommodating', 'happy', 'able to contribute', 'trusting', 'direct' and 'fair') represents Tembi's 'invariants'. These features are prominently involved in Tembi's perceptions of her self-with-friends, and self-with-spouse. The ratings Tembi gave to three specific individuals resulted in their formation of a target class on their own: "C". The features which are most directly applicable to Tembi's self-with-other experiences with these three individuals are 'calm and collected' and 'afraid to get too close'. Two of the three occupants of this class are friends of her spouse. The other, Janny (single male friend #11), she described as a friend whom she felt "strange" about. All three of the self-with-other experiences which have coalesced and are represented in Target-Class 'C' refer to experiences during Tembi's marriage. Describing her husband, Tembi said, "He goes out a lot. Sometimes he doesn't come back all night; he says he's been with friends. We had so many clashes about his 'friends'. When we first got married, off he'd go with his friends ... and he wouldn't come home. I didn't approve of those friends ... they were with women ... and you know, birds of a feather flock together. They were a bad influence on him. Now, we visit friends together, but they're his friends mostly. Marriage is more restricting for women than for men."

Relevantly, Tembi's description of her earlier friendship with Jomo, spouse's male friend #1, has a different tone and it is therefore categorised on level 2, in Target-Class 'B-C'. In that scenario, she was unmarried. Her memory of the self-with-Jomo experiences, when he was married but she was single, includes her feelings of being 'afraid to get too close' and 'calm and collected' (Feature-Class 'c'), as well as the additional feelings of being 'able to reciprocate', 'responded to', 'listened to', 'respectful' and 'talkative' (Feature-Class 'a-b'), as well as 'direct', 'honest' et cetera. (Feature-Class 'a-b-c'). Tembi's comments threw light on her friendship with Jomo, and the ways in which it had been affected by her marriage: "I made a lot of male friends when I was

single - before I met my husband - they were handsome! But my husband was jealous, so now they don't come to see me and I don't frequent them. Of course, men are never jealous!" she added sarcastically. "If I do see any of my men friends, my husband insists that I do so in the company of children." She explained, "You see, it might bring shame on a husband ..." Hence, the non-applicability of 'able to reciprocate' (Feature-Class 'a-b') to the scenario which included Jomo and Tembi, as a married woman (Target-Class 'C').

In terms of attachment, Tembi rated herself as having an 'anxious-ambivalent' attachment style. With reference to her attachment orientation to opposite-sex friends (RSQ), her highest scores were for the categories of 'dismissing' and 'fearful'. 'Proximity seeking' seemed to be the most prominent dimension of attachment in Tembi's profile and 'angry withdrawal' was the pattern of attachment she endorsed most highly - both from her own perspective and from that of her spouse. On a metaperspective level, Tembi rated her husband as characterised most specifically by the attachment dimensions of 'separation protest' and 'use of attachment figure', suggesting that she considered that he would describe her as being emotionally reliant on him (see Appendix K8).

A theme of ambivalence surfaced in Tembi's relational mental model. The conflicting needs to suppress her feelings, but at the same time to stand up for her rights, was ubiquitous: Her husband, she explained, "... keeps late hours and doesn't mind, but I feel I must be in the house. I must be home when he arrives. There's stiff competition for men out there." These comments flew directly in the face of those she had made earlier in the same interview: "It's not a favour he's doing marrying you! It's your right! But, to a man - he's doing you a favour, a big favour. If he doesn't marry you, he thinks, shame, no-one will. You must know your rights - you must be expected to have your rights - and be respected for having them." Faced with such conflicting feelings, it seems only natural that Tembi may repress and deny feelings associated with her heterosocial - and heterosexual - relationships. Seen in this light, the dumping of her negative self-with feelings and 'dreaded-self' target into residual categories seems consistent with most of her data.

Tembi's relational mental models of heterosociality found easy expression through the projective procedures in the present study. Interpreting the red scenario, depicting a social setting containing men and women whom, she was told, were friends, she commented: "It looks to me like the man with a big tummy has been caught red-handed with his mistress ... and his wife has walked in on them. Apparently the wife needs some explanation from the mistress - the way she is looking at her tells all. This cowboy here - he's looking and listening to the three. There's a party going on." Raising her voice, she

continued, "This man was talking to his mistress and the wife saw them and came over." Deep in thought and looking troubled, Tembi dropped her voice and said, "So, the wife will no longer trust the husband. I don't think she should divorce him, though. There are many people here so it might not be a mistress. How does she know? There's not anything nasty here that can convince her, yet the wife seems to be jealous and it will take time for her to get used to it. She won't be so relaxed anymore, but that's natural ... normal. Why should she be? But I suppose he'll just carry on. Overloaded! She'll be overloaded with suspicion. He'll continue to have his mistress. He'll say it's a friend ... just a friend. So, she'll always be suspicious."

The theme of jealousy, suspicion and angry mistrust entered Tembi's interpretation of the pink scenario, too: "Ummm ... I think they are having a picnic near the sea, having fun. Lots of relationships here. The two on the right are in an intimate relationship. The men at the back are friends. But, there's a feeling of coldness here ... you know how it is ... two people sitting together don't agree. Anger develops. They seem to be angry to me. They'll resolve it, though. The two men who are friends - they're not really happy either. There's a problem. They're so serious. They might be related to the two women at the table. The men are talking separately from the women ... maybe the problem concerns the women ... maybe he doesn't like the way his friend looked at his wife ... maybe he's jealous."

The contents of Tembi's relational mental models, elaborated and reinforced through cumulative experiences, and expressed in the structure of her SWOR, produce a complex and anomalous pattern of heterosocial experiences. The theme of threat she construed in terms of both marriage and friendship seemed to be interactively combined within her boundary structure which approached the thick pole of the continuum: she scored 147:396 as a Personal Total, 65:156 as a World Total and obtained a Sumbound total of 212:552. Ever-sceptical about the motivations of her spouse and friends, she forged an emotional distance - a boundary - between herself and them.

9.4.3. **Rules, territoriality, privacy and boundary regulation**

The issue of greatest concern to each participant in a relationship is his own identity, and that of the other individuals in the network. For this reason, the focus of relational involvement is the role-identities of its members

and the provision of support for them. Because the question of one's own identity is so crucial, boundary rules are most centrally concerned with identities, with letting in some, keeping out others, and transforming still others to make them futile or harmless. Boundary rules must also deal with other threats to the fragile reality of relationships. Ross (1985) explains that for some, "... the process of interacting with another person is threatening to individual identity because of difficulty in simultaneously experiencing self and other" (p. 724).

Because the number and range of role-identities allowed into each relationship varies, a major function of the boundary rules of relationships is the promotion and protection of intimacy. Unlike facilitating, inhibitory and transformation rules that determine what may be admitted to the relationship, rules of privacy determine the limits to what is shared externally. These rules mark off those identities and attendant activities that are to be shared only with fellow members of the relationship, from those for which social support may be sought more widely. In order for a social relationship to exist and for its focus to be maintained, norms are formulated regarding the proper degree of sharing of selves and outsiders (Goffman, 1961). These rules of privacy thus limit the sharing of the relationship with outsiders.

Rules of privacy were especially prevalent in Mary's relational schemas: "I like to be able to come and go freely ... and I also like my privacy. I need my limits because I do get so angry sometimes. Then, I'd rather not have friends around - especially men friends."

Ann construed privacy rules to most firmly govern the activities and topics of discussion allowed between friends. Admitting that opposite-sex friendships are difficult to maintain for married individuals, she highlighted the importance of marital privacy. Specifically, she considered the states of each friend's marriage or marital problems to be inviolable topics of discussion between opposite-sex friends. In addition, opposite-sex friends should be aware that they are "friends, nothing more" - hence "flirting is unacceptable." It is only by

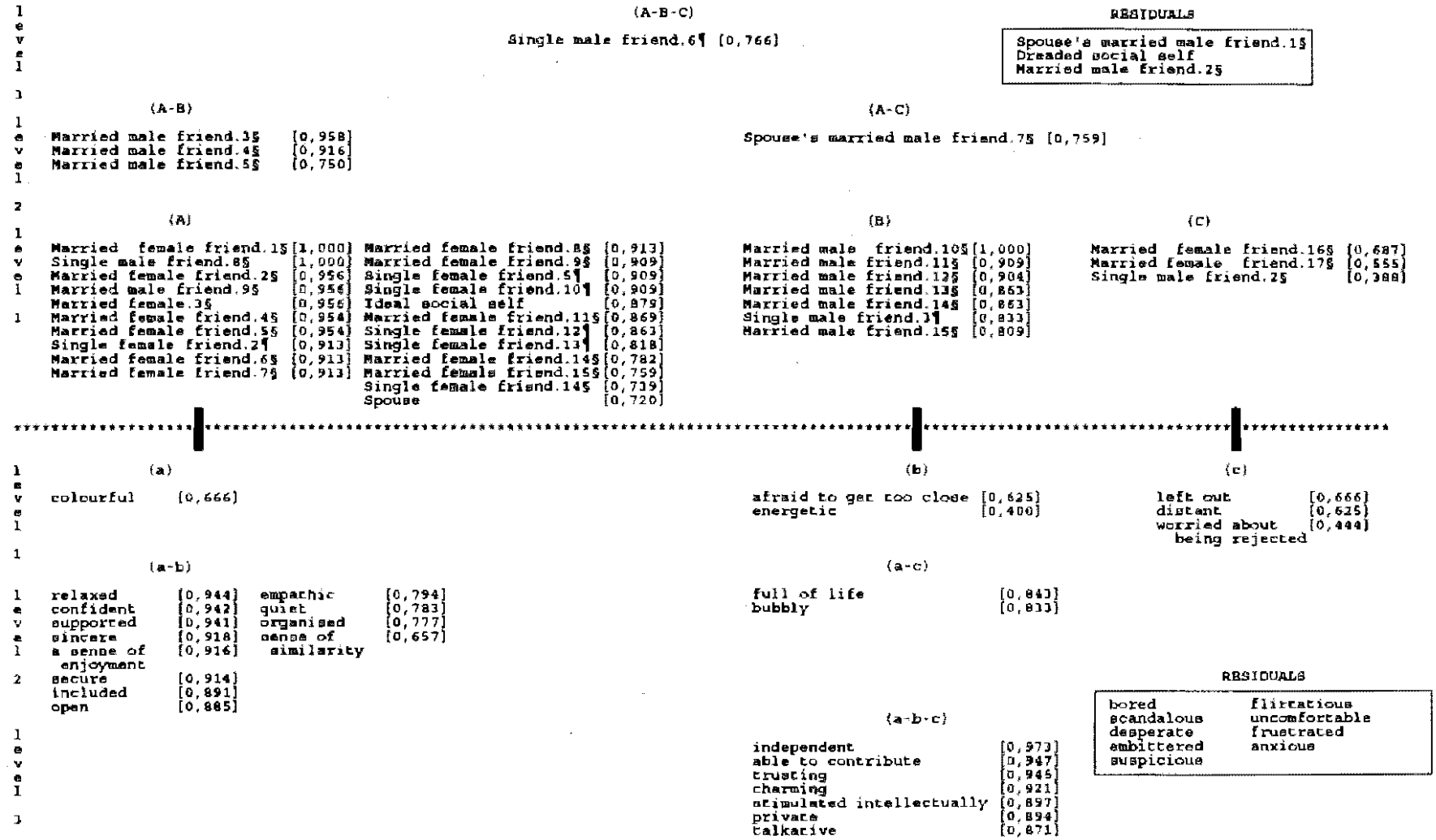
acknowledging such rules, she advocated, that opposite-sex friendships "have a hope of surviving without upsetting the marriage partners."

In marriage, when activities are shared and the resulting role support is sufficiently gratifying, spouses share role-identity. If the members of a relationship share many activities with non-members and hence come to rely on them for role support, the original relationship is in danger of becoming obsolete. At that stage, there exists the danger that the friendship could upstage the marriage relationship itself.

Human territoriality is a preventative or reactive adaptation to stresses, frustrations and threats and is expressed through reactive behaviours aimed at defending places and people (Rosenblatt & Budd, 1975). The stronger the feeling of territoriality, the firmer the boundaries surrounding the relationship. Boundary regulation involves the adjustment of self-disclosure outputs and inputs, and the extent of control one maintains over this exchange of information contributes to the amount of privacy one has in any given relationship (Derlega & Chaikin, 1977).

Thus, privacy is "an interpersonal boundary process by which a person or group regulates interaction with others. By altering the degree of openness of the self to others, a hypothetical personal boundary is more or less receptive to social interaction with others. Privacy is, therefore, a dynamic process involving selective control over a self-boundary, either by an individual or by a group" (Altman, 1975, p. 6).

Jane's relational mental models emphasised the importance of privacy - a theme strongly associated with thick boundaries. (Her scores on the Boundary Questionnaire are: Personal Total 137/396; World Total 69/156; Sumbound: 206/552). The theme of privacy was also prevalent in Jane's SWOR (figure 19), in which the feature 'private' was included in her invariant Feature-Class 'a-b-c', together with 'independent'. This pattern is



§ Scenarios which included Jane as a married woman ¶ Scenarios which included Jane as an unmarried woman

FIGURE 19: JANE'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

congruent with the high mean score (3,56) she obtained for the 'compulsive self reliant' attachment pattern (Appendix K7), although not with her high self-rating for the 'separation protest' attachment dimension (3,00). This latter categorisation might suggest a relatively closed marital system: similarly, from a metaperspective, Jane also rated her husband as high in the category of 'separation protest' (4,00).

Perhaps functioning to limit that which may be let out of her relatively closed marital system, Jane indicated that she felt 'afraid to get too close' to the occupants of Target-Class 'B', all of whom are male friends. Of her friendship with Dyke, single male friend #3, she commented, "I was single - quiet times were accepted; we respected each other." Discussing her friendship with Riaan, married male friend #10, also occupant of Target-Class "B', she commented: "As a married woman, I feel both honest and trusting with Riaan - he's the father of our son's best friend. However, on principle, I'm afraid to get too close to him, because he's married to one of my friends. That also applies to my friendship with Johannes," (married male friend #11), she explained. "Similarly, Matthew (male friend #14) and Michael (male friend #13) are platonic friends only - also married to girlfriends of mine." Residents of level 2 Target-Classes 'A-B' and 'A-B-C' (again, all male), also incline Jane to feel 'afraid to get too close'.

Yet, not all of Jane's male friends induce this fear of intimacy. Charl (single male friend #8) and Gordon (male friend #9) are members of Target-Class 'A' (Jane's largest target class), comprised mostly of women (and Jane's spouse) and associated with Jane's self-with experiences of being 'colourful', 'relaxed', 'secure' and 'open' et cetera. Reasons for the inclusion of Charl in this Target-Class brings into focus the specifics of Jane's relational working model. A decade younger than Jane, Charl was a close friend of her recently murdered brother and it is through Charl that Jane is able to maintain a link with him. She explained, "After my brother's sudden death, Charl desperately needed to meet the family, to share his memories and to console the close family members. Now, he's a friend of the family and feels included by us." Thus, by assuming a brotherly role, Charl elicits in Jane asexual feelings (including 'supported', 'trusting' and 'confident'), devoid of the sexual tensions which often characterise - and threaten - opposite-sex friendships. The barriers formed by Charl's role as friend to Jane's entire family - in essence, his role as a quasi-family member - thus serves an important distancing and boundary-maintaining function for Jane, protecting and legitimising their friendship.

Being 'distant' (Feature-Class 'c') is a theme in Jane's self-with-friend experiences.

"Private moments are respected among good friends ... I enjoy being a listener," she explained. By listening rather than divulging, Jane permits and facilitates a greater flow of disclosure into her marital context, than out of it. By so doing, she preserves a sense of personal privacy, in which "... confidentiality plays a vital role." In keeping with the construct of privacy, Jane was clear about the rules she considered should be adhered to regarding opposite-sex friendship in marriage:

i) A situation where there is no threat to either marriage is necessary.
ii) Cross-gender friendships should be encouraged only where genuine, long-lasting friendships already exist (before marriage).
iii) Be careful and sensitive enough to include all parties equally.
iv) Spouses should be included.
v) There should be no physical contact between the friends.
vi) Share all aspects of the friendship with one's spouse - share no secrets with a friend of the opposite sex.

Friendship assumed an important role in Jane's life and she always made a point, she said, of befriending her husband's friends. "Life revolves around friendships," she philosophised. "It is therefore important and fortunately quite easy to consider my friends' spouses also to be my friends." Judging by Jane's responses on the well-being semantic differential scale (Appendix K1), her recipe for maintaining and promoting friendship within the context of marriage had been effective: placing her construct 'lasting friendships - shallow friendships' 7th on the 15-point scale, she rated her present situation as maximally positive.

Jane also classified her spouse as her friend, commenting that, "Commitment to a successful marriage comes first - that means your husband should be your best friend." It seemed logical, therefore, that she should exhibit a Storge love style, reflecting an inclination to merge love and friendship. Lee (1973) also considers that Storge individuals come from secure family backgrounds - certainly the case for Jane. Storge individuals also tend to expect love to develop from a deep friendship, something which Jane endorsed in the Mental Model Questionnaire. For instance, she 'strongly agreed' with the statements, "For a marriage to succeed, the spouses must be friends" and "Part of one's duty and responsibility in marriage is to be a friend to one's spouse." She also agreed with the items that indicated that married couples should include each other in leisure-time pursuits. Disagreement was registered, however, with the statement suggesting that one's spouse should meet all one's needs for opposite-sex friendship.

9.4.4. **Rules as guidelines**

The function of rules governing the regularities of human behaviour lies in their (often latent) role as guidelines to successful performance and effective social behaviour. It is possible to establish exactly which rules individuals conform to in any social situation by identifying how they would react to hypothetical instances of rule transgression. For instance, Marsh, Rosser and Harre (1978) investigated the rules of a particular subculture by interviewing football hooligans about their behaviour. Using a somewhat different method, Price and Bouffard (1974) asked individuals whether a particular rule would apply to their behaviour within a specific context. The subjects rated the appropriateness of 15 forms of behaviour in 15 different situations. The researchers concluded that judgment of the appropriateness of behavioural acts was due to the characteristics of the particular situation, which made an independent contribution to the variance in the subjects' ratings.

Verbalising the constraints which Tembi considered applicable within her own marital boundary, she said: "I don't like my husband's female friends phoning and asking for money ... or for anything. Some phone him and say, 'Please come and shift my bookcase for me, it's too heavy.' Or they say, 'We're so busy... please help me fit a new bulb in my light.' That's not what they mean, it's just what they say. They mean something different ... you know, the bulb will be in the bedroom ... that sort of thing. They do that. THEY DO THAT! I'll slap them!" Thus, Tembi's lucid and pragmatic definition of what constituted the crossing of boundaries of propriety in terms of her husband's female friends were clearly apparent.

Argyle, Graham, Campbell and White (1979) describe the various kinds of rules which govern social situations. First, there are rules which meet specific universal requirements for verbal communication. These rules make communication possible, discourage withdrawal by participants,

prevent aggression and dictate appropriate behaviour for the beginning and ending of encounters. Second, there are rules which meet universal requirements of particular types of situations. This latter category includes rules which coordinate behaviour so that goals might be attained, rules which guard against temptation, rules which help with common difficulties and finally, the creative construction of complex rule-systems. Some rules apply specifically to certain relationships and situations and may vary in content: some govern emotional expression, others deal with action and comportment, others with moral issues. Regulative rules, whether prescriptive, proscriptive or permissive, entail constitutive rules which are definitional and specify the appropriate application of regulative rules.

"The boundary rules make it possible to get done whatever must be done by excluding any potentially disruptive characteristics of the encounter, social relationship, or the larger social world and by making sure every element necessary to the focus is present," (McCall, 1970, p. 37). Certain institutionalised rules exist as part of the formal marriage contract. Unlike friendship, marriage involves sex, shared kin, joint property and the production of children. Friendship, on the other hand, contains its own particular properties and informal rules, such as those governing etiquette and reciprocity. Brain (1976) points out, for instance, that some cultures have formal ceremonies to establish blood brothers. In societies with rigid hierarchies and rules of kinship or marriage, friendship takes a particular form, although the same qualities of affection, reciprocity, and mutuality are present (Jerrome, 1984). Rule violation usually involves some form of disruption, often in the form of sanctions, resulting in the disruption, deterioration or even the termination of the relationship.

9.4.5. **Rules as conflict regulation**

Because mixed-gender friendships often conflict with the traditional proprietary and jealousy-creating features of the marital relationship, these "... relationships are highly susceptible to scrutiny and attributions by third parties, especially if the friendship is perceived to threaten culturally sanctioned bonds like marriage or kinship" (Rawlins, 1982, p. 351). In this respect, opposite-sex friends encounter the unique challenges of having to deal with the restrictions imposed by third-party normative attitudes, rules and sanctions (O'Meara, 1989). Likewise, the contemporary norms and expectations which contextualise social interaction reflect traditional sex-role ideals and sex-typed attitudes which are, in turn, experienced as normative constraints.

The constraints of propriety seemed to be foremost in John's relational schema of opposite-sex friendship. He described the confusion he felt about his friendship with Charlotte, a neighbour in the same retirement village: "There's a lady living opposite me and since my wife died, six months ago, she's got to be friendly. More than I want to be. She asked me to take her to the airport, so I did, but when we got there, she tried to kiss me goodbye. Now, that's not what I want and I told her so. But, there again, since my wife died, she has been very supportive. I'm not social, but I am friendly. But what do I do about Charlotte? I can't have a friendship that involves that sort of thing."

Despite her "heart of gold," he said, "...she won't stop interfering. Always telling me what I should be doing!" Months later, following continued 'rule transgression' by Charlotte, John resorted to writing her a letter which she seemed "a bit hurt about." His ambivalence towards Charlotte as a friend is reflected by her positioning in the residual class of features in his SWOR (figure 7). Commenting on this, he said, "Yes, I don't know what I feel about this friendship ... nothing definite most of the time. I suppose I should feel grateful for her caring, but..."

Since John had been widowed, he seemed to be plagued by interpersonal boundary problems: "Joan lives next to me," he recounted, months after the incident with Charlotte. "She's become quite friendly. She asked me to come to dinner but I know that it could

start people talking around here; I told her that for her own sake, I'd better not. She said she'd just pop in for a chat now and then. She came once and when she was leaving, Charlotte saw her. There was quite an atmosphere after that! Joan phoned to say she'd better not pop in again. I said, 'OK.' Then she did and said she didn't see why she shouldn't - that Charlotte shouldn't be allowed to dictate who she sees. I said, 'OK!' (During this particular interview with John, the phone rang. It was Joan. Acknowledging John's reluctance to visit her at home, she offered to bring him supper. An hour later, she arrived with a tray, was quick to notice a visitor sitting in his lounge and departed hastily - much to John's wry and understated amusement. Joan was not included in John's SWOR since his friendship with her began only after that stage of the present study.)

Relationships can be viewed as systems, the operation of which is dependent upon the principles of maintenance and outcome production (Argyle et al., 1985). Not only do they need to maintain themselves by avoiding conflicts and other disruptive forces, they also need to be rewarding in some way so that they motivate individuals to remain within the boundaries thereof.

Rules, as safeguards, can themselves be rewarding in sustaining the continuance of valued social systems. "Trust is one such safeguard," interviewee, Jenny, pointed out, "as is the inclusion of one's spouse within one's friendships. Those safeguards can protect both the friendship and the marriage!"

In general, the rules which govern each relationship-type reflect the specific nature of the difficulties and sources of conflict inherent in the relationships.

9.4.6. **Rules as control**

Rules and their conditions of application are learnt as part of the socialisation process. They often contain an aura of sanction which, in turn, promotes social control. Goffman (1961) refers to this in his description of transformation rules as inhibitory rules or rules of irrelevance which screen out any element in the larger social world. They include individual characteristics and attributes, external

norms and group characteristics that would make goal-achievement more difficult. In short, they inform participants of what they must not attend to. On the other hand, facilitating rules of realisable resources make sure that all elements necessary to maintaining social order are present and are used (Goffman, 1961).

The specific nature of social order or interpersonal contact desired dictates the amount and type of self-disclosure permitted within the relationship. Boundary regulation and control with respect to disclosure and intimacy may be affected in several different ways (Derlega & Chaikin, 1977). When disclosure of certain information is threatening, barriers may be raised in different ways to prevent information leakage. One kind of information management is the lie, which establishes a closed self boundary between oneself and others, and permits an individual to conceal secrets whilst still providing certain outputs of information. "If successful relationships depend on individuals maintaining some secrets and distance from one another ... the lie may reflect an aggressive device to maintain some concealment" (Derlega & Chaikin, 1977, p. 112). It might even be that, within the context of cross-sex friendship, the boundaries of marriage transform potential blabbermouths into relative clams - to use Hacker's (1981) analogy.

The regulation of at least two major boundaries is involved in self-disclosure. Firstly, the dyadic boundary ensures the discloser's safety from leakage of information to outsiders. This is a boundary within which it is safe to disclose to a selected other. The second boundary is the 'self boundary', opened only when the individual self-discloses. Adjustments to the self boundary enable individuals to control the kinds of relationships they have with others. How one regulates the self boundary control mechanisms may contribute to an individual's definition of self and include his or her feelings of self identity,

autonomy and self esteem (Altman, 1975).

Cathy's SWOR (figure 20) contains two major dynamisms: Feature-Classes 'c' and 'a-c' combine to form her 'Parenting Dynamism', so termed because of the theme of its contents: 'advising', 'helpful', 'in control', 'strong', and, most significantly, 'a mother figure'. Feature-Classes 'a', 'b' and 'a-b' contain a contrasting, carefree theme. It has therefore been termed the 'Carefree Dynamism' and contains features such as 'natural', 'unpretentious', 'carefree' and 'confident'. What is significant in Cathy's SWOR is the grouping of friends who are associated with her 'Parenting Dynamism': Cathy considers Maja, female friend #5, to be more of a friend of her husband than of herself, whilst Robin, male friend #16, is a friend of hers whom, she considers, her husband does not particularly like. She also nominated Joachim, male friend #17, as being someone she knew whose friendship she did not want to cultivate. By assuming the role of 'parent' within these friendships, she is able to both control and regulate them.

None of the occupants in Target-Class 'C' activates Cathy's feelings of secure attachment (located in Feature-Classes 'a' and 'ab') - feelings which she associates with her ideal self-with-other experiences (Target-Class 'A'). Indeed, security is ranked and rated highly in Cathy's well-being scale (Appendix K1). Although the occupants of Target-Class 'C' do not generate negative self-with-other feelings for Cathy (indeed, all negatives are categorised as residuals), she keeps these friends at a distance, thus ensuring a satisfactory level of restraint, by maintaining an identity as 'a mother figure'. Significantly, in completing the Boundary Questionnaire, she indicated that she had experienced the fear that she might "fall apart completely" and that, at times, she had felt as if she "were coming apart." Despite her self-rating as having a 'secure' attachment style, which was reinforced by her responses in the adapted version of the Relationship Scales Questionnaire, Cathy seemed to erect distancing boundaries around certain of her friendships (with members of both sexes), possibly in an effort to prevent marital dissension and preserve dyadic cohesion and identity within her marriage.

Her Boundary scores indicate a position marginally towards the thin side of the two extremes: Personal Total = 206/396; World Total = 87/156; Sumbound = 293/552). Very thin boundaries were indicated with regard to the sub-section of Sensitivity (19/20), although much thicker boundaries were exposed through her Opinions about Organisations and Groups (15/40) - and it is possibly on this that her tendency towards interpersonal distancing is founded. Hartmann (1991) considers that the constancy of an individual's identity varies according to the thickness of his/her boundary. Flexible

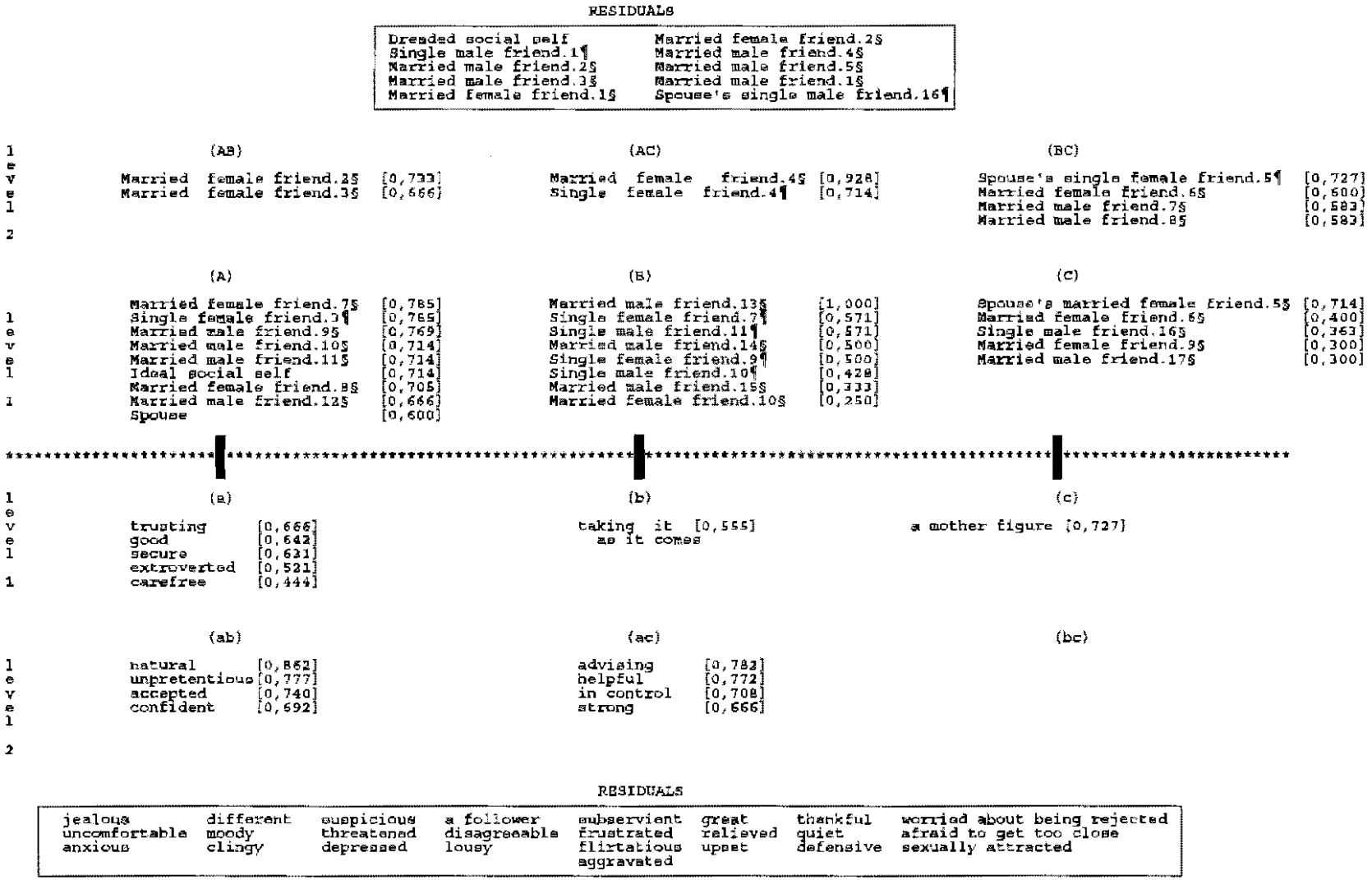


FIGURE 20: CATHY'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

and context-specific identity is associated more with thin-boundaried personalities: hence a possible reason for Cathy's adopting, within the context of some friendships, a 'mothering' (responsible, controlling) role and, on the other hand, a 'carefree' identity - devoid of the concern and responsibility characteristic of a parent-role.

Of the residual targets, 70% are male friends, the majority being married. Moreover, 77,8% of the self-with scenarios depicted in terms of these residual friends are situated during Cathy's marriage. These friendships seem not to enable Cathy to experience any of her typical self-with feelings.

Congruent with her self-rated Storge love-style, Cathy includes her spouse in Target-Class "A", a sub-set of her "Carefree" dynamism. The self-with experiences characteristic of her relationship with her spouse thus include 'carefree', 'secure', 'trusting' and 'unpretentious'. True to the characteristics of the Storge love style, her relationship with her husband includes the merging of companionship, commitment and sexual intimacy. Cathy mentioned that her relationship with the man who later became her husband had progressed from being a friendship to being a romance. She now considered him to be her closest friend. Typically, Storge excludes anxiety about separation; congruently, Cathy's scores on the Attachment Dimensions scale indicate particularly low mean scores for 'separation protest' (1,00) and feared loss (1,00). On a metaperspective, low mean scores were also registered: 1,33 and 1,00 respectively.

Cathy's spouse shares a category with some of her closest friends. "These are the friends I can really count on," she explained, "they're real no-threat friends." Describing her friendship with Tim, male friend #9, for instance, she said, "...he's a friend of ours and we're friends with his wife too. Tim is on the road a lot and he often pops in here. But my husband doesn't mind that at all. He knows when Tom has been here and he passes it off lightly. He's quite confident because Tom is married."

9.4.7. **Rules as relationship management**

The management of relationships is guided by the interpretation of social rules (Harre, 1974). Extensive research by Argyle et al. (1985) has indicated that rules which have the most universal application to mixed-gender relationships are those related to privacy, keeping of confidences, eye contact, public conduct and sex. Rules about the management of

sexuality in heterosocial relationships "... applied to many relationships, where sexual activity would be unsuitable, and appears to be a common danger in many non-marital relations" (Argyle et al., 136). The researchers concluded that relational rules mostly concern: the avoidance of common difficulties in, and potential costs to, relationships; relationship regulation; the maintenance of appropriate levels of intimacy, as well as the avoidance of sexual entanglements.

The rules which the respondents in the present study considered important for managing their mixed-gender friendships were mostly of a proscriptive nature, designed to maintain their marital relationships rather than their opposite-sex friendships:

Tembi emphasised respect and distance: "Men are men. I don't like to dictate to them - not to anyone. I like to give my husband his freedom, but there must be limits: if people are married, if there're two in a house, then two must have rights, equal rights." She elaborated, growing more specific about her husband's opposite-sex friends: "One thing is that I don't like my husband's female friends phoning every day. Let it not penetrate my nerves! Also, if he's with a friend, then there should be no physical contact - I'd go mad! He must maintain a healthy distance and not stand in a nasty position with her. Some women can be personal, intimate - they say, 'No' but their body language says, 'Yes'. That's why some women are raped ... they say 'no' just to look shy. So keep a distance as friends. Watch your body language! Body language and verbal language must be congruent."

Cheryl, too, considered non-verbal signals to play a major role in the maintenance of opposite-sex friendships within the context of marriage: "I think it's the way you do things. It's the message you give - verbally and also through body language." Very similarly, Cathy commented: "It should be accepted that there's no sex. There should be no touching, no 'come on'. It's good to talk about these rules but only if a misunderstanding arises, then it should be discussed, but otherwise, perhaps it's best to stay off the topic. One's actions can set the limits quite easily. Body language ... body language can be suggestive or just the opposite."

Concern regarding impression management was also expressed: "The rules my husband has about my friendships are very strict!" Tembi said. "People around might attach differ-

ent feelings and opinions if you hugged a friend in public. There must be a distance between friends of the opposite sex - if I sit on this sofa, he must sit on the other." Similar themes surfaced in Cathy's comments: "In a couple situation, men and women can be friends quite easily. If one is single, then it's more difficult. If one is single, then it's best to remain distant from married men. One can so easily give the wrong impression. There's a big barrier in that case. Sexual innuendo should be avoided too." Helen agreed: "Sex would have to be a taboo subject - so would physical contact. I mean, one can feel the vibes. Even a kiss on the head! I suppose if those two rules govern your friendship, then everything else will be OK."

Jane and Lesley also mentioned the importance of avoiding sexual innuendo, of restricting the discussion of sexual matters and of excluding the development of sexual agendas. Responding to one of the scenarios in the projective procedure, Lesley commented, "If there's any sort of attraction here it's not acted upon, it's not acknowledged, not encouraged. If there's any infidelity, it's with complete strangers, not with anyone in the friendship group, not between any of these friends. That would cause too much problem!" The sanctity of keeping friendship within a boundary seemed clear: infidelity might be tolerated, but not amongst friends.

In order to maintain friendship with the opposite sex, Irene felt it was imperative to be aware of the feelings of the spouses involved: "Always consider if it is threatening to any of the parties involved; be careful of the type of activities you're involved in; people like divorced folk shouldn't be brought into the situation - they're often too much of a threat in that the idea is that they're looking for replacement relationships! I think one's got to be aware," she cautioned. "Aware of the possibilities, of what may happen, of what the other parties are thinking. Look at things from the other person's perspective; watch for the red lights of danger!"

Clinton's admonishment that "you should always include your spouse, and your friend's spouse", was echoed by Charlotte: "If my husband did form a friendship with a woman, then I would like to be in their company at all times. I think certain topics should also be avoided - sex, for example. Sex shouldn't be joked about, no jokes should be told. That's a no-no. I'd be very suspicious if there were sex-jokes and comments being made. I have never spoken about intimate things with men; never even in mixed company. I have never felt our men friends to be a threat to me, either." Nonetheless, Charlotte clearly doubted the viability of opposite-sex friendships, even with adherence to rules such as these: "But personally, I don't see how such a friendship could ever remain a friendship -

it just wouldn't happen."

Sexuality was not a major theme amongst the retired respondents' comments, however. As Pam explained, "Certain concerns about friendships are just not as relevant at our age - sex is one of them." Showing more concern about issues of privacy than of sexuality, Ken explained that he and his wife had, "... made it our rule not to get too intimate with anyone here - men or women. You know what happens, it can become too personal. We like to see people and sometimes we have visitors but in general, we have kept it formal. We're the best of friends, my wife and I - we don't really need other friends so much," he explained. "Especially not friends of the opposite sex."

9.4.8. **Rules as protectors of role identity**

Boundary rules protect the identities of the members by guarding against the possibility that outsiders will get built into role-identities simply because they are included in activities. McCall (1970) cautions that the individual who "... finds that he can get role support outside a relationship often becomes alienated from that relationship" (p. 55). When a role-identity progressively becomes less essential to an individual, the relationship loses importance (McCall, 1970). Although this type of alienation is most common in a relationship based on a single role-identity, even when relationships are based on many such identities, the loss of a core identity may alienate the individual. Loss of interest in receiving role support will also result in an individual becoming alienated from a particular role-identity or set of role-identities.

Separation often necessitates the pursuit of support outside the relationship. A subtype of this kind of alienation may result from "setting segregation" in which relationships such as friendships flourish in specific settings but are not transferable to different contexts. Thus, a man may form a friendship with a woman within the work setting, but confine the relationship to that context. In this way, the relationship is less threatening to the individuals' spouses

and families and there is less chance of their feeling alienated from their focal relationships.

Describing her husband's friendship with one of his female colleagues, Irene outlined the ways in which she had ensured her inclusion therein: "My husband had a very good friend at work - his secretary. She was married too. Her husband was not quite as accepting though. He couldn't handle the friendship, so we had to be careful. We never became house friends. But my husband still keeps in touch with her - they phone each other for their birthdays. When he gave her a birthday gift, though, I was the one who chose it and the card always said it was from our whole family, so that was a way he controlled the friendship, I suppose. By drawing one's spouse into a friendship like that, one manages to keep it on a platonic level. I guess it is important to keep those friendships within a group context." Irene's way of maintaining a controlling presence in her husband's friendship thus functioned as a homeostatic mechanism, both expanding the friendship as an open system, and restraining its boundaries sufficiently to prevent the emergence of personal feelings of exclusion and alienation.

Two types of alienation are defined by two important types of involvement: an alienated individual may not desire role support or he may be unable to provide it. Alienation can also result from dissatisfaction with the relationship's boundary rules, or the particular nature or number of identities afforded to the individual within the relationship. The individual may also be dissatisfied with the number and kinds of activities shared with his partner.

Alienation always leads to some lessening of intimacy. Unhappiness with one's own or the other's identities and role support brings about alienation in the sense of relationship atrophy. There may be spontaneous involvement in another focus as well as insufficient involvement in the official focus. Alienated individuals may hide their misinvolvement and continue to participate in the official relationship or they may have to claim a new self, thereby transgressing the boundary rules of the relationship. Alternatively, the individual may purposefully reveal his alienation from the focal relationship but this again will

involve a shifting and reorganisation of the boundary rules of both relationships. Alternatively, the boundary rules of the focal relationship may simply be broken as a signal for the desire for change.

Relevantly, whilst many of the subjects in Gerstel's (1988) study, based on the retrospection of individuals from failed marriages, felt nagging doubts about the restrictions which their marriages had placed on their relationships, they did not formulate these limits as being problematic until after their marriages had ended. In this sense, divorce proved to be constructive in dissolving certain social barriers, although in ways different for men than for women. The separated and divorced women who were interviewed in Gerstel's (1988) study were more successful than were the separated or divorced men at rebuilding old and intimate bonds. Women's social adjustment after marriage break-up was also subject to the structural constraints and opportunities characterising separated women's adult lives. With custody of children and reduced income, the women in the study had fewer opportunities to enter new social networks. In addition, normative restrictions on women's participation reinforced these structural constraints, thereby replacing the restrictions of marriage with the restrictions of divorce. Similarly, Blau (1961) found that widows were often dropped by their married friends.

Divorce had a liberating effect on Clinton's friendships. He explained: "My first wife didn't approve of alcohol, so that was always a problem with respect to having friends over and having, say, a braai. I mean, you can't have a cup of tea with a braai!" Once divorced, he found it easier to pursue his friendships in the ways he chose. Paradoxically, however, it was his divorce which nearly caused a permanent rift between himself and his best (male) friend. "My first wife and I had a friend - Schultz," explained Clinton. "We were very friendly, and then I got divorced. Soon after that, I met him in the street and he snubbed me. He was very cold. I think he thought the divorce was my fault. Our friendship just fizzled away during that time. Then he got married and now his wife and Linda (my second wife) are best friends! And I count his wife as a friend of mine too.

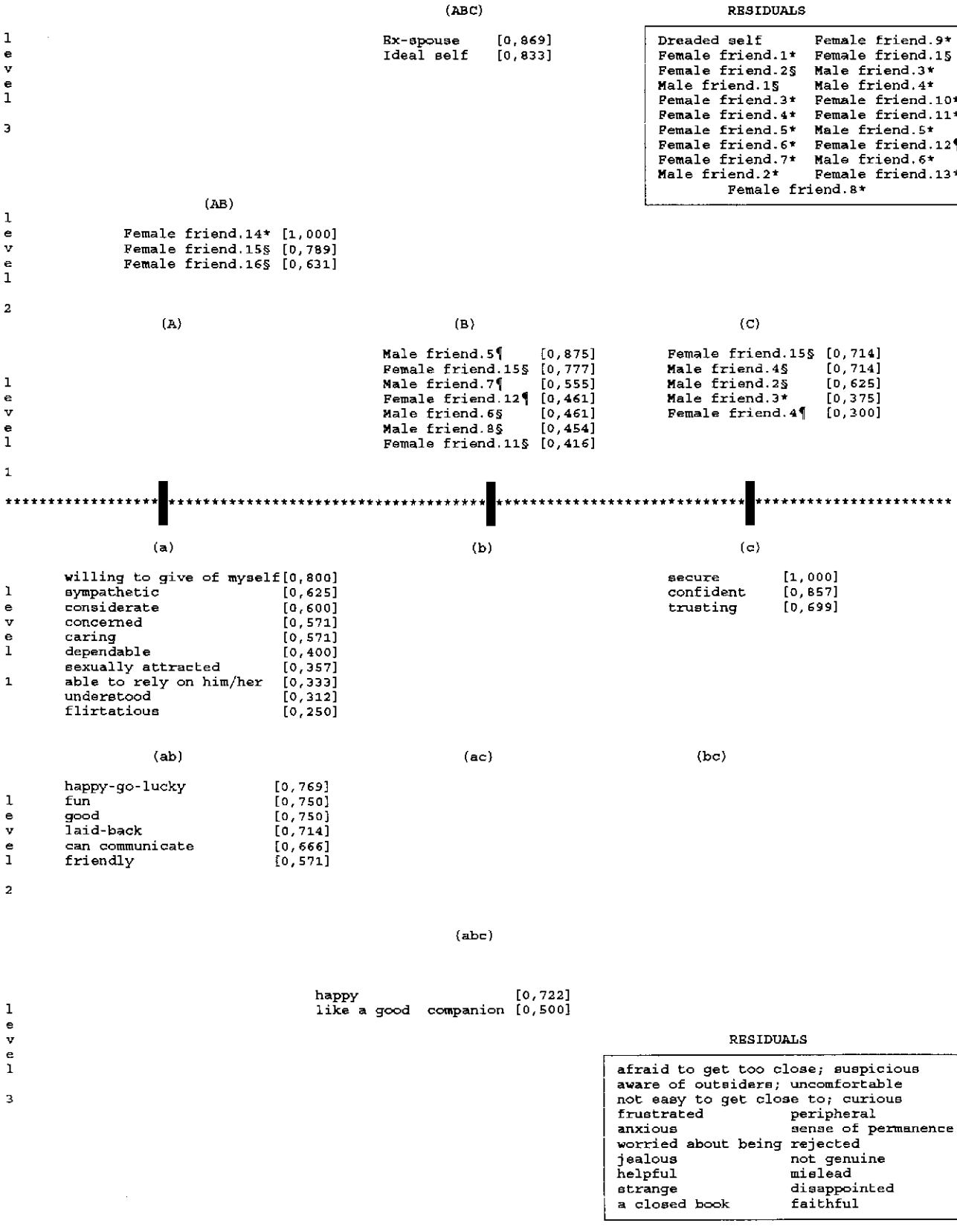
He's a lot more friendly with me now too! We've become good friends again. I think he got to know what my first wife was like - through all the 'friends' (boys and men) she's had! Now he knows that the divorce wasn't my fault - well, not only mine."

For Ron, however, separation had been a less facilitative influence on his friendships. He spoke of the ego-protective boundaries he had erected, as a result: "I took our breakup very badly ... I got a lot of help - psychological help - I needed it. The fault lies with me. Only now am I beginning to reintegrate; before, I cut myself off, for protection I suppose. I built a wall around myself." He pointed out that "...there's a lot of reserve about being older and not involved. One's scared of making a fool of oneself. Also, friends are more difficult to find. Men and women. Especially women, because they're usually married. It's more difficult to mix socially, if you don't have a partner. One's social circle changes ..."

Ron's use of the features 'secure', 'confident' and 'trusting' as significant self-with-friend experiences, was congruent with his rating of self as having a 'secure' attachment style. Inspection of his SWOR (figure 21) indicates that these three features, components of Feature-Class 'c', correspond most directly with the occupants of Target-Class 'C'. Four of the 5 self-with-friend experiences contained in this class refer to Ron's current friendships - those which he maintained throughout his 'marriage': 40% of these friends are female. Feature-Class 'a-b-c' ('happy' and 'like a good companion') also connects with Target-Class 'C', although being on level 3, the association is less direct. Both Feature-Classes ('a-b-c' and 'c') apply to the way in which Ron experienced himself with his 'spouse'. They also refer to Ron's concept of 'ideal social self' (Target-Class 'A-B-C').

Two aspects of Ron's SWOR are notable. Firstly, nearly half of the features included in this exercise (and notably, again, all the negative ones) are categorised by HICLAS as 'residuals'. Secondly, the vast majority of target-scenarios are those during his relationship with his 'spouse' and Ron describes them all in positive terms. Apart from containing his concept of 'dreaded social self', the residual target category contains 20 targets, 80% of which are self-with-friend experiences located in times after his break-up with his 'spouse', 15% are experiences during his 'marriage' and 5% are before his 'marriage'.

Despite Ron's comments that his responses in this exercise "seemed to be pretty much alike, and therefore boring and repetitive," his descriptions of his interpersonal experiences with the residual-category friends (which represent 57% of the total number of his friends or targets) fit none of the experience-patterns generated by HICLAS.



¶ Scenarios including Ron as an unmarried man § Scenarios including Ron as a married man
* Scenarios including Ron after the break-up of his relationship

FIGURE 21: RON'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

Furthermore, most of the friends in the residual class (70%) are women friends. This pattern may reflect Ron's feeling a sense of confusion and uncertainty about many of his friendships in his post-disengagement phase, despite his description of himself as "not having any major hang ups or phobias." Attempting to interpret his friendship patterns, Ron explained that he was not normally a very emotional person and tended "to keep his feelings under wraps." Perhaps these traits, consistent with his thick-boundaried personality (Sumbound 228:552), contributed to the formation of a large bank of self-with-friend experiences which fit no uniformity.

9.5. RULE TRANSGRESSION AND AMENDMENT

Although the existence of boundary rules is constant, their content is not. When changes in the definition of a relationship occur, or when there is a change in the circumstances of the relationship, the boundary rules protecting the definition of the situation must also change.

For instance, Clinton described how his relationship with his first wife changed, culminating in divorce and the subsequent redefinition of their relationship. "My first wife and I are now friendlier than we ever were. Not that we're friends. I wouldn't want to be a friend to her and I wouldn't want to have her as a friend. I have to feel something for the person before I'm a friend to them. I can't feel neutral with a friend - and that's how I feel about my first wife."

Change occurs when one or more of the individuals engaged in the relationship becomes dissatisfied with the boundary rules, signalling a desire for change. If the other participant agrees that a change is necessary, and/or acceptable, a new phase begins. If the other fails to agree, a crisis results. McCall (1970) comments that an individual "who is not spontaneously involved in the focus of an encounter or relationship is breaking the boundary rules of the other's organization, and the discovery of that break necessitates some adjustment of the boundary rules at the risk of a crisis" (p. 59). One method of solving the crisis is to end the encounter or relationship and to

exclude the offender, thus ending the relationship. If some change occurs - not the end of the relationship, but a change - the relationship simply limps along with a makeshift focus and makeshift boundary rules to protect it.

Transgressing boundary rules is risky: although there may be a successful progression to a new phase, there may also be deterioration. What, then, makes the risk tenable? Presumably, something (or someone) becomes important enough for them to risk failure. It could be the receipt of additional support for role-identities, support for additional role-identities or the desire for additional or different activities. Also, change may result from demands for the introduction of new identities, roles or activities.

Helen's recounting of the change in her first marriage illustrates that transgression of marital boundaries can also result from dissension and dissatisfaction within the relationship: "My first husband was four years older than I was - very possessive, jealous - even suicidal. He had very big problems. We were married 4 years before we had any children - 4 awful years. I knew at once that I should never have married him but I thought maybe children would help. Then, it was another 9 awful years after we had children. I knew I wanted to leave but I really didn't know how to do it without him killing us - shooting us all. Don't get me wrong, he never beat me up or anything like that but it was a continual emotional see-saw.

At work, I suppose I was looking for the attention I just never got at home ... men were always paying me attention - that's part of the problem I was telling you about. Eighteen months after getting married, I did have an affair. It was with my boss, but just for one night. After it happened, we decided it was wrong, it must never happen again, and it never did. But I have always had a problem with men paying me attention. After the affair with my boss, I started to change jobs frequently. It was a case of running away from the jobs and running away from the men, I think! I'm a very bad judge of people - when I first met Brian, my second husband, it was not a sexual attraction at all. He was desperately unhappy too and we just bonded. I didn't know how to leave my first husband but then he was transferred and I thought the time was right.

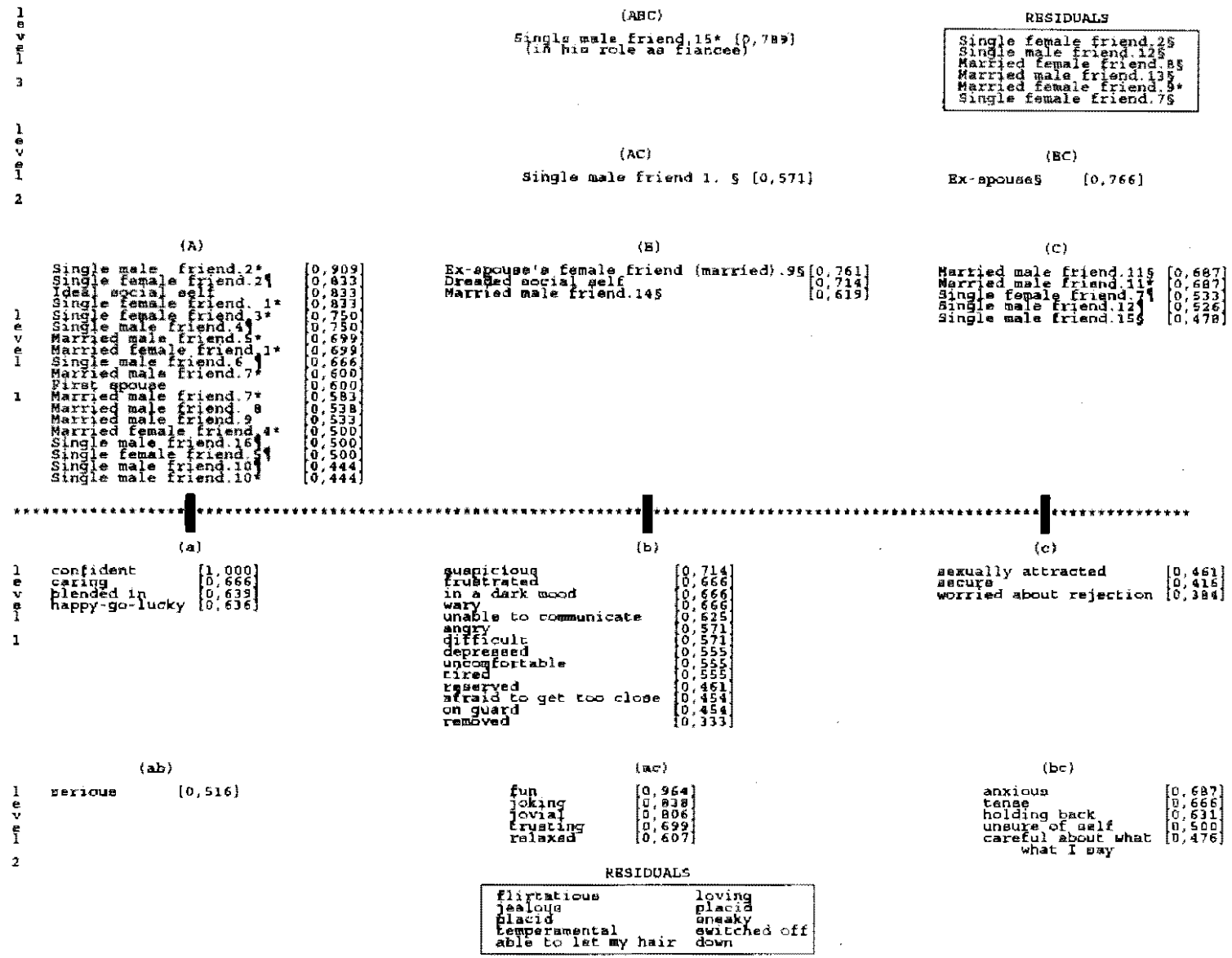
There was a lot of jealousy initially in my second marriage, too. Brian and I had an affair

before we got married. But he was unhappily married and so was I and when the divorces came through we got married 6 or 8 weeks afterwards. Far too early! We began as friends, had an affair and ended up getting married. "

Relationships progress from phase to phase when additional activities, which result in further attachment to the partner, are included in the relationship (McCall, 1970). For example, a purely platonic friendship becomes much more than that when the partners engage in sex. And, a marriage passes into another stage if the partners cease to be lovers. Although the direction of change may be toward the inclusion of fewer identities or activities, new phases in the relationship are usually brought about by inclusion of more activities.

In Mary's case, the change in boundaries brought about by her engagement to Dale (single male friend #15) produced a flood of emotional confusion. Diametrically opposed to the thick-boundaried personalities of, inter alia, Charlotte, Ron, Paula and Clinton, Mary's boundary structure was particularly thin (Sumbound: 364/552). Thematic in the set of Mary's self-with-other experiences (figure 22), is an imbroglio of contradictory affect, indicative of ambivalence and conflict and expressed in the following constructs: 'able to let my hair down'/'holding back'; 'tense'/'relaxed'; 'angry'/'joking'; 'depressed'/'jovial'; 'confident'/'unsure of myself'; 'fun'/'in a dark mood'. Mary seems to counterbalance her predominant 'dark' feelings with more positive and happier feelings. Significant, too, is the predominance of negative features which characterises Mary's self-with-other experiences. Her SWOR, with its particular cluster-constellations, reveals the boundary issues prevalent in her relational schemas.

In the role of Mary's fiancee, Dale is the sole occupant of Target-Class 'A-B-C', thus eliciting in Mary the entire gamut of her emotions, ranging from 'confident' and 'happy-go-lucky' (Feature-Class 'a') to 'angry', 'in a dark mood' and 'suspicious' (Feature-Class 'b'). Significant, too, is the prominence of Mary's ambivalent feature-bundle which reflects the fundamental, contrasting duality of her relational mental models. This dynamism (labelled 'Ambivalent/Unsure') includes Feature-Classes 'c' (including 'secure'), 'b-c' (including 'anxious' and 'tense') and 'a-c' (including 'fun', 'joking' and 'relaxed'). It is within this framework that Mary places several of her opposite-sex friendships. The friends whom Mary associates with these ambivalent feelings include the father of Mary's



¶ Scenarios including Mary as an unmarried woman; § Scenarios including Mary as a married woman; * Scenarios including Mary as a divorced woman

FIGURE 22: MARY'S SELF-WITH-OTHER REPRESENTATION

son, single male friend #12, Geoff (married male friend #11), who occupies the dual and ambiguous role of Mary's friend and boss, and Dale (single male friend #15), in his role as platonic friend to Mary, whilst she was still married to Christo.

Her self-with-other feelings during the 'platonic friendship' stage of her relationship with Dale, are associated with the features in Feature-Classes 'c', 'b-c' and 'a-c' and include 'sexually-attracted', 'secure', 'worried about rejection', 'tense', 'holding back', 'fun' 'trusting' et cetera. At that stage of her relationship with Dale, she did not consider, in any way, the features in Classes 'a' and 'b' (which include 'confident', 'suspicious', 'angry' and 'depressed') to be descriptive of her feelings when she was with Dale. Specifically, although still characterised by a measure of ambivalence, her friendship with Dale at that stage was devoid of the intensely dark feelings contained in Feature-Class 'b'.

Mary does not describe herself as ever feeling 'loving' or 'able to let her hair down' with any of the target individuals. HICLAS therefore classifies these features as residuals. This repression of affect, together with her feelings of ambivalence, are likely to have been rooted in certain childhood experiences with attachment figures. On initial inspection, Mary's apparent denial and repression seems to fly in the face of Hartmann's (1991) definition of thin-boundaried individuals as being characterised by less robust defences than thick-boundaried personalities. Significantly, however, being thin-boundaried does not necessary mean being psychodynamically undefended. Although the thin-boundary quality has a vulnerability to it, that, in itself, can serve defensive purposes. In fact, one of the features which Mary generated was that of feeling 'blended in' (Feature-Class 'a'). As Hartmann (1991) points out, merging with others, and so losing oneself in fantasy, can also function to defend against reality.

The defensive boundary system which characterises Mary's relationships with the opposite sex is likely to have proliferated during her two abusive and emotionally-destructive marriages. The genesis of her repressive tendencies, however, lay in her childhood. She explained: "My mother used to give us a hiding and then force us to smile straight afterwards - even during the hiding. Now, I often find that I give people the wrong signals about how I'm feeling. That causes problems, not only for me ... in fact, not so much for me, but for them, because they think I'm feeling one way and respond to that, but then they don't get the reaction they expect. That confuses them and then they don't know what to do. But sometimes I don't even know myself what I'm feeling. I feel trapped between what I think I feel and what I think I ought to feel. Dale often tell me jokes and

I laugh but, because he knows me well, he knows that I might not even be thinking that they're funny. I don't even understand them sometimes, but I still laugh. I feel I should. That's what people expect me to do, I suppose."

Scripts are formed as discrete scenes and experiences in an individual's life coalesce, bonded by "the affective glue that binds them together" (Ogilvie & Fleming, in press). Scripts contain the individual's rules and strategies for interpreting, controlling and reacting to experiences (Tomkins, 1979, 1987). In Mary's case, the ambivalence and confusion she experienced in childhood - and the way in which she construed those experiences - are likely to have profound implications not only for the development of her 'avoidant' attachment style, but also for the ways in which she now responds to her relationships with the opposite-sex. Indeed, it was not surprising that her highest mean rating on the adaptation of the Relationships Scale Questionnaire was for the 'fearful' category (4,50). This is also consistent with her high mean ratings on the 'feared loss' (3,00) and 'proximity seeking' (3,00) scales of the Attachment Dimension Scale, as well as in the 'angry withdrawal' (4,14) category of the Attachment Patterns Scale (Appendix K7 & K8). Significantly, too, she rated herself as having had little trust in her relationship with her ex-spouse, scoring a total of 25:85 on the Trust Scale (Appendix H1). From a metaperspective, she rated herself as being significantly more trust-worthy than her ex-husband (59:85). She explained: "I've had a lot of disappointments in life and I have difficulty trusting people now. I just won't let myself rely on anyone. I'm stubborn about that. If there's anything to be done, I'd rather do it myself. I've been like that for a couple of years now. And, because I've been let down so many times, I try not to let other people down - not to disappoint them."

Initially, during the platonic phase of her relationship with Dale (male friend #15), she commented: "I wouldn't change my friendship with Dale at all. He's also a Gemini; he's my soul-mate. She provided some background about the development of her friendship with Dale: "During my marriage - when I was being badly abused by my husband - Dale became the best friend I have ever experienced. You know, Dale actually came to get me on the day I left my husband. He risked his life - Christo would have killed him. He drove me straight to the police station to get the interdict. He was just there. Silent and supportive. He has been a pillar of strength, love, support, happiness ... yet he has never tried to get too close either ... I feel protected and happy ... I can just relax and not worry about anything." During this stage of the relationship, she denied the possible existence of sexual interest on his part: "With Dale, I spend time at the office. We discuss things and in the evening he visits me and helps around the house. I've been friends with him for

8 months. It's nothing more - just friends - I need it to be just that."

Notwithstanding those needs, six months later, she and Dale were engaged: "Dale and I got engaged on December 16! He came on a picnic with me and my family and while we were there ... he got down on his knees and proposed. My parents are so pleased." It was during that time that Mary compiled her data for her SWOR. When she returned the data, the note which was attached hinted at her construal of the boundary-violation that represented the change in her relationship: "I feel strangely as though I cannot say much about Dale now - I feel slightly closed. We have gone through a million changes and emotions so far. At this immediate point in time I feel quite estranged from him. Due to a few problems, I have lost a bit of my faith and trust in Dale and have drawn away from him a bit in, I think, protection, mostly. We have walls up between us that weren't there before. I also think that, since we have gotten engaged, I have subconsciously become afraid of our relationship due to past disappointments I have had in relationships. I don't feel quite as secure as before although I love him very much. I guess I have a lot to work on and try to overcome. Due to my previous bad experiences, I am not yet quite sure how I actually feel about this change from a secure friendship to what can turn into hell itself." Then, rather characteristically, the tone of Mary's note changed and she ended: "Dale, as usual and as before, is still there for me no matter what happens. Now I just have to match his love and kindness as soon as I am able to overcome some of my fears."

Ironically, with the liberation that her divorce had afforded her, came the burden of the mandate for her much valued friendship with Dale to metamorphose into a romance. It was as if the boundaries of her abusive marriage had at least been functional in one important way: they had kept her cherished friendship with Dale on a much-needed and greatly valued platonic level. But all that had changed - resulting in overwhelming feelings of ambivalence for Mary.

The transformation of her friendship with Dale had evidently also threatened her existing mental models - her fundamental relational belief system. Her earlier responses in the Mental Model Questionnaire indicated that it was 'untrue' that she found "it difficult to maintain friendships with the opposite sex on a platonic level", that "Friendship with the opposite sex includes a sexual dimension" and that "It is impossible to remain just friends with a person of the opposite sex." Her belief system thus challenged, and her emotions labile and confused, Mary was struggling to cope with the new phase of her relationship with Dale. It was at this time of her relationship that she completed the well-being data for the present study (Appendix K1). The intensity and ambivalence of her emotions were

clearly evident: although she rated her feelings of happiness as midway between the two extreme poles, maximally negative ratings were given to 'secure - insecure/unsure/worried'; 'supported - opposed'; 'trusting - unbelieving'. Most significant, perhaps, was the theme of extreme anger.

In McCall's (1970) typology, new relational phases result when boundary rules are transgressed as a result of interpersonal dissatisfaction. There are always compromises involved in the definition of an interpersonal situation and individuals are seldom satisfied with the role identities they are able to claim. Thus, individuals always remain receptive to opportunities to obtain support for additional role-identities, and new relational phases occur when they seize upon an opportunity. For this reason, it is "easy to start a friendship but not easy, or even in many cases possible, to keep it within the desired bounds" (Kurth, 1970, p. 158).

9.6. BOUNDARIES AND MARRIAGE

One striking fact which emerged from Hartmann's (1991) study of boundaries was that the 20 people who scored thickest on the Boundary Questionnaire were all married. At first impression, this seems to fly in the face of Hartmann's description of thick-boundaried individuals: when one thinks in terms of personal independence and distance from others it stands to reason that thick-boundary individuals might be those who live alone. However, as Hartmann (1991) explains, individuals with thick boundaries tend to be well organised and cautious, less impulsive and more stable. They also tend to be well aware of societal and group expectations and group pressures. Hartmann (1991) suggests that such people consider marriage to be the way of the world, part of the boundaries of one's world, to be entered into soberly and there to remain. Thus, these individuals tend not so much to have thinned their boundaries in joining another person, but to have placed an additional thick boundary around

themselves and their spouse and between the resulting unit and the world at large. Ironically, Hartmann (1991) found that thick boundaries existed between these couples and the world, as well as between the two spouses.

Similarly, from a cognitive perspective, Lewis (1972) considers that the process which is ultimately responsible for bringing about a pair system (a dyad) is the establishment of boundaries. In this sense, boundary construction involves the exclusion the dyad exhibits towards its significant others. Krain (1977) suggests two defining features of boundary maintenance, both of which imply withdrawal. Firstly, there is a loss of integration into other units, operationalised as a loss of closeness with family and friends. Secondly, joint usage of time is a component of boundary maintenance that is intended to affect the withdrawal of resources and participation from the general environment. Since time is a limited entity, involvement in one relationship puts a strain on involvement in others. Because friendships are based on shared activities and interests which consume time (Goode, 1960), they can thus come to represent a threat to marital identity. The exclusivity that accompanies the development of couple-identity "involves a selective withdrawal from relationships that are culturally defined as threats to the maintenance of coupleness" (Johnson & Leslie, 1982, p. 36). At a deeper level, reside perceptions of the spouse and attitudes towards him/her as if the other was part of oneself (Dicks, 1967).

Thus, the concept of barriers in relationships is associated with social psychological perspectives on marriage. "The private lives of marriage partners are intertwined with events in their surrounding social ... environment" (Levinger, 1976, p. 22). Indeed, if there were ever a relationship in which boundaries could get confused, it is marriage (Cloud & Townsend, 1992). "Marriage is a very private relationship and couples are able to develop a

social system with its own nomic structure" (Gove, Style & Hughes, 1990, p. 4). The primary interaction provided by the marital relationship is thus well suited to the development of boundaries within which clear definitions of each spouse's self can develop. Ironically, however, although boundaries foster separateness, marriage has as one of its goals the relinquishing of separateness. Since marriage, like other relationships, progresses through a sequence of stages, different processes are sure to operate within marriages of different durations (Booth, Edwards & Johnson, 1991).

During courtship, a couple constructs an increasingly integrated dyad, demarcating a sphere of interaction that progressively bounds them from a wider arena of social activity (Krain, 1977). By so doing, the dyad makes the existence of a new unit known to other persons with whom they deal. Individuals in their social network must then allocate resources such as time to the new unit; they must become familiar with the other member's environment and they must employ mechanisms that seal the new unit off from others who can interfere with its internal operations. In this respect, boundaries have the effect of sealing off or screening the interior of the social unit from disruptions of important processes occurring within it. Krain (1977) found, however, that during dating, individuals' boundaries reflect more of what the members can keep inside the dyadic unit than what they can keep out. Moreover, as dating proceeds and commitment increases, there is typically no reduction in the degree of tolerance of intrusions from outside persons.

Dyadic withdrawal theory treats emotional energy as a substance contained by individuals, rather than created by them. Considering this withdrawal process as being socially defined, Johnson and Leslie (1982) view human affective involvements as the products of social interaction, created

by a joint process of reality construction in which the interactants come to mutually define themselves as affectionately involved. In this model, limits on affective resources are culturally defined. Marriage does not warrant attenuation of all relationships, but only of those involvements that can no longer be culturally accepted as appropriate.

The emotional intimacy of marriage demands the temporary but frequent dissolution of individual boundaries (Ross, 1985). One way of balancing the need for interpersonal contact with the need for a sense of self is for the partners to find a way to increase the experience of individuality, possibly through the establishment or maintenance of outside friendships. The pursuit of cross-sex friendships may therefore be indicative of a weakened experience of self and an attempt to strengthen individual boundaries. However, the constraining of close heterosexual friendships outside of the marriage relationship serves as a device to limit the temptations of infidelity.

9.6.1. **Marital boundaries: bars and bonds**

"There's a different aspect to friendship with the opposite gender. After being married, cross-gender friends fall away. Why? because there's always a sexual innuendo. It's just so much easier if you're not married," explained Jill, an interviewee.

Barriers against intra-marital conflict and marital dissolution can be coordinated to the partner's feelings of obligation to each other, their children, other members of their social network, or to abstract moral values, as well as to normative pressures from external sources (Levinger, 1976), all of which represent the pressures that function to maintain the boundaries of marriage. Boulding (1962) explains that a relationship is likely to be disrupted if a third person threatens concentrated or core values, especially if such values are undifferentiated. In many marriages, bound-

aries are of trivial importance; each spouse's close attachment and attraction to the other precludes the possibility of threat from such sources as extra-marital social ties (Levinger, 1965). In other marriages, boundaries and barriers are of crucial importance: in the absence of positive feelings, they maintain outward signs of marital togetherness. In this case, alternate sources of affectional reward serve as a contrast to the attractions internal to the marriage and consequently, have a potentially disruptive effect.

In most marriages, spouses are involved in numerous relationships with other partners: family members, friends and colleagues. Each of these alternative relationships is the source of its own attractions and constraints and each alternative force may compete with forces from inside the marriage relationship (Levinger, 1976). These alternate relationships can be fully compatible within the framework of strong and stable marriages, although "an extreme commitment to such a relationship would interfere with the primary marital bond" (Levinger, 1965, p. 20), as would any commitment to a third party that fully excluded the spouse. Whilst enriching the lives of the participants in such third-party relationships, these ties also demand time and energy and can siphon off affect from the pair itself. When one spouse becomes immersed in a friendship that excludes the other partner/s, the fullness of marital interaction may be threatened, depending on the way the other spouse/s interprets the action. A jealous partner, for instance, tends to perceive even a mild detachment as threatening. The key issue is whether the externally involved spouse will eventually prefer the alternative enough to desire a rupture of the core relationship - the marriage.

The partner with greater opportunities for developing outside relationships such as cross-sex friendships, usually has the greater power within the marital relationship.

However, whether an individual will seize upon an opportunity or not, depends on a balance of attractions and barriers. Attractions that function cohesively in marriage derive from the partners' mutual need satisfaction - the needs for physical sustenance and for safety and security, for love and respect and for self-actualisation and fulfilment (Maslow, 1954).

Both friendship and marriage are special cases of dyadic relationships. Dyadic cohesiveness is a special case of group cohesiveness in general and group cohesiveness is the total field of forces which act on members to remain in the group. Inducements to remain in any group (or dyad) include the attractiveness of the group itself and the strength of the restraints against leaving it. Inducements to leave a group include the attractiveness of alternative relationships and the restraints against breaking up existing ones.

Since the cohesiveness of a couple is analogous to group cohesiveness, it is acutely affected by a field of forces which act on the individuals to keep the group together or to drive it apart. Being concerned with the regulation of proximity and distance, closeness and cohesion are related to marital boundaries. Pair cohesiveness refers to the net sum of the attractions and barriers inside a relationship, minus the net attractions to and barriers around external alternatives (Levinger, 1976). Whereas this perspective spotlights the dyad, it acknowledges that norms and social networks have important effects which can be translated into forces of attraction and restraint, or boundaries. The scheme which Levinger (1965, 1976) employs for integrating the determinants of marital durability and divorce appears also to have some relevance for other dyadic relationships, such as friendships. The framework consists of two components: attractions towards or repulsions from a relationship, as well as barriers against its dissolution.

Barriers or restraining forces act to contain a relationship, affecting the individual only if he wishes to leave it. In essence, a restraining force affects a person only when he approaches the boundary of a psychological region; he is not restrained unless he attempts to cross the boundary (Lewin, 1951). "Restraining forces that derive from barriers between people act to keep them apart; barriers around relationships act to keep people together" (Levinger, 1976, p. 26). During the formative stage of a relationship, barriers against termination remain relatively low. If the relationship continues to grow, then psychological and social barriers against dissolution are reinforced and strengthened. If attractions remain high and salient, then it is unlikely that the partners will attend to the restraints against breaking the bond (Levinger, 1976).

When there is a drop in one or both partners' satisfaction, they may begin to seriously contemplate alternatives, in which case the existence of barriers becomes salient in their thinking. In this way, the erosion of the barriers which help to contain the marriage relationship actually promotes its separation (Levinger, 1979). Just as continued commitment is influenced by normative expectations held by the partners as well as the persons outside of the relationship, so too is the process of dissolution.

Barriers work towards keeping long-term relationships intact. In marriage, feelings of obligation to the contract, legitimised by the norms of society, or fear of community disapproval are examples of psychological barriers. Barriers reduce the effect of temporary fluctuations in interpersonal attraction. Even if the attraction becomes negative, boundaries function to continue the relationship. Where there is little relationship satisfaction, barriers can create a prison.

Factors contributing to feelings of marital commitment

include length of acquaintance before marriage and the duration of the marriage (Goode, 1957). Religious constraints also represent symbolic boundaries in marriage: like-faith couples who attend church regularly have been found to have more cohesive marital bonds (Goode, 1957). Besides their joint adherence to a general moral/religious standard, such couples are members of networks of connected affiliations which in themselves, operate as cohesive pressures (Levinger, 1976). "Joint engrossment in something with others reinforces the reality carved out by the individual's attention, even while subjecting this entrancement to the destructive distractions that the others are now in a position to cause" Goffman (1961, p. 80).

By exploring how married couples utilise boundaries to control and to contain intimacy, Ross (1985) suggests that marriage is simultaneously an enhancement of, and a threat to, individual identity. Altrocchi (1988) succinctly points out that marriage "in today's society can facilitate individualisation, freedom, fulfilment, and happiness, or their exact opposites" (p. 434). Happy marriages are, from this point of view, those with high qualities of communication, spousal friendship and acceptance of each other. The emotional intimacy of marriage involves the temporary but frequent dissolution of individual boundaries and this can pose a threat to those finding difficulty in simultaneously experiencing self and other. Having an affair, according to Ross (1985) is one way spouses may attempt to establish an emotional boundary. As such, it indicates a weakened experience of self and represents an attempt to strengthen individual boundaries.

Marital boundaries can also function to regulate access to outside relationships. "Marriage, albeit integrative in some ways, can also deny its members access to important social ties. Some of the constraints are both structural and normative" (Gerstel, 1988, p. 361). Because of the norms

prescribing the social unity of the couple, controlling spouses may deter their partners from maintaining outside relationships. "If a person's primary allegiance is to a spouse, then marital relationship boundaries may forbid the sharing of certain types of intimate information with outsiders" (Tschann, 1988, p. 67).

Spouses may also exert control in covert or subtle ways, as seemed to be the case for Charlotte's friend. She explained: "Friendship has a lot to do with one's idea of oneself. I have a friend tottering on the brink of divorce and she has no confidence at all, because for years and years her husband has told her that she's ugly, awful ... worthless. She believes it, yet she used to be a lovely, outgoing person, in my eyes. Now she hasn't the confidence to make or even keep her friends. He's got her right there ... all to himself."

Marriage is one of a class of institutions that Coser (1974) labels as 'greedy' insofar as it seeks exclusive and undivided loyalty and makes omnivorous demands on the individual. 'Greedy' institutions pressurise their members to weaken their outside ties or not to form outside ties at all so that there is little or no conflict or competition with their own demands. In this way, the modern companionate marriage ensures that the friendship bond between the spouses supersedes all others such that the strength of the marital bond is substantiated by the weakness of attachment to others.

Marital loyalty, as a dyadic boundary feature, varies greatly in its elasticity and inclusiveness. Culture and norm differences may sketch the boundary in inconsistent shapes for the two partners, not recognised until a crisis develops, or transgression is covered by denial (Dicks, 1967). Gaps or tears in the boundary may serve to admit functions and relational potentials previously excluded.

9.7. BOUNDARIES AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Hartmann's (1991) boundary theory acknowledges the role of

cognitive belief systems as related to identity structures which involve the inner, not entirely conscious sense of self. Herein lies the complex concept of sexual identity: most individuals have a definite core gender identity, surrounded by broader aspects of sexual identity and a great profusion of variation that may be related to boundary structure. Individuals vary according to whether they see themselves as masculine or feminine, or as a subtle mixture of both. For thick boundaried individuals, sexual identity is firm and absolute; the difference between men and women is considered to be absolute and profound. Thin-boundaried individuals, on the other hand, more easily recognise both masculine and feminine traits in their personalities.

Group identity is also surrounded by boundaries. Hartmann (1991) points out that one invariably experiences or creates a boundary around those groups, such as family, of which one is a part. According to whether that boundary is thin or thick, one will perceive a large or minimal difference between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Having a thick boundary in this sense means that being part of a specific group is an important part of being oneself. This implies a strong sense of territoriality and an inclusive involvement with the rules and regulations of a particular group or society. Thin-boundaried individuals, in contrast, rank membership to various groups as less significant in terms of identity.

Identity is also linked to the way one sees oneself in terms of larger entities, such as families, groups, societies and nations. Thick-boundaried individuals, in contrast to thin-boundaried individuals, consider group membership as important to their identity and so are more conscious of behaving in accordance with group expectations. Although many factors influence one's group membership and identification therewith, members of an oppressed class or minority are especially prone to identify with their group. In situations like this, outside forces are so powerful that

the individual's own boundary structure is relatively unimportant in terms of group identification.

Similarly, sociability is organised around identities. For relationships to flourish and to be maintained, the participants need to preserve their own identities. For this reason, neither extremely thick nor overly thin boundaries are desirable. "We think of a healthy relationship as made up of two individuals who have a reasonably firm sense of themselves so that they can comfortably relate, enjoy the other person, and become involved without losing their own identities" (Hartmann, 1991, p. 134). Relationships can become threatened not only when the participants are insufficiently close, but when they are not sufficiently far apart. A feeling of boredom and staleness can arise when the same persons spend all their sociable moments together, thus inhibiting the broadening of their social horizons (Goffman, 1961).

In essence, interpersonal boundaries deal with one's closeness to or distance from others. Thick boundaries can mean having a very solid, separate sense of self, and keeping a certain emotional distance between oneself and others. Thick boundaries imply not becoming over-involved with others too soon. On the other hand, thin interpersonal boundaries refer to the tendency to become rapidly and deeply involved with others and to lose one's sense of self in relationships.

Thin-boundaried individuals are much less influenced by societal pressures and expectations and are much more swayed by impulse. Individuals with thin boundaries tend to become involved in relationships quickly, without planning or concern for the approval of others that (Hartmann, 1991). In friendships and other such non-sexual relationships, thin-boundaried individuals are guided by an immediate feeling of closeness or trust, although the resultant rela-

tionships are usually short-lived and sometimes traumatic.

Comments by thin-boundaried Mary illustrate the paradox of her feelings of closeness towards others: "I don't trust people easily, but it's a funny thing. I'll trust a salesman who comes to the door; I'll invite him in, tell him all about my personal life. It's as if I trust people like that much more than people I know."

Gender also plays a significant role in boundary structure. The results of Hartmann's (1991) research indicated that overall, women scored significantly (8%) thinner than did men. Women also scored thinner than men on most of the 12 original content categories constituting the Boundary Questionnaire, with particularly pronounced differences emerging in the first eight categories constituting the Personal Total, describing personal experiences, emotional sensitivities and preferences. On the four categories constituting the World Total, describing opinions about the world, women scored only slightly, but significantly, thinner than did men. Although women also scored thinner on almost all the factors of the Boundary Questionnaire and significantly thinner on six of them, they scored significantly thicker on factor VIII, "belief in impenetrable intergroup boundaries".

Gender-based differences in boundary scores speak volumes about the difference in the perceptions and experiences of men and women. Bevis (1986) for instance, conducted a study on groups of evening university students and related their boundary scores to a number of other measures of affective and interpersonal connectedness from the Rorschach test, as well as to measures of affiliation and isolation from the Thematic Apperception Test. The results demonstrated, inter alia, that women tended to value certain aspects of thin boundaries, such as interpersonal connectedness, but that they felt uncomfortable with certain aspects of thick boundaries, such as autonomy. The men in the sample tended to have the opposite view points. This supports the premise emerging from a body of literature (Gilligan, 1986; Miller,

1986) which suggests that women's sense of self is organised around being able to maintain affiliations and relationships. The threat of disruption of such connections is perceived not only as a loss of relationship, but also as a loss of self.

The loss of self Mary experienced within her relationship with Dale clearly devastated her. Lasting just three months, their engagement was both transient and traumatic. The theme of loss was tightly woven in her reflections on the break-up: "First I had a friend, then a mate," she said. "Now I've lost my best friend and my mate too. It really hurts." Mary tried to cope with the overwhelming hurt by detaching herself from the reality of the relationship: "The whole experience has left me with a cold feeling - I feel very removed," she explained. "It's like I'm out of my body, apart from it, watching my own actions all the time. I can't feel anymore. I'm just coldly and logically watching this whole thing unfold. I've been an alien to myself for months now. I'm a stranger to myself." Thus, defending herself through dissociation (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991), Mary attempted to cope with the emotional distress associated with the situation.

She not only experienced the dissolution of her friendship with Dale as a loss of self - she also felt a need to symbolically **lose** Dale - and all he represented to her. "I want to destroy all the memories I have of him," she said. This appeared to be Mary's way of protecting her ego - of decreasing her emotional vulnerability by substituting new boundaries around herself, in lieu of those which had been destroyed by her divorce from Christo. She explained: "I feel as if someone has died. But I can switch myself off. In my mind I see a Jewish man ripping his clothes. They do that when someone dies. When Dale turned against me, that's what I started to do: in my mind, I ripped my clothes, and he no longer existed for me. I killed any further feelings at the roots. I killed a bit of myself. I ripped my garments. I closed the doors. I won't be unkind to him because he no longer exists. I have done that since my brother died when I was 12. It's the only way I can handle the pain of relationships going bad ... I needed his friendship ... I really needed it."

The change in Mary's relationship with Dale, reluctantly from friendship to romance and from there, painfully, to a state of animosity, devoid of any affiliative affect, pre-empted not only multiple and rapid changes in her personal and interpersonal boundary systems, but also a dramatic shift, although possibly a temporary one, in the nature of Mary's boundary structure. Defensively and ever-ambivalently, she admonished: "...he's the best friend I've ever experienced, the best friend I've ever had - but he's also the worst enemy

I've ever had. I feel like I'm in the middle of a mine force, a force of electrical charges, I'm surrounded by 10,000 volts and no-one had better try to reach me through it. On top of that mine force, in big neon lights, it says, 'Keep out! Go away! Back off!'"

Building a fortress around herself, thus thickening her personal boundaries, she expressed a need to change her identity: "He's persecuting me - I feel I want to kill him. I've got two options: move away from him or kill him. I'm changing my job, I've bought a house now. No one will find me, only those people who need to know will know my telephone numbers, or my address. And I'm changing my name - back to my maiden name. I'm going to disappear. He'll never find me." No idle threat. This was the final interview Mary contributed to the present study. She did, in essence, 'disappear' - just as she had intended. Despite my repeated attempts, I was never again able to contact her.

9.8. SUMMATION, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In line with Hartmann's description of thick-boundaried personalities, the data obtained in the present study indicate that such personalities tend to express relatively solid belief systems as regards opposite-sex friendship (Charlotte). Representative of a rule-setting boundary system with implications for friendship, spirituality emerged as being a central component of the marital belief systems of several of the (securely-attached) respondents (Irene, Helen, Charlotte). In this regard, God seemed to be construed as a focal attachment figure - an ethereal parent-figure instead of an earthly one.

Inconsistencies between cognition and affect were common within the data. Specifically, the incongruence between self-with-other experiences and the cognitive contents of mental models may have resulted either from boundaries of defence protecting the conscious admission of unacceptable ideations (Paula, Charlotte & Tembi), or from the greater accessibility of positively-valanced scenarios.

Evidence was obtained for Hartmann's supposition that defence mechanisms are more characteristic of thick-

boundaried than thin-boundaried personalities. Most apparent in the data were mechanisms of denial and control (Clinton), repression (Paula), rationalisation (Charlotte), isolation (Tembi), projection (Helen) and dissociation (Mary). Possibly because of its vagrant role in terms of human sociality, opposite-sex friendship within a marital context seems particularly prone to boundaries of defence.

Negative self-with features, despite their having been freely generated by the respondents, were frequently either categorised as residuals (Irene, Cheryl, Tembi, Paula, Cathy), or associated primarily with the idealistic 'dreaded social self' (Helen, Charlotte). The liaison between thick-boundaried personalities and defence mechanisms may partly explain this tendency. Moreover, repressive tendencies were manifest in the contradictions within the content of mental models, as well as in the inconsistencies between mental models and constellations of self-with experiences (Paula).

Aside from Paula, the respondents who registered as having an avoidant attachment style, had boundaries located towards the thin pole of Hartmann's (1991) continuum (Mandi, Leigh). By contrast, Ken, a very thick-boundaried respondent who rated himself as having a 'secure' attachment style, displayed an orientation of avoidance in terms of his friendships, especially with the opposite sex. This orientation was, however, founded more in his awareness of social 'oughts' and 'ought-nots' than in his attachment orientation. In his case, the boundary system appeared to dominate the influence of attachment orientation. Alternatively, as in the case of Jane, also thick-boundaried, marital boundaries founded on interpersonal avoidance and the need for privacy can also impact on the development of opposite-sex friendship. Overall, it may well be the *combination* and *salience* of the two systems (attachment and boundary) which are crucial in determining the direction and extent of influence in terms of friendship.

Again, it appeared that boundaries of attachment tend to be context-specific and may be founded on peripheral orientations which are elicited in specific situations, and especially those construed as threatening. In Helen's case, although she rated herself as having a 'secure' attachment style, heterosocial contexts appeared to activate a situation-specific and avoidant attachment orientation.

Sexual identity seems to play a major role in this respect: 'being aware of being female' thrust sexuality into the forefront of Helen's mental model of heterosocial relationships, thus erecting boundaries to their development. In this sense, boundaries (in the form of mental models) and interpersonal experiences seem to act in bi-directional and reinforcing ways, moderating, facilitating, constraining and controlling one another.

Interpersonal boundaries are expressed most directly through implicit relationship rules. Although their existence is acknowledged, marital rules are seldom discussed within the marital boundary (Helen, Clinton, Charlotte, Cathy). Opposite-sex friendship within the context of marriage is thus constrained by boundaries representing an individual's construal of outside opinion and pressure to conform (Helen). In line with Kellian theory, the extent of this influence depends on the ways in which individuals construe the construction processes of others (Cheryl).

Boundaries of marriage thus serve to keep opposite-sex friendships within acceptable limits. Disruptions of the boundary system (such as that represented by divorce) can result in a change in both the intimacy level and the expectations within heterosocial friendship dyads. As in Mary's case, this change can herald a threatening and potentially destructive alteration in the nature of the friendship. Without the protection of boundaries, personal identity can be threatened to the extent that either

additional boundaries are erected, or new identity sought - or both (Mary).

The flexibility of identity afforded by thin boundaries may be associated with patterns of interpersonal distancing (Cathy) which in itself, represent a system of constraints and barriers. But marital boundaries are not impenetrable: in Paula's case, chinks therein admitted an existential reality which impacted heavily on her construal of opposite-sex friendships - in ways which were both personal and idiosyncratic.

In chapter 10, the final chapter, the major themes which have emerged in the present study are examined in relation to their implications for, and contributions to, the field of psychology.

CHAPTER TEN

SYNOPSIS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

> I want a world where people are respected for the love and warmth of their melting ... rather than the strength of their walls.
> (Clint Weyand)

In conclusion, chapter 10 represents a brief synopsis of the central themes and findings of the present study. Thereafter, the flaws in, and limitations of, the research are discussed, before attention is directed to the contributions which the study has made to the field of social psychology. Prior to the epilogue, potential areas of future investigation are suggested.

10.1. OPPOSITE-SEX FRIENDSHIP: FORTRESS OR PERDITION?

Although the importance of friendship in terms of life satisfaction and well-being has been widely acknowledged (Bradburn, 1969; Hays, 1985; Lopata, 1975; Ryff, 1989a; Anderson, 1977; Rhodes, 1980; Fordyce, 1977), the "topic of friendship and its implications for mental health is loaded in the sense that, like apple pie and motherhood, everyone assumes that friendship is a good thing" (Reisman, 1985, p. 383). It can be - and, in fact, usually is. As regards quality of life (Lauer & Handel, 1983), good relations may have a powerful and positive effect, just as poor relations have an equally impressive negative effect (Duck, 1991).

Mary's relationship with Dale illustrates the potential of heterosocial friendship both to contribute to psychological well-being, and to do precisely the opposite. During the 'friendship' phase of their relationship, she described Dale as her "soul-mate", a person who was always there to "stand in and step down for me. Dale and I are really friends. He's my safety net." Just months later, following the evolution

of their friendship into a romance and the subsequent debacle thereof, she commented: "I can't tell you how he's hurt me ... he's ruining my life."

Although friendship with both the same and opposite sex has the potential to contribute to life satisfaction, inspection of the respondents' SWORs showed that most subjects did not associate their 'ideal social selves' with opposite-sex friendship experiences. In addition, although several respondents (Cheryl, Ron and Clinton) pointed out the value of such friendships, none included opposite-sex friendships in his/her bipolar well-being constructs.

10.2. METAPERCEPTION AS FRIENDSHIP MEDIATION

Experienced idiosyncratically, at different times and under different circumstances (Duck, 1990), friendship is an existentially defined and experienced relationship. Characteristic of it, is a 'we' feeling of sharing something special and private, and of being reassured and reaffirmed (Bell, 1983). Associated with the 'we' feeling, is the 'others concept' (Barnett & Zucker, 1980), incorporating a person's general expectancies and assumptions of another, based on experience. The 'others concept' is a quintessential feature of opposite-sex friendship within marital contexts, and includes an individual's perceptions and metaperceptions of all players in the relationship field - both friends and spouses. "How individuals perceive others and the relationships ... is as important as what actually happens" (Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde, 1988, p. 379).

Social meanings are shaped through perception, metaperception and communication (Stone & Farberman, 1981), with order being maintained through regularity, predictability and control (Kaplan, 1976). Participants in a friendship or marriage thus form interpersonal hypotheses which are confirmed or disproved by experience. These

premises form the fundament of Kelly's (1955) personal construct theory, a central tenet of which is the individual's personal construal of reality (Duck, 1977). Rooted in these intricate processes, beliefs and attributions function to enhance understanding (Shuter, 1979; Roloff & Berger, 1982) - or to create exclusionary boundaries around relationships.

These perceptions and metaperceptions are important aspects of the subjective meaning of a marital relationship, functioning to facilitate or impede interpersonal behaviour such as friendships. Performing boundary functions, metaperceptions played a central role in the ways in which the respondents in the present study ascribed meaning to their friendships. As boundaries between their marital and other relationships, the respondents' metaperceptions of their spouses' needs also mediated the course and nature of their friendships. Moreover, whilst some respondents (Clinton, Tembi, Irene and Lesley) readily proclaimed the innocuity of their own opposite-sex friendships, they tended to be sceptical of their spouses'. Correspondingly, their trust scores on the metaperceptual level were higher than their scores on the direct-perceptual level.

Metaperceptions appear to originate in different sources and to influence relational experiences in various ways. For example, Mary's relational mental models were characterised by feelings of mistrust, cultivated during her two unsuccessful marriages. This mistrust seemed to translate into metaperspective uncertainties and self-fulfilling prophecies and impacted negatively on her friendship with Dale. Originating in similar contexts, Paula's relational mental models also truncated her heterosocial relationships.

10.3. BOUNDARY RULES AS REGULATORY STRUCTURES

Well-systematised expectations, understandings, beliefs and

agreements represent relationship rules (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967; Jackson, 1965), which, as regulatory structures, serve purposes beyond those of coordinating interpersonal exchanges (McClinock, 1983). Rules determine interaction by prescribing and limiting interactants' behaviours, and organising their interchanges into stable systems. Some rule systems, termed family myths (Ferreira, 1977), represent well-systematised sets of beliefs about social roles - in essence, blueprints for action. Rules which constitute myths may be completely inferential, although by their regularity and consistency, their patterns promote ritual and provide restful agreement (Ferreira, 1977). In this way, myths perform homeostatic and defence functions towards maintenance and preservation of the marital system. As long as the causal conditions remain unchanged, the marital relationship is likely to be stable. When one or more conditions change, the relationship tends to move to a new stage, assuming new properties.

The rules described by the respondents as germane to their marital contexts and pertaining to their opposite-sex friendships, were based on their metaperceptions of their spouses' expectations. In this respect, Paula's spouse exerted so overwhelming an influence that her social identity seemed to be controlled or governed by, and contingent on, her construal of his expectations. The resultant volatility and mutability of her social identity reinforced the boundaries which subsequently prevented her involvement in heterosocial relationships. In general, the family myths and rule systems of the thick-boundaried respondents, such as Paula, Clinton, Ken, Charlotte and Tembi, tended to have a relatively more inhibitory influence on their opposite sex friendships.

Rules represent causal conditions, as do relational norms, attitudes, beliefs, and relations with other persons. Existing between the participants, and having no existence inde-

pendent of the relationship (Kelley et al., 1983), relational conditions contemporaneously affect the patterning and structure of subsequent relationship events (Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde, 1988). As both existent and emergent causal conditions, rules act as relational accounting processes - as forms of social control, guiding, justifying and constraining relationships (Ginsburg, 1988; Argyle & Henderson, 1984).

10.4. MARITAL BOUNDARIES AND HETEROSOCIAL FRIENDSHIP

After marriage, individuals often relinquish their opposite-sex friendships in order to eliminate their potential threat to the marital system (Brenton, 1974). Some researchers in the field take a more extreme view: "Premarriage friends of the opposite sex you'd just better forget about. In fact, if you really want to keep a premarriage friend, he should not only be of your sex but he really ought to get married about the same time you do, so you can keep up the couple-front together as a happy foursome" (O'Neill & O'Neill, 1972, p. 170). Driven by undifferentiated societal and interpersonal norms regarding opposite-sex friendships, married couples often restrict "their contact with others, not only with those of the opposite sex but also with any friends of the same sex of whom their mate does not approve" (O'Neill & O'Neill, 1972, p. 166).

The influence which marital boundaries exerts on heterosocial friendship can be evaluated through the interplay between the fluid range of predictions and attributions that each interactant makes about the other (Hinde, 1988; Neisser, 1976; Kihlstrom & Nasby, 1981). In the present study, an association was noted between the respondents' relational mental models and their experiences of opposite-sex friendship. The projective-procedure interpretations of several respondents (Tembi, Helen, Ken and Lesley) bore strong links to their experiential

backgrounds and subsequently, to their construal of platonic opposite-sex friendships as untenable relationships. Other respondents, such as Cheryl and Ron, who had successfully managed their opposite-sex friendships and who had perceived their spouse's approval of them, reported more positive beliefs about the synthesis and symbiosis of marriage and heterosocial friendships.

The successful dovetailing of marriage and opposite-sex friendship requires from the participants, a sensitivity to both relationships' dynamics (Lantz & Snyder, 1969), as well as an understanding of the relational boundaries inherent in the context. Whilst appreciating the potential value of opposite-sex friendship, many of the respondents (Charlotte, Cathy, Helen, Ken and Susan) considered the risks to outweigh the benefits. Significantly, too, almost all the respondents preferred their spouses not to form or maintain such relationships, unless they were included.

To differing degrees, all respondents indicated a leaning towards the Agape and Storge love styles, indicating that their mental models of love included notions of friendship. Except for John, all male respondents (as well as recently-married Ann) also indicated leanings towards the Eros love style. This may be partly the reason for Ron's and Clinton's approval of their own, but not their spouses', opposite-sex friendships. In other words, the mental models of Eros-oriented individuals may contain a greater awareness of sexual motivations and sexuality within heterosocial relationships - motivations which are easily projected onto the intentions of others.

Indeed, a most significant barrier to opposite-sex friendship is the profound dominance (Allen, 1987), and autocratic status, of the romantic love paradigm. The lack of societal norms controlling opposite-sex friendships, and the resultant attempts by outside audiences to interpret

them in terms of heterosexual coupling relationships (Brodsky, 1988; Allan, 1989; Brain, 1976; Bell, 1981b; Block, 1980; Rubin, 1985), also represent sturdy boundaries to opposite-sex friendship - boundaries which do not easily yield to interpersonal infiltration. Consequently, in order to maintain the necessary barriers between sexual interest and platonic friendship, the latent sexual dynamic has to be constantly defined and renegotiated (Nardi, 1992).

10.4.1. **The influence of sexuality**

What complicates the management of sexuality within opposite-sex friendships is the unequivocally taboo status of disclosure between opposite-sex friends - especially within a marital context. Even Cheryl, who managed her opposite-sex friendships with confidence and success, stressed the importance of avoiding discussion of sexual matters. What emerged from the data was that failure to define and control sexuality in opposite-sex friendships was antithetical to their survival. Those respondents, like Cheryl, who successfully managed the latent sexuality in their mixed-gender friendships were able to sustain them; those who did not, like Mary and Helen, failed dismally to do so.

To what can Cheryl's success be attributed? Research (Allan, 1989; Adams, 1985) has shown that the potential sexuality of opposite-sex friendships may be rendered safe in the context of: (a) couple relationships, where the presence of partners sustains a largely asexual definition of the ties -- Cheryl, Jane, Ann, Irene, Cathy described opposite-sex friendships like these; (b) friendships between colleagues framed by work context, as in the case of Ron; or (c) friendships where there is a large age difference. Leigh's friendship with Mike and Cathy's with Manfred are examples of the latter style of sexuality-management. In each of these three friendship contexts, however, control and

social pressure, whether expressed as jealousy, gossip or disapproval, are still likely to surface (Allen, 1987).

10.4.2. **Jealousy and attachment orientation**

Jealousy, as a boundary-setting mechanism (Reiss, 1986), is most characteristic of personalities having an anxious/ambivalent attachment style (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Feeney & Noller, 1990) and is most closely associated with feelings of exclusion and loss (Clanton & Smith, 1977). This seemed to be true of Tembi, whose anxious-ambivalent feelings were manifest in the jealousy she experienced regarding her husband's opposite-sex friendships. Overall, the insecurely attached respondents, characterised by mental models of relational mistrust, seemed to be the most sensitive to the threat of loss, which, in turn, kindled feelings of jealousy. Reactions to these threats varied: for Tembi, as an anxious-ambivalent personality, aggression predominated; avoidant personalities (Leigh, Mary, Jane), seemed to adopt a 'dismissing' style, preferring to turn a blind eye.

Within the context of friendships between married individuals, attachment assumes a boundary role, based on the individual's construal of his/her spouse's availability, accessibility and responsiveness. Although this hypothesis gained support from the results of the present study, metaperceptions again seemed to be significantly influential: Jane, Leigh, Ann and Irene tempered their opposite-sex friendships according to their perceptions of their spouse's approval, needs or attachment styles. The data obtained in the present study also indicate that attachment processes may be relationship-specific and that several dimensions may combine, under specific conditions, to produce attachment-related regulatory behaviour, aimed at assuagement.

10.5. THE INFLUENCE OF MARITAL BOUNDARIES

Unequivocal evidence regarding the precise processes and effects of interpersonal boundaries is difficult to obtain (Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde, 1988). Firstly, diverse or simultaneous processes may operate conjointly, rendering it difficult to demonstrate the operation of any one. Moreover, influences between relationships are often mutual and bi-directional, or circular. Thirdly, a given process may act in some circumstances and not in others.

In considering the bi-directional influences of marriage and opposite-sex friendship, the fundamental question is how the qualities of these two relationships become transformed into some aspect of individual functioning (Rutter, 1988). Including both affective and cognitive components, mental models of attachment figures, self and relational scenarios provide a tenable solution. This is especially so, since an individual may operate several working models simultaneously, employing defence mechanisms to mediate the incongruity between models (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1981).

10.5.1. **Defence**

The respondents' opposite-sex friendship experiences seemed frequently to indicate the functioning of psychological defence. These reactions were most apparent in the SWORs and mental models of thick-boundaried individuals - a theme consistent with Hartmann's (1991) contentions. Specifically, extreme positions towards either pole on the boundary continuum seemed to be associated with the functioning of psychological defence mechanisms. In the case of the personalities having particularly thick boundaries (Clinton, Charlotte and Ken), boundaries of defence seemed to function (in conjunction with secure attachment styles) as repressive control mechanisms, possibly aimed at the avoidance of the 'terrors of temptation' within the context of opposite-sex

friendship.

Mary's particularly thin boundaries, on the other hand, combined with her insecure (avoidant) attachment style, and functioned not to avoid the terrors of temptation so much as to avoid the terrors of identity disintegration. Thus, for insecure individuals, it may be hypothesised that the boundaries of marriage play an important role in forging and maintaining interpersonal distance between themselves and opposite-sex friends.

10.5.2. **Control**

Identity control relates to the function of boundaries as social membranes. Beyond the factors which McCall (1970) and Steinglass (1978) mention as contributory in affecting boundary permeability, the results of the present research indicated that permeability was related firstly, to boundary thickness and secondly, to attachment style. Securely-attached personalities, like Clinton, tended to use boundaries to restrain role-identities, whilst insecurely-attached personalities used boundaries to restrict others from being incorporated into existing role-identities. For avoidant personalities, such as Jane, boundaries functioned to maintain marital privacy; for an anxious personality like Tembi, boundaries seemed necessary to promote and foster flagging marital intimacy.

10.5.3. **Goal facilitation and inhibition**

Representative of internal cognitive processes, mental models influence both intra- and inter-chain interpersonal events. When facilitated, intra-chain connections promote the organisation of inter-chain connections and vice versa. Thus: "In part, the dyad is a creature of the external factors that condition and shape its internal processes. However, insofar as it acts to select and modify the

conditions, the dyad is also partly a creator of its own causal environment" (Kelley et al., 1983, p. 67).

Interchain facilitation may be affected in several ways. An individual may interpret his/her spouse's opposite-sex friendship as a threat preventing the achievement of specific goals. Alternatively, the friendship may unsettle or challenge an individual's beliefs about his/her marital relationship, thus creating attributional uncertainty or inducing cognitive dissonance. Interchain effects may also be facilitative for one spouse, but interfering for the other. In Tembi's case, her spouse's friendships with other women challenged her beliefs about the acceptability of opposite-sex friendships within a marital context. From her spouse's perspective, however, his opposite-sex friendships may have played a functional role in the marital system - affording him the latitude he desired, and permitting him the relational flexibility and/or diversity he required to sustain the marital system.

Within a marital context, each spouse possesses situation-specific goals which are generated by his/her underlying needs (such as those of attachment), motives and values; by the situation itself, and by specific external pressures (Peplau, 1983). These goals give rise to contingency plans which are part of the cognitive structures or schemata which are used by each spouse in interpreting the events and sequences that they observe during interaction (Schank & Abelson, 1977). By conveying their expectations to each other, spouses can control or constrain their interpersonal behaviours - in this case, those associated with the maintenance of opposite-sex friendship. "In ongoing interaction, there is a circular causal loop between overt interpersonal behaviours and the underlying cognitive systems that control them" (McClintock, 1983, p. 101).

In this respect, an open marital system has its benefits.

Cheryl's secure attachment style, and the confidence it afforded her, enabled her to maintain a high level of intra-marital disclosure which included the revelation of each partner's needs. For Tembi, however, whose mental model contained conflicting beliefs about women's roles within the marital system, inter-spousal boundaries functioned to discourage such disclosure, thus further frustrating her goal of sanctioning her spouse's opposite-sex friendships.

Rawlins (1982) emphasises that heterosocial relationships are also fraught with conflicts based on "an ongoing array of predicaments requiring strategic management through communication with each other and with third parties" (p. 340). The challenges thus created for opposite-sex friends, within a marital context, are not easily resolved or ameliorated. However, that these challenges beg clarification, conceptualisation, and further empirical research, remains unquestionable.

10.6. SHORTCOMINGS OF THE STUDY

Before the implications and contributions of the present research results can be evaluated, certain shortcomings, oversights and anomalies within the research design need to be considered.

10.6.1. **Case-study limitations**

Although valuable insight can be gained, and much can be learned, by devoting concentrated attention to the intricacies of case studies, as idiographic methods they are limited in terms of cross-group generalisations. Indeed, a major limitation of a case study such as this rests on one enigmatic factor: the degree to which an individual is representative of, or different from, others. Thus, although the present study generated considerable amounts of useful information about each of the respondents, the

interpretation of it is strictly applicable to those individuals only.

10.6.2. **Definitional inconsistencies**

Despite the existential flavour of the research design, and the concomitant necessity of having the respondents formulate their own definitions of opposite-sex friendships, semantic inconsistencies may have affected the validity of the results. The ambivalence surrounding the definition of 'friend' is likely to have contributed to the conceptual ambiguity between platonic and romantic/sexual heterosocial relationships. Indeed, because of the rarity of cross-sex friendships, coupled with more-easily accessed and durable set schemas, most of the respondents seemed unable to conceptually separate the paradigm of 'opposite-sex friendship' from that of 'romantic love'.

10.6.3. **Data gathering and analysis**

Being a recently-developed technique of data analysis, HICLAS and the data-collection system employed in the present study represent likely areas of flaw. In addition, by virtue of its repetitive and lengthy nature, the self-with-other data collection method was open to response acquiescence. Had the data been collected via computer, as in Ogilvie and Ashmore's (1991) study, this error source may have been minimised, although probably not eliminated.

Kelly's (1955) personal construct theory is based on organised sets of bipolar, dichotomous and contrasting constructs (Ryle, 1975; Neimeyer, 1984) as channels through which individuals learn about the nature of personal meaning (Epting et al., 1993). Since HICLAS is able to process only one of the two constituents of each bipolar construct, the other must be inferred - a process open to misinterpretation by the researcher and, consequently, to semantic error.

Moreover, since existential meaning is derived through bipolar constructs which do not necessarily stand in opposition to one another (Landfield & Epting, 1987), where a respondent failed to select a particular construct as descriptive of a self-with-other experience, it was not tenable, by default, to presume the applicability of the opposing construct.

10.6.4. **Aschematicity**

The aschematic nature of mental models of opposite-sex friendship may have resulted in the participants producing idealistic responses, especially within the Mental Model Questionnaire. This, in turn, may explain the apparent cognitive dissonance of the individuals as regards the beliefs they held about their opposite-sex friends, and the affect they reported experiencing with them.

10.7. IMPLICATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The present study not only examined, in depth, a rare and poorly-investigated adult relationship, it also investigated the impact of marriage thereon, and revealed the potential role of friendship as a contributor to psychological well-being. Nonetheless, two broad questions, one theoretical and one practical, still need to be addressed. From a theoretical standpoint, do the results of the study contribute, in any significant way, to the field of social research? And, if so, from a practical standpoint: so what? If the study has, indeed, extended our understanding of heterosocial relationships, does it make any difference to the man in the street, or to the therapist endeavouring to ameliorate psychological distress and to promote well-being? Evidently, the answers to both questions are inextricably interwoven.

10.7.1. **The boundary concept**

From a theoretical point of view, the concept of boundaries is used in the present study to connect, unify, clarify and characterise two major but diverse human relationships - friendship and marriage. In practical terms, knowledge of the association between boundary thickness, social identity and self-with-other experiences provides some understanding of the processes involved in heterosocial relationships. Acknowledging the link between thin-boundaried personalities and fluidity of social identity, for example, may help therapists to guide their patients in psychologically healthier, less vulnerable directions. Likewise, heuristic benefit within the counselling scenario could result from knowledge of the link between thick-boundaried personalities and psychological defence mechanisms. In these ways, the concept of boundaries has rich potential in terms of promoting well-being.

Hartmann (1991) also points out the benefits of classification in terms of therapy. Becoming aware of one's boundary structure, and recognising its adaptive and problematic aspects, often leads to decisions to consciously change aspects of personality which might block or inhibit successful interpersonal functioning. In this way, the concept of boundaries is useful not only within the context of individual, couple, marital or family therapy, but also outside of the therapeutic setting, in terms of self-help programmes aimed at facilitating interpersonal relationships and at promoting well-being.

10.7.2. **Interpersonal intervention**

Friendship in adulthood can be inhibited by individuals' irrational beliefs and inappropriate schemas. Friendship with the opposite sex, in particular, tends to result from stable and enduring patterns of thinking that originate in

societal norms and thereafter, affect future relational expectations. Interpersonal intervention needs, therefore, to focus on analysing the emotional and behavioural outcomes of these set mental models and on "replacing them with more realistic, accurate, and positive ways of thinking about the self, others, and relationships" (Blieszner & Adams, 1992, p. 111). Personal construct theory represents a conceptual springboard from which practical intervention methods can be developed.

10.7.3. **Personal construct theory and counselling**

Again from a theoretical standpoint, the present study extends the existing and extensive range of applications of personal construct theory. Indeed, the theory has already been used as a basis for a wide variety of investigations into many and diverse aspects of social cognition and interpersonal relationships, including: the study of object relations (Rowe, 1973), cognitive dimensions of conceptualisation in different relationship types (Duck, 1973a); impression formation and recall (Higgins et al., 1982); and cognitive conflict (Menasco, 1976). The principles of personal construct theory have also formed the basis of data analysis models for investigating person perception (Gara, 1990), as well as personality organisation and belief systems (De Boeck & Rosenberg, 1988).

Applied in ways similar to those employed in the present study, personal construct theory could prove to be a useful tool in the diagnosis and assessment of a range of social behaviours. Judging by the responses and comments of the participants in the study, individuals have much to gain from understanding the basic principles of personal construct theory, and from examining their constructs under the guidance of a counsellor or therapist. In this way, individuals and/or couples may acquire a new capacity for understanding the issues which present problems for them.

Therein, too, lies the potential for developing an interpersonal awareness of the extent to which their perceptions can determine behaviour and limit choices.

10.7.4. **Self-with-other as a research technique**

Research in the area of self-with-other representation is in its infancy. To date, most work in this area has been exploratory in nature and undertaken by Ogilvie and his co-investigators (Ashmore & Ogilvie, 1992; Ogilvie & Ashmore, 1991; Ogilvie & Fleming, in press). By focusing on the study of one important relational type (friendship), whilst investigating the influence of another (marriage), the present research represents a new focus in the field of self-with-other research.

Moreover, self-with-other representation has potential in terms of counselling. The suitability of the technique for capturing unexplored aspects of individuals' self-concepts (Ogilvie & Ashmore, 1991) and social identities, make it a useful tool in motivational and educational, as well as in therapeutic, contexts. The real value of this analysis, however, lies in its contribution to social and personality psychology and in its implications for conducting case studies and between-subject comparisons.

Personal construct theory and its procedural derivatives, such as self-with-other representation, are also applicable to management and other work-related contexts. Specifically, since work contexts are becoming progressively more hetero-social, the use of these techniques in interpersonal-training courses could promote the successful integration of men and women within the work place. From a pragmatic stand-point, men and women within the auspices of professional work relationships, need to relate to one another in non-sexual, mutually-satisfying (Sapadin, 1988) and effective ways. Research in this area could contribute to

the understanding of behaviour within platonic opposite-sex contexts, work towards examining cultural stereotypes regarding participants' intentions, and contribute to the formation of role-defined expectations and appropriate scripts for everyday interaction (O'Meara, 1989).

10.7.5. **Promoting opposite-sex friendship**

In an attempt to delineate the multidimensional nature of love, a plethora of research (Shaver & Hazan, 1987; Lee, 1973; Maxwell, 1985; Metts et al., 1989; Reedy et al., 1981; Sternberg, 1986, 1987; Sternberg & Barnes, 1988; Davis & Todd, 1982; Dion & Dion, 1973; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1986) has created a vortex in the field of interpersonal relationships, resulting in the neglect of opposite-sex friendship as a significant adult relationship. The present study contributes to this neglected field, covering those issues which O'Meara (1989) distinguishes as being the most pertinent: the impact of sexuality in platonic opposite-sex friendships, the nature of the interpersonal bonds between opposite-sex friends, the effect of cultural mores on opposite-sex friendship, and the ways in which these relationships are portrayed to relevant audiences.

It is hoped that, through research such as the present study, together with the resultant realisation of the influence of gender roles and social typifications (Bell, 1981b; Bem 1974, 1975; Markus, 1977; Pogrebin, 1987), opposite-sex friendship may come to assume a less vagrant and subversive status (Rawlins 1982) in society, and eventually be acknowledged as an acceptable and valuable relationship (Swain, 1992). Through the awareness of social taboos and the ways in which, as internalised schemas, they have the potential to restrict and limit social experience, individuals may come to expand their repertoire of friendship styles. Critically examining the boundaries which inhibit opposite-sex friendship may be an influential

step forward, broadening the social horizons of adult friendship and so facilitating social solidarity (Lampe, 1985).

10.7.6. **Adult attachment: theoretical contributions**

Initial forays into attachment as a psychological dimension of personality focused on operationalising attachment (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981, 1982; Cohen, 1974), and examining its manifestations during the life cycle (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Cohen, 1974; Henderson, 1979; Skolnick, 1986). During the present decade, a greater diversity of interest has spawned research into the association between attachment and: the 'Big Five' personality traits (Shaver & Brennan, 1992); intimacy (Bartholomew, 1990); marital relationships (Berman et al., 1994); separateness (Blatt & Blass, 1990) and the quality of dating relationships (Collins & Read, 1990). Additionally, the association between attachment and romantic love relationships seems to have consumed the recent interest of researchers in this field (Brennan & Shaver, 1995; Hazan & Shaver, 1990; Simpson, 1990; Feeney & Noller, 1990; Pistole, 1989). Yet, surprisingly, no in-depth research to date has investigated the direct associations between attachment and friendship.

The present research findings thus contribute to the existing theoretical background of attachment theory, by building on, and extending, Shaver and Hazan's (1988) examination of attachment and romantic love. The present study also shifts from the dyadic focus of previous attachment-related research, to the broader and multi-faceted context of friendship within a marital milieu. The data obtained indicate that adult attachment processes operate on multidimensional and complex levels. It seems likely, for instance, that it is not solely an individual's attachment orientation that influences his/her friendships, but also his/her

metaperceptions and meta-metaperceptions, operating as a continual feedback system. Whilst related, this concept reaches beyond those contained in the dichotomised models of self and other as prototypic forms of adult attachment (Bartholomew, 1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Furthermore, with respect to opposite-sex friendships within the boundaries of marriage, the attachment orientations of all players appear to concatenate to produce a multidimensional boundary system, operating simultaneously on several levels.

The conceptualisation of attachment orientation representing boundaries to opposite-sex friendship also contributes to Kelly's (1955) formulation of personality based on cognitive and affective processes, expressed through behavioural and interactional properties. In this respect, it goes some way in suggesting a model of friendship capable of incorporating dimensions of love, attachment and even subtle sexuality, and, within a marital context, as being controlled by boundaries comprised of attachment processes. This parallels both Sternberg's (1986) and Davis and Todd's (1982) conclusions that friendship is a personal relationship not entirely divorced from the experience of love. Opposite-sex friendship, construed as a form of love (O'Meara, 1989), may therefore be hypothesised to be a form of attachment, albeit subordinate to the primary attachment relationship between spouses.

10.8. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although research has been conducted into attachment-related couple dynamics (Brennan & Shaver, 1995), investigation into the ways in which attachment processes impact on friendships (specifically opposite-sex friendships), and the affect-regulation strategies inherent therein, represent fruitful areas for future research. The relationship between attachment-assuagement and experiences of well-being and

life satisfaction is also an unexplored area. In addition, the role of friendship (and specifically, opposite-sex friendship) within the attachment network hierarchy warrants closer inspection, as does the role of defensive processes and strategies of defence within the attachment dynamic - an area which has received some theoretical interest from Heard and Lake (1986) but, until now, little empirical attention. Most importantly, perhaps, is the area of research into the counselling of individuals whose lives are negatively affected, in one way or another, by attachment or boundary concerns.

Finally, despite the truism that the study of friendship has the potential to provide theoretical understanding of life-span social development (Tesch, 1983), opposite-sex friendship remains an anomalous and poorly researched (Swain, 1992) relationship in adulthood. Thus, further research into the benefits of opposite-sex friendship and the ways in which it may be promoted is still warranted. Moreover, the dearth of research into friendship experiences within different cultural milieus also represents a significant direction for future research.

Indeed, most existing research into friendship has yielded results which are not strictly generalisable to cultures other than Western ones, and specifically the American or English. The rich and unexplored cultural diversity in South Africa begs future attention in terms of social research and is fertile ground, indeed, for teasing out both the universal truths in terms of friendship, as well as the culture-based specificities.

10.9. EPILOGUE

Interpersonal relationships affect our lives in personal and powerful ways. The constructivistic journey into experiences of heterosociality within the boundaries of

marriage reveals not only the significance of friendship as an important human relationship, but also its implications in terms of psychological well-being. The concept of boundaries helps us to understand the barriers which we construct around so many aspects of our interpersonal, affective and cognitive lives - sadly, not always to the benefit of ourselves or others. Nonetheless, it is only through our knowledge and appreciation of these psychological structures and processes that we can begin to appreciate, integrate and benefit from the potential contained within the expansive spectrum of adult relationships.

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APPENDIX A

LETTERS

1. LETTER RECRUITING RESPONDENTS AT RETIREMENT VILLAGE

Address
Date

Dear _____

As a UNISA student, I'm studying the ways in which friendships fit into the everyday lives of people. This includes people's memories of past friendships, as well as descriptions of their present friendships, and just what these friendships mean to them.

Would you be willing to participate in my project? Basically, it will involve meeting with me (in private) on several occasions, at your convenience, in order to discuss your attitudes about, and your memories and experiences of, friendship. I'd also be pleased if you would complete some questionnaires.

All the information will, of course, be completely confidential and, in the report I'll eventually write, pseudonyms will be used. Of course, I'd be delighted if both of you would agree to participate, but should only one of you wish to do so, that will be fine! I'm sure you'll find it very rewarding and interesting being involved in the project - it will certainly provide you with interesting insights into friendship.

May I ask you please to complete the form at the bottom of this page, and then to hand it in to Margaret at Reception, as soon as is convenient for you, before Monday, May 22. (I've included an envelope for this purpose.)

Should you agree to participate, I'll then make arrangements to meet with you in order to give you some more details - and to answer any questions you may have.

Looking forward to meeting you,

Regards

Lynn Dunstan

----------PLEASE TEAR OFF HERE AND HAND TO MARGARET AT RECEPTION----------

Name: Mr and Mrs _____

Flat/cottage number: _____ Telephone number: _____

Please tick the relevant boxes below:

[] Yes, Mr _____ would be willing to participate.

[] Yes, Mrs _____ would be willing to participate.

[] No, thank you we would not like to participate.

Thank you!

2. LETTERS AND E-MAIL TO RESEARCHERS

P O Box 1086
Edenvale
1610
South Africa

January 26 1995

Ms Inge Bretherton
Department of Child and
Family Studies
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison
Wisconsin 53706

Dear Ms Bretherton

The doctoral research that I am conducting (under the title: "Adult friendship and the boundaries of marriage") is covering attachment theory in some detail. Having read your article: "The origins of attachment theory: John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth", (1992) I wondered if you would be able to supply me with references to any recent research in the field of adult attachment, with special reference to newly developed cognitive-based measures of internal working models.

I look forward to your reply.

Yours sincerely

Lynn Dunstan

P O Box 1086
Edenvale
1610
South Africa
Telephone/fax: (011) 917-3210
Internet e-mail address: RKEY@goofy.eng.aat.co.za

April 12 1995

Mr Ashmore/Mr D. M. Ogilvie
Department of Psychology
Rutgers
The State University of New Jersey
New Brunswick
New Jersey
USA

Dear Sirs

I am presently conducting doctoral research in psychology, under the title: "Adult friendship and the boundaries of marriage" and was very interested to read your article entitled "Self-with-other representation as a unit of analysis in self-concept research", published in "The Relational Self", edited by Rebecca C. Curtis.

I was particularly interested in your analysis of data and wondered if I would be able to obtain and use HICLAS for my research?

Also, I would be very grateful indeed if you could indicate what additional research has been done in the area of self-with-other representation. I find it a particularly relevant concept for the area I am working in.

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely

Lynn Dunstan

P O Box 1086
Edenvale
1610
South Africa
Telephone/fax: (011) 917-3210
Internet e-mail address: robert.key@pixie.co.za

May 4 1995

Mr D. M. Ogilvie
Department of Psychology
Rutgers
The State University of New Jersey
New Brunswick
New Jersey
USA

Dear Mr Ogilvie

Thank you very much indeed for taking time out from your busy schedule to reply to my letter regarding HICLAS.

I am delighted that the package is available and, of course, am more than willing to send a bank draft for the fee required.

Regarding your article, "Self-with-other representation as a unit of analysis in self-concept research", I note that your respondents in session 1 described the persons on their "important people list", thus generating a list of adjectives presumably describing their personalities. They also generated adjectives describing how they felt when they were with the people they listed. I wondered if these adjectives (features) were then combined into one 'feature list', containing descriptors of personalities and feelings?

Also, I wondered if the 3 x 5 cards mentioned played a role in the elicitation of the constructs or features.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Sincerely

Lynn Dunstan

P O Box 1086
Edenvale
1610
South Africa
Telephone/fax: (011) 917-3210
Internet e-mail address: robert.key@pixie.co.za

May 11 1995

Mr P. M. Nardi
Sociology Department
Pitzer College
1050 North Mills Ave
Claremont
CA 91711-6110
USA

Dear Mr Nardi

As I am presently conducting research into opposite-sex friendships, I was interested to read both your book, "Men's Friendships" and your recent article, "Friendship in the lives of gay men and lesbians."

Cross-sex friendship still remains such a rarely-studied area of friendship and I wondered if you, having conducted research into adult friendship over some time now, knew of any recent research/developments in the field? Much of my research so far has concentrated on adult attachment theory and on social-cognitive representation of friendship in adulthood.

Thank you for your time - it's much appreciated - and I look forward to your reply.

Yours sincerely

Lynn Dunstan

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

1. INITIAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

1. Current friendships

How have your friendships changed over the years?
How satisfied are you with the friendships you have?
Are your friendships more, or less, important to you now, at his stage of your life? Why?
Are most of your friends living nearby?
What does friendship mean to you?

2. Friendship activities

What kind of activities do you and your friends engage in?
What types of things do you talk about?

3. Benefits/costs

What do you gain/benefit from your friendships?
Is there a downside to your friendships?
What kinds of 'costs' are involved?
What restrictions do you experience now with regard to making and maintaining friends?
If you could change certain things about your friends/friendships, what would you change?
Do you prefer to make friends with younger/older or same age people?

4. Ideal friends

Describe your idea of an 'ideal friendship'.

5. Friendship memories/previous friendships

Are there any specific regrets you have about your past friendships?
When you think back, what special memories of friendships come to mind?
How do your present friendships differ from those of the past?

6. Lapsed friendships

Do you recall any good friendships which have deteriorated/broken down? Describe what happened.
What sort of problems arise in your friendships?
When a problem does arise, how do you deal with it?
What concerns do you have regarding your friendships?

7. Influence of spouse

Do you and your spouse share most of your friendships?

8. Structure of friendships

Are most of your friends couples?
Do you have opposite-sex friends?
What are your views about having friends of the opposite sex?
In what ways do you think you could benefit from having friendships with the opposite sex?
Before you were married, did you have opposite-sex friends?
How did these friendships differ from your friendships with the same sex?
What happened to your opposite-sex friendships once you got married?
Do you think people are missing out if they don't have friends of the opposite sex? Why?

9. Friendship with your spouse

In what ways do you consider your spouse to be a friend to you?
What limitations are there to this friendship?
Has this friendship changed over the years?

10. Comments
What comments can you make about the role of friendship in your life?

2. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: SESSION 1

Name: _____ Date: _____

A. History of cross-gender friendships

Were you brought up to mix easily with people of the opposite sex?
How has this affected the friendships you have had with them throughout your life?
What do you remember most about your past friendships with people of the opposite sex?

What opportunities do you have to make opposite-sex friends?
Do you find it easier to make friends with people of the same sex? Why?
How easy is it to maintain these friendships?

B. Attitudes about cross-gender friendship

Is it easier for men or for women to establish friendships with the opposite sex? Why?
Is it easier for older or younger people to establish these friendships?
What do you see as the major limitations of cross gender friendships?

C. Rules of heterosociality

What rules or limitations do you think should apply to a mixed-sex friendship?
What rules of cross-gender friendship should apply to married couples in particular?

D. Maintaining platonic friendships

Do you think it is difficult to maintain a platonic friendship with a person of the opposite sex? Why?
Have any of your friendships ever turned into romances?
Did that change your friendship? How?

E. Cross-gender friendship in marriage

These days, do you find it hard making friends with men/women? What makes it difficult?
Do you have friends of the opposite sex now? How many?
Would you consider them to be amongst your closest friends?
What is it that makes your friendships with men/women most different from your friendships with people of the same sex?
What makes these people special to you?
Do you ever feel jealous about them? When?

How does your spouse react to your having opposite-sex friends?
What impact does being married have on your opposite-sex friendships?
How do you feel about your spouse having opposite gender friends?

Do you think people are missing out if they don't have friends of the opposite sex? Why?
In general, how acceptable is it for married people to have friends of the opposite sex?

What problems have you experienced in establishing friendships with the opposite sex?
Do you remember having more or fewer friends of the opposite sex, in your younger days? Why?

Would you like to have more men/women friends? Why?
Why do you think you don't have more cross-gender friends?

F. Opposite-sex friendship experiences

What do you remember most about your past friendships with people of the opposite sex?
Describe an opposite-sex friendship you had before you were married.
Describe an opposite-sex friendship you've had since being married.
What problems, specific to opposite-sex friendship, have you been aware of?

3. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ADDENDUM FOR DIVORCED, WIDOWED & RETIRED RESPONDENTS

A. DIVORCED/WIDOWED INTERVIEWEES:

How did the friendships you had before you got married, differ from those you had during your marriage and after?

Did your marriage restrict/change your friendships?

Did your marriage develop from a base of friendship?

What effect did your divorce have on your friendships?

Since you've been divorced, have you found it easier to make friends of the opposite sex?

Since being divorced, what problems have you experienced in establishing friendships with the opposite sex?

Do you opposite-sex friends seem to see you in a different way since you've been divorced?

Do you consider your ex-spouse to be a friend? In what ways?

B. RETIRED INTERVIEWEES

How did moving into the retirement village affect your friendships?

How are your present friendships different from your pre-retirement friendships?

Describe the friendships you have with the opposite sex.

What restrictions to opposite-sex friendship are specific to the 'golden' years?

Is your spouse more of a friend to you now, than before? In what ways?

APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____ Date: _____

Please respond to the following by ticking the relevant boxes. Thank you.

1. Age: ☐ years

2. Home language:

Afrikaans ☐ English ☐ Zulu ☐ Sotho ☐ Other ☐

3. Religion

None ☐ Christian ☐ Jewish ☐ Agnostic ☐ Other ☐

4. How often do you attend church/temple etc?

several times a week ☐ weekly ☐ monthly ☐ yearly ☐ only on religious celebrations ☐ never ☐

5. Are you currently employed? yes ☐ no ☐

6. Mostly, what has been your occupational field?

Home executive ☐ professional service ☐ technician ☐ agriculture ☐ education ☐ retired ☐

Secretary/clerk ☐ religious service ☐ finance ☐ business ☐ unemployed ☐ other ☐

7. Do you own a car? yes ☐ no ☐

8. What is your highest educational qualification?

school-leaver's certificate ☐ diploma ☐ bachelor's degree ☐ post-graduate degree ☐ other ☐

9. Did you attend a co-educational high school? Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Are you a member of any professional organisations? Yes ☐ No ☐

11. Are you a member of any recreation clubs/organisations? Yes ☐ No ☐

12. Have you ever been a member of any recreation clubs/organisations? Yes ☐ No ☐

13. How long have you lived in this area? ☐ years

14. Do you find it easy to meet friends? Yes ☐ No ☐

15. How long have you been married? ☐ years

16. How old was your husband when you got married? ☐ years

17. Is your closest friend someone:
a) of the same gender as you ☐ b) of the opposite gender to you ☐

18. Is your closest friend also your husband's closest friend? Yes ☐ No ☐

19. Have you ever been divorced? Yes ☐ No ☐

20. Have you ever been widowed? Yes ☐ No ☐

21. How many children do you have? ☐

22. How many grandchildren do you have? ☐

23. Approximately how many close friends of the same sex as you, do you have? ☐

24. Would you like to have more same-sex friends? Yes ☐ No ☐

25. On average, how many hours per week do you spend with your friends of the same gender? ☐

26. How many close friends of the opposite gender do you have? ☐

27. Would you like to have more opposite-gender friends? Yes ☐ No ☐

28. On average, how many hours per week do you spend with your friends of the opposite gender? ☐

29. Approximately how much of the time you spend with your friends is time spent with "couple-friends" rather than with "individual friends"?

less than 10%	25%	50%	75%	100%
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

30. Approximately how much of your total time do you spend with friends?

less than 10%	25%	50%	75%	100%
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

31. Using the following five-point scale, please indicate how often you are in contact with the people mentioned below:

(1 = every day; 2 = weekly; 3 = monthly; 4 = yearly; 5 = less than yearly).

Your children	
Your grandchildren	
Same-gender friends	
Opposite-gender friends	
Couple friends	
Your closest same-gender friend	
Your closest opposite-gender friend	

Comments: _____

SAME-SEX FRIENDSHIPS

NB: Please note that all the items in this section of the questionnaire refer to your closest same-sex friend.

32. Does your closest same-sex friend live near to you? yes ☐ no ☐

33. How long have you been friends? ☐ years

34. How old is he/she? ☐ years

35. Is this friend:

a) married ☐ b) widowed ☐ c) divorced ☐ d) never been married ☐

36. What is his/her language preference? Afrikaans ☐ English ☐ Zulu ☐ Sotho ☐ Other ☐

37. How often does he/she attend church/temple?

several times a week ☐ weekly ☐ monthly ☐ yearly ☐ only on religious celebrations ☐ never ☐

38. Is he/she currently employed?

yes ☐ no ☐

39. Mostly, what has been his/her occupational field?

Home executive ☐ professional service ☐ technician ☐ agriculture ☐ education ☐ retired ☐

Secretary/ clerk ☐ religious service ☐ finance ☐ business ☐ unemployed ☐ other ☐

40. What is his/her highest educational qualification?

matric ☐ certificate ☐ diploma ☐ bachelor's degree ☐ post-graduate degree ☐ other ☐

41. Did he/she attend a co-educational high school? Yes ☐ No ☐

42. Where did you and this friend initially meet?

at work ☐ | at a social event ☐ | at church or temple ☐ | at school/ college ☐ | elsewhere ☐

43. How did you and she first meet?

through your children ☐ | through mutual friends ☐ | through your spouse ☐ | through business/work ☐ | by being neighbours ☐

44. In which context do you and she see most of each other?

at work ☐ | at recreation activities ☐ | at your home ☐ | at her home ☐ | at religious outings ☐ | elsewhere ☐

45. Do you consider her spouse also to be your friend? Yes ☐ No ☐

Comments: _____

++++++++++++++++++++++++++++

FRIENDS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

Please select a person of the opposite-sex whom you consider to be your closest opposite-sex friend. It should not include a member of your immediate family, nor should it include your spouse.

46. Does this opposite-sex friend live near to you? yes ☐ no ☐

47. How long have you been friends? ☐ years

48. How old is he/she? ☐ years

49. Is this friend:

a) married ☐ | b) widowed ☐ | c) divorced ☐ | d) never been married ☐

50. What is his/her language preference?

Afrikaans ☐ | English ☐ | Zulu ☐ | Sotho ☐ | Other ☐

51. How often does he/she attend church/temple?

several times a week ☐ | weekly ☐ | monthly ☐ | yearly ☐ | only on religious celebrations ☐ | never ☐

52. Is he/she currently employed?

yes ☐ no ☐

53. What is his/her occupation?

Home executive ☐ professional service ☐ technician ☐ agriculture ☐ education ☐ retired ☐

Secretary/clerk ☐ religious service ☐ finance ☐ business ☐ unemployed ☐ other ☐

54. What is his/her highest educational qualification?

matric ☐ certificate ☐ diploma ☐ bachelor's degree ☐ post-graduate degree ☐ other ☐

55. Did he/she attend a co-educational high school? Yes ☐ No ☐

56. Where did you and this friend initially meet?

at work ☐ at a social event ☐ at church or temple ☐ at school/college ☐ elsewhere ☐

57. How did you and he/she first meet?

through your children ☐ through mutual friends ☐ through your spouse ☐ through business/work ☐ by being neighbours ☐

58. In which context do you see most of each other?

at work ☐ at recreation activities ☐ at your home ☐ at his home ☐ at religious outings ☐ elsewhere ☐

59. Do you consider his/her spouse also to be your friend? Yes ☐ No ☐

Comments: _____

YOUR SPOUSE

All the following questions refer to your spouse.

60. Age : ☐ years

61. How long has he/she lived in this area?
☐ years

62. Has he/she ever been divorced? Yes ☐ No ☐

63. Has he/she ever been widowed? Yes ☐ No ☐

64. How often does he/she attend church/temple?

several times a week	weekly	monthly	yearly	only on religious celebrations	never
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

65. Is he/she currently employed? yes ☐ no ☐

66. What is his/her occupation?

Home executive	professional service	technician	agriculture	education	retired
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Secretary/clerk	Clerk	religious service	finance	business	unemployed
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

67. What is his/her highest educational qualification?

matric ☐ certificate ☐ diploma ☐ bachelor's degree ☐ post-graduate degree ☐

68. Did he/she attend a co-educational high school? Yes ☐ No ☐

69. Is he/she presently a member of any professional organisations? Yes ☐ No ☐

70. Is he/she presently a member of any recreation clubs/organisations? Yes ☐ No ☐

Comments: _____

_____

_____

APPENDIX D

BOUNDARY QUESTIONNAIRE

(Hartmann, 1991)

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

Please try to rate each of the statements from 0 to 4.

0 = no, not at all, or not at all true of me.
4 = yes, definitely true, or very true of me.

Try to answer all of the questions and statements as quickly as you can.

		++++++++++
1	When I awake in the morning, I am not sure whether I am really awake for a few minutes.	0 1 2 3 4
2	I have had unusual reactions to alcohol.	0 1 2 3 4
3	My feelings blend into one another.	0 1 2 3 4
4	I am very close to my childhood feelings.	0 1 2 3 4
5	I am very careful about what I say to people until I get to know them really well.	0 1 2 3 4
6	I am very sensitive to other people's feelings.	0 1 2 3 4
7	I like to pigeonhole things as much as possible.	0 1 2 3 4
8	I like solid music with a definite beat.	0 1 2 3 4
9	I think children have a special sense of joy and wonder that is later often lost.	0 1 2 3 4
10	In an organisation, everyone should have a definite place and a specific role.	0 1 2 3 4

11 People of different nations are basically very much alike. 0 1 2 3 4

12 There are a great many forces influencing us which science does not understand at all. 0 1 2 3 4

13 I have dreams, daydreams, nightmares in which my body or someone else's body is being stabbed, injured, or torn apart. 0 1 2 3 4

14 I have had unusual reactions to medication/drugs. 0 1 2 3 4

15 Sometimes I don't know whether I am thinking or feeling. 0 1 2 3 4

16 I can remember things from when I was less than three years old. 0 1 2 3 4

17 I expect other people to keep a certain distance. 0 1 2 3 4

18 I think I would make a good psychotherapist. 0 1 2 3 4

19 I keep my desk and worktable neat and well organised. 0 1 2 3 4

20 I think it might be fun to wear mediaeval armour. 0 1 2 3 4

21 A good teacher needs to help a child remain special. 0 1 2 3 4

22 When making a decision, you shouldn't let your feelings get in the way. 0 1 2 3 4

23 Being dressed neatly and cleanly is very important. 0 1 2 3 4

24 There is a time for thinking and there is a time for feeling; they should be kept separate. 0 1 2 3 4

25 My daydreams don't always stay in control. 0 1 2 3 4

26 I have had unusual reactions to coffee or tea.
0 1 2 3 4

27 For me, things are black or white; there are no shades of grey. 0 1 2 3 4

28 I had a difficult and complicated childhood.
0 1 2 3 4

29 When I get involved with someone, I know exactly who I am and who the other person is. We may cooperate, but we maintain our separate selves. 0 1 2 3 4

30 I am easily hurt. 0 1 2 3 4

31 I get to appointments right on time. 0 1 2 3 4

32 I like heavy solid clothing. 0 1 2 3 4

33 Children and adults have a lot in common. They should give themselves a chance to be together without any strict roles. 0 1 2 3 4

34 In getting along with other people in an organisation, it is very important to be flexible and adaptable.
0 1 2 3 4

35 I believe many of the world's problems could be solved if only people trusted each other more.
0 1 2 3 4

36 Either you are telling the truth or you are lying; that's all there is to it. 0 1 2 3 4

37 I spend a lot of time daydreaming, fantasising, or in reverie. 0 1 2 3 4

38 I am afraid I may fall apart completely. 0 1 2 3 4

39 I like to have beautiful experiences without analysing them or trying to understand them in detail.
0 1 2 3 4

40 I have definite plans for my future. I can lay out pretty well what I expect year by year at least for the next few years. 0 1 2 3 4

41 I can usually tell what another person is thinking or feeling without anyone saying anything. 0 1 2 3 4

42 I am unusually sensitive to loud noises and to bright lights. 0 1 2 3 4

43 I am good at keeping accounts and keeping track of my money. 0 1 2 3 4

44 I like stories that have a definite beginning, middle, and end. 0 1 2 3 4

45 I think an artist must in part remain a child.
0 1 2 3 4

46 A good organisation is one in which all the lines of responsibility are precise and clearly established.
0 1 2 3 4

47 Each nation should be clear about its interests and its own boundaries, as well as the interests and boundaries of other nations. 0 1 2 3 4

48 There is a place for everything and everything should be in its place. 0 1 2 3 4

49 Every time something frightening happens to me, I have nightmares or fantasies or flashbacks involving the frightening event. 0 1 2 3 4

50 I feel unsure of who I am at times. 0 1 2 3 4

51 At times I feel happy and sad all at once.
0 1 2 3 4

52 I have a clear memory of the past. I could tell you pretty well what happened year by year. 0 1 2 3 4

53 When I get involved with someone, we sometimes get too close. 0 1 2 3 4

54 | I am a very sensitive person. 0 1 2 3 4

55 | I like things to be spelled out precisely and specifically. 0 1 2 3 4

56 | I think a good teacher must remain in part a child. 0 1 2 3 4

57 | I like paintings and drawings with clean outlines and no blurred edges. 0 1 2 3 4

58 | A good relationship is one in which everything is clearly defined and spelled out. 0 1 2 3 4

59 | People are totally different from each other. 0 1 2 3 4

60 | When I wake up, I wake up quickly and I am absolutely sure I am awake. 0 1 2 3 4

61 | At times, I have felt as if I were coming apart. 0 1 2 3 4

62 | My thoughts blend into one another. 0 1 2 3 4

63 | I had a difficult and complicated adolescence. 0 1 2 3 4

64 | Sometimes it's scary when one gets too involved with another person. 0 1 2 3 4

65 | I enjoy soaking up atmosphere even if I don't understand exactly what's going on. 0 1 2 3 4

* 67 | I like paintings or drawings with soft and blurred edges. 0 1 2 3 4

68 | A good parent has to be a bit of a child too. 0 1 2 3 4

69 | I cannot imagine marrying or living with someone of another religion. 0 1 2 3 4

70 | It is very hard to empathise truly with another person because people are so different. 0 1 2 3 4

* "There is no item 66 on the Boundary Questionnaire." (Hartmann, 1991, p. 85).

71 | All important thought involves feelings, too.
0 1 2 3 4

72 | I have dreams and daydreams or nightmares in which I see isolated body parts - arms, legs, heads, and so on.
0 1 2 3 4

73 | Things around me seem to change their size and shape.
0 1 2 3 4

74 | I can easily imagine myself to be an animal or what it might be like to be an animal. 0 1 2 3 4

75 | I feel very separate and distinct from everyone else.
0 1 2 3 4

76 | When I am in a new situation, I try to find out precisely what is going on and what the rules are as soon as possible. 0 1 2 3 4

77 | I enjoyed geometry; there are simple, straightforward rules and everything fits. 0 1 2 3 4

78 | A good parent must be able to empathise with his or her children, to be their friend and playmate at the same time. 0 1 2 3 4

79 | I cannot imagine living with or marrying a person of another race. 0 1 2 3 4

80 | People are so different that I never know what someone else is thinking or feeling. 0 1 2 3 4

81 | Beauty is a very subjective thing. I know what I like, but I wouldn't expect anyone else to agree.
0 1 2 3 4

82 | In my daydreams, people kind of merge into one another or one person turns into another. 0 1 2 3 4

83 | My body sometimes seems to change its size or shape.
0 1 2 3 4

84 | I get overinvolved in things. 0 1 2 3 4

85 When something happens to a friend of mine or my spouse, it is almost as if it happened to me.
0 1 2 3 4

86 When I work on a project, I don't like to tie myself down to a definite outline. I rather like to let my mind wander. 0 1 2 3 4

87 Good solid frames are very important for a picture or a painting. 0 1 2 3 4

88 I think children need strict discipline. 0 1 2 3 4

89 People are happier with their own kind than when they mix. 0 1 2 3 4

90 East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet. (Kipling) 0 1 2 3 4

91 There are definite rules and standards, which one can learn, about what is and is not beautiful. 0 1 2 3 4

92 In my dreams, people sometimes merge into each other or become other people. 0 1 2 3 4

93 I believe I am influenced by forces which no one can understand. 0 1 2 3 4

94 When I read something, I get so involved that it can be difficult to get back to reality. 0 1 2 3 4

95 I trust people easily. 0 1 2 3 4

96 When I am working on a project, I make a careful detailed outline and then follow it closely.
0 1 2 3 4

97 The movies and TV shows I like best are the ones where there are good guys and bad guys and you always know who they are. 0 1 2 3 4

98 If we open ourselves to the world, we find that things go better than expected. 0 1 2 3 4

99 Most people are sane; some people are crazy; there is no in-between. 0 1 2 3 4

100 I have had deja vu experiences. 0 1 2 3 4

101 I have a very definite sense of space around me.
0 1 2 3 4

102 When I really get involved in a game or in playing at something, it's sometimes hard when the game stops and the rest of the world begins. 0 1 2 3 4

103 I am a very open person. 0 1 2 3 4

104 I think I would enjoy being an engineer. 0 1 2 3 4

105 There are no sharp dividing lines between normal people, people with problems, and people who are considered psychotic or crazy. 0 1 2 3 4

106 When I listen to music, I get so involved that it is sometimes difficult to get back to reality.
0 1 2 3 4

107 I am always at least a little bit on my guard.
0 1 2 3 4

108 I am a down-to-earth, no-nonsense kind of person.
0 1 2 3 4

109 I like houses with flexible spaces, where you can shift things around and make different uses of the same room. 0 1 2 3 4

110 Success is largely a matter of good organisation and keeping good records. 0 1 2 3 4

111 Everyone is a little crazy at times. 0 1 2 3 4

112 I have daymares. 0 1 2 3 4

113 I awake from one dream into another. 0 1 2 3 4

114 Time slows down and speeds up for me. Time passes very differently on different occasions. 0 1 2 3 4

115 I feel at one with the world. 0 1 2 3 4

116 Sometimes I meet someone and trust him or her so completely that I can share just about everything about myself at first meeting. 0 1 2 3 4

117 I think I would enjoy being the captain of a ship.
0 1 2 3 4

118 Good fences make good neighbours. 0 1 2 3 4

119 My dreams are so vivid that even later I can't tell them from waking reality. 0 1 2 3 4

120 I have often had the experience of different senses coming together. For example, I have felt that I could smell a colour, or see a sound, or hear an odour.
0 1 2 3 4

121 I read things straight through from beginning to end. (I don't skip or go off on interesting tangents.)
0 1 2 3 4

122 I have friends and I have enemies, and I know which are which. 0 1 2 3 4

123 I think I would enjoy being some kind of a creative artist. 0 1 2 3 4

124 A man is a man and a woman is a women; it is very important to maintain that distinction. 0 1 2 3 4

125 I know exactly what parts of town are safe and what parts are unsafe. 0 1 2 3 4

126 I have had the experience of not knowing whether I was imagining something or it was actually happening.
0 1 2 3 4

127 When I recall a conversation or a piece of music, I hear it just as though it were happening there again right in front of me. 0 1 2 3 4

128 I think I would enjoy a really loose, flexible job where I could write my own job description.
0 1 2 3 4

129 All men have something feminine in them and all women have something masculine in them. 0 1 2 3 4

130 In my dreams, I have been a person of the opposite sex. 0 1 2 3 4

131 I have had the experience of someone calling me or speaking my name and not being sure whether it was really happening or I was imagining it. 0 1 2 3 4

132 I can visualise something so vividly that it is just as though it is happening right in front of me. 0 1 2 3 4

133 I think I could be a good fortune-teller or a medium. 0 1 2 3 4

134 In my dreams, I am always myself. 0 1 2 3 4

135 I see auras or fields of energy around people. 0 1 2 3 4

136 I can easily imagine myself to be someone of the opposite sex. 0 1 2 3 4

137 I like clear, precise borders. 0 1 2 3 4

138 I have had the feeling that someone who is close to me was in danger or was hurt, although I had no ordinary way of knowing it, and later found out that it was true. 0 1 2 3 4

139 I have a very clear and distinct sense of time. 0 1 2 3 4

140 I like houses where rooms have definite walls and each room has a definite function. 0 1 2 3 4

141 I have had dreams that later come true. 0 1 2 3 4

142 I like fuzzy borders. 0 1 2 3 4

143 I have had 'out of body' experiences during which my mind seems to leave, or actually has left, my body. 0 1 2 3 4

144 I like straight lines. 0 1 2 3 4

145 I like wavy or curved lines better than I like straight lines. 0 1 2 3 4

146 I feel sure that I can empathise with the very old.
0 1 2 3 4

++++

APPENDIX E

ELICITATION OF MENTAL MODELS

1. MENTAL MODELS QUESTIONNAIRE (MMQ)

Using the 5-point scale below, please rate each of the following statements in terms of how true you consider each to be. Respond as quickly as possible, by ticking the relevant boxes.

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure
2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

SECTION A

A) **OPPOSITE-SEX FRIENDSHIP, ROMANTIC LOVE AND SEXUALITY**

	1	2	3	4	5
Love develops out of friendship with the opposite sex.					
Cross-sex friendships are fertile grounds for the development of love.					
In terms of relationships with the opposite sex, love and friendship are synonymous.					
It's possible to have a friendship someone of the opposite sex, without the relationship becoming romantic.					
There is no such thing as platonic friendship.					
Friendships with the opposite sex turn into love affairs.					
Romantic interest is part of opposite-sex friendship.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
It is possible to have a friendship with someone of the opposite sex without having romantic/sexual feelings for that person.					
Sexual tensions are present in cross-gender friendships.					
Friendship with the opposite sex includes a sexual dimension.					
It is impossible to remain just friends with a person of the opposite sex.					

B) **ACCEPTABILITY OF OPPOSITE-SEX FRIENDSHIPS IN MARRIAGE**

	1	2	3	4	5
It acceptable for a married person to have opposite-sex friends.					
Married persons should avoid having opposite-sex friendships.					
When a person gets married, he/she should not continue his/her friendships with members of the opposite sex.					
A married person should avoid becoming emotionally close to members of the opposite gender.					
After marriage, a person ought not encourage friendships with people of the opposite gender.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

C) **MARITAL-STATUS**

	1	2	3	4	5
Single people should avoid developing friendships with married people of the opposite sex.					
It's OK for a married person to have an opposite-sex friend, so long as that person is married.					
Married people should avoid friendships with single people of the opposite sex.					
It's OK for a married person to have an opposite-sex friend who is divorced.					
It's OK for a married person to have an opposite-sex friend who is widowed.					

D) **PRIVACY**

	1	2	3	4	5
Marital relationships are adversely affected by either spouse having friends of the opposite sex.					
Having opposite-sex friends invites unwanted intrusion into one's marriage.					
Friendship with the opposite sex represents an infringement of marital privacy.					
A marriage is put at risk when the spouses develop friends of the opposite sex.					
The privacy of marriage is invaded when spouses develop friendships with the opposite sex.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

E) **BENEFITS OF OPPOSITE-SEX FRIENDSHIP**

	1	2	3	4	5
Marriages can be enriched by the spouses having opposite-sex friendships.					
The potential costs of spouses developing friendships with people of opposite sex outweigh the benefits.					
Having opposite-sex friends helps a married person to understand his/her spouse.					
Married folk miss out if they don't have friends of the opposite sex.					
Having friends of the opposite sex contributes positively to a marriage.					
Having opposite-sex friends is risky for married people.					

F) **AGE HOMOGENEITY**

	1	2	3	4	5
It's not right for a married person to develop a friendship with a person of the opposite sex who is much younger than he/she is.					
It's not right for a married person to develop a friendship with a person of the opposite sex who is much older than he/she is.					
The age of the people involved makes no difference to the acceptability of opposite-sex friendship within marriage.					
Cross-sex friendships within marriage are risky if the friends are about the same age.					
It's acceptable for married people to develop opposite-sex friendships once they retire.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

G) **EXPECTATIONS OF SPOUSE'S FRIENDSHIP ROLE**

	1	2	3	4	5
For a marriage to succeed, the spouses must be friends.					
One's spouse should meet all one's needs for friendship with the opposite-sex.					
Spouses should also be friends.					
Married couples should include each other in their leisure-time pursuits.					
One's spouse cannot really be one's friend.					
The only opposite-gender friendship a person needs is that offered by her/his spouse.					
Part of one's duty and responsibility in marriage is to be a friend to one's spouse.					
One shouldn't expect one's spouse to necessarily be one's friend.					

H) **LOYALTY**

	1	2	3	4	5
Being faithful to one's spouse entails doing without opposite-sex friends.					
Having opposite-sex friends is a breach of loyalty to one's spouse.					
A sense of loyalty to one's spouse should prevent one having opposite-sex friendships.					
Friendship with the opposite sex is a form of marital betrayal.					
To be faithful to one's spouse, one should avoid having friendships with the opposite gender.					
If one is to honour one's marriage commitment, one should not have friends of the opposite gender.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

I) **INCLUSION OF SPOUSE IN OPPOSITE-SEX FRIENDSHIP**

	1	2	3	4	5
It's important to include one's spouse in one's friendships with the opposite sex.					
It would be wrong to pursue a friendship with someone of the opposite-sex, without including one's spouse.					
It's acceptable to pursue a friendship with the opposite-sex, so long as it includes the friend's spouse.					
Friendships with the opposite-sex are acceptable only if one's spouse is involved in the friendship.					
Opposite-sex friendships outside of a couple context are not acceptable.					

J) **SOCIAL PRESSURE**

	1	2	3	4	5
People are inclined to call a friendship between two married people an affair.					
If one is married, it's easy to give people the wrong idea about one's friendship with the opposite sex.					
If one is married, it's important to be cautious about the impression one creates through one's friendship with the opposite sex.					
Because people misinterpret platonic friendships, they are difficult to maintain when one is married.					
People gossip about a friendship between two people of the opposite sex if one or both is married.					

SECTION B

Please rate each of the following statements according to how true of you each statement is.

5 = very true of me 4 = true of me 3 = not sure

2 = untrue of me 1 = very untrue of me

K) **SPOUSE'S APPROVAL OF OPPOSITE-SEX FRIENDSHIP**

	1	2	3	4	5
My spouse is uneasy about my developing friendships with the opposite-sex.					
My spouse seems to disapprove of my maintaining friendships with people of the opposite-sex.					
My having friends of the opposite sex causes/would cause tension in our marriage.					
My spouse is/would be jealous about my friendships with members of the opposite sex.					
My spouse trusts that I won't develop friendships with the opposite sex.					
My spouse doesn't mind if I have friends of the opposite sex.					
My having opposite-sex friends would/does upset my spouse.					
My spouse is/would be wary of my having friendships with the opposite-sex.					

L) **APPROVAL OF OPPOSITE-SEX FRIEND'S SPOUSE**

	1	2	3	4	5
I'm cautious about the impression I give to the spouse/s of my opposite-sex friends/s.					
I sense disapproval from the spouses of the opposite-sex friends I know.					

5 = very true of me 4 = true of me 3 = not sure

2 = untrue of me 1 = very untrue of me

	1	2	3	4	5
I feel constrained by the spouses of the opposite-sex friends I have.					
The reactions of my opposite-sex friends' spouses concerns me.					
I'm sensitive to the feelings that the spouses of my opposite-sex friends have towards me.					

M) **SPOUSE'S EXPECTATIONS**

	1	2	3	4	5
I am not happy about my spouse having opposite-sex friends.					
I prefer my spouse not to have friends of the opposite sex.					
I don't mind if my spouse develops a friendship with someone of the opposite sex.					
My spouse is free to make and maintain friendships with people of the opposite sex.					
If my spouse chooses to develop his/her friendship, he/she has my approval.					

N) **OPPOSITE-SEX FRIENDSHIP, LOVE AND SEXUALITY**

	1	2	3	4	5
I find it difficult to maintain friendships with the opposite sex on a platonic level.					

5 = very true of me 4 = true of me 3 = not sure

2 = untrue of me 1 = very untrue of me

	1	2	3	4	5
I've had friendships with the opposite sex which have turned into romances.					
My romances have also been friendships.					
I've not experienced opposite-sex friendship without an element of romance.					
I've had the experience of feeling that a friend of the opposite sex wanted more than just friendship.					
I can't really relax with friends of the opposite sex.					
The possibility of romance has prevented me developing friendships with members of the opposite sex.					
I sense an element of romantic interest from friends of the opposite sex.					

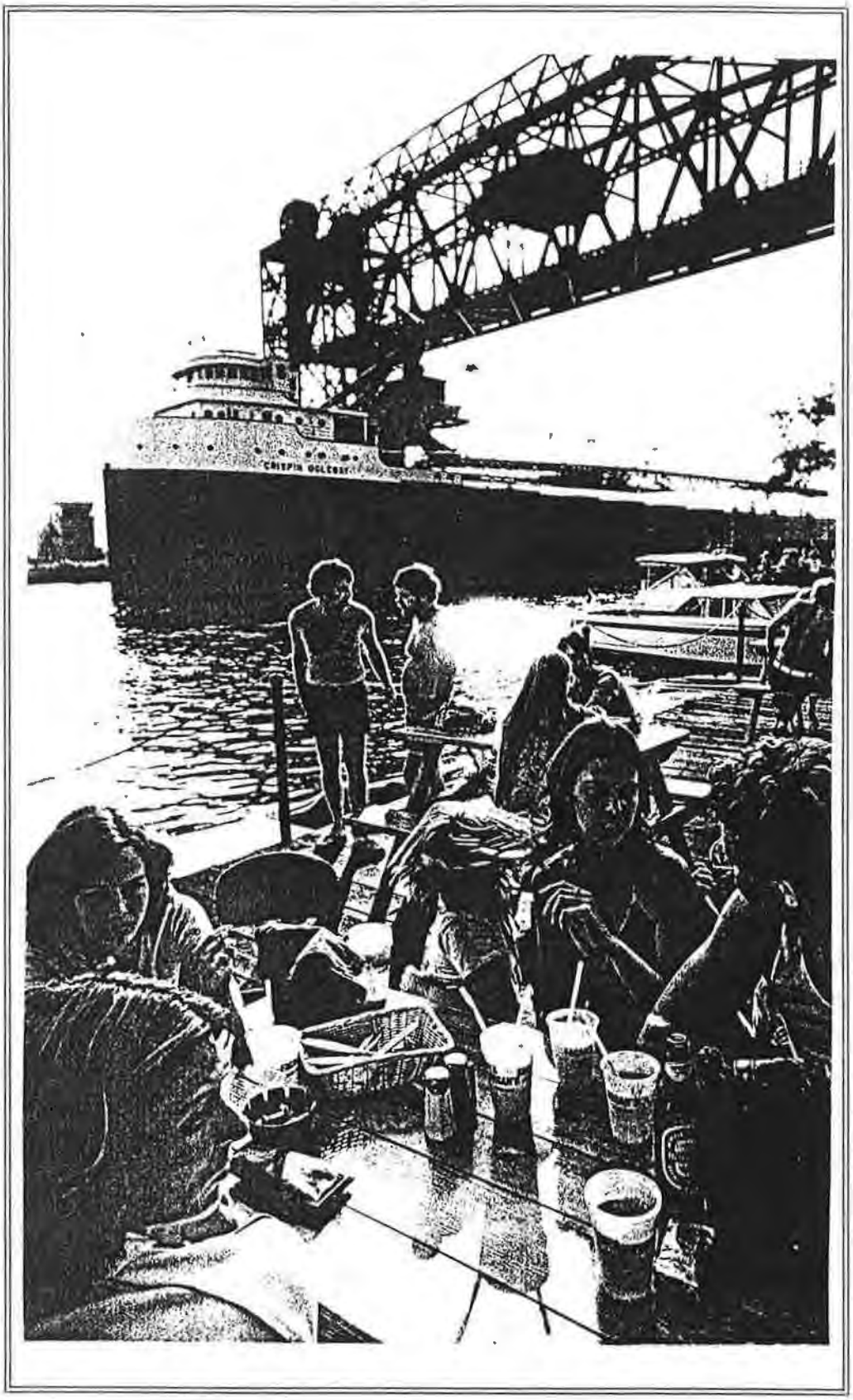
O) **SPOUSE AS FRIEND**

	1	2	3	4	5
I'm motivated to experience friendship with a member/s of the opposite sex, other than my spouse.					
My spouse offers me all the opposite-sex companionship I need.					
I am satisfied with the friendship my spouse provides me so I feel I don't need the friendship of other members of the opposite sex.					
I feel I could benefit from developing friendships with members of the opposite sex other than my spouse.					
I don't feel inclined to develop friendships with members of the opposite sex.					
Why would I want to have opposite-sex friends? I've got my spouse.					

2. PROJECTION SCENARIOS

Green Card

Pink Card



Red Card

Orange Card

APPENDIX F

ATTACHMENT MEASURES

---

1. ATTACHMENT STYLES (Hazan & Shaver, 1987)

Which of the following paragraphs best describes your feelings?

(Please circle ONLY ONE of the numbers.)

(1) I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.

(2) I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often, love partners want me to be more intimate that I feel comfortable being.

(3) I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to merge completely with another person, and this desire sometimes scares people away.

2. PATTERNS OF ATTACHMENT (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994)

Using the scale provided, rate each of the following statements, by ticking the appropriate boxes:

5 = strongly agree **4 = agree** **3 = not sure**
2 = disagree **1 = strongly disagree**

	1	2	3	4	5
I wish there was less anger in my relationship with my spouse.					
I get frustrated when my spouse is not around as much as I would like.					
My spouse only seems to notice me when I'm angry.					
I'm furious that I don't get any comfort from my spouse.					
I get really angry at my spouse because I think he or she could make more time for me.					
I often feel angry with my spouse without knowing why.					
My spouse is always disappointing me.					

	1	2	3	4	5
I put my spouse's needs before my own.					
I can't get on with my work if my spouse has a problem.					
I enjoy taking care of my spouse.					
I expect my spouse to take care of his or her own problems.					
I don't make a fuss over my spouse.					
I don't sacrifice my own needs for the benefit of my spouse.					
It makes me feel important to be able to do things for my spouse.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
I feel it is best not to depend on my spouse.					
I want to get close to my spouse, but I keep pulling back.					
I wouldn't want my spouse relying on me.					
I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my spouse.					
It's easy for me to be affectionate with my spouse.					
I'm so used to doing things on my own that I don't ask my spouse for help.					
I feel that there is something wrong with me because I am so remote from my spouse.					

	1	2	3	4	5
I often feel too dependent on my spouse.					
I wish I could be a child again and be taken care of by my spouse.					
I rely on myself and not my spouse to solve my problems.					
I do not need my spouse to take care of me.					
I'm never certain about what I should do until I talk to my spouse.					
I would be helpless without my spouse.					
I feel that the hardest thing to do is to stand on my own.					

3. DIMENSIONS OF ATTACHMENT (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994)

Using the scale provided, please rate each of the following statements, by ticking the appropriate boxes.

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
I have to have my spouse with me when I'm upset.					
I feel lost if I'm upset and my spouse is not around.					
When I am anxious I desperately need to be close to my spouse.					
I don't object when my spouse goes away for a few days.					
I resent it when my spouse spends time away from me.					
I feel abandoned when my spouse is away for a few days.					
I have a terrible fear that my relationship with my spouse will end.					
I'm afraid that I will lose my spouse's love.					
I'm confident that my spouse will always love me.					
I'm confident that my spouse will try to understand my feelings.					
I worry that my spouse will let me down.					
When I'm upset, I am confident my spouse will be there to listen to me.					
I turn to my spouse for many things, including comfort and reassurance.					
I talk things over with my spouse.					
Things have to be really bad for me to ask my spouse for help.					

4. RELATIONSHIP SCALES QUESTIONNAIRE (RSQ) - adapted (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994)

The following statements refer to your feelings and thoughts about members of the opposite sex, in general, excluding your spouse or members of your family. Please rate each of the statements, using the scale provided.

5 = very much like me 4 = like me 3 = not sure

2 = not much like me 1 = not at all like me

	1	2	3	4	5
1. I find it difficult to depend on members of the opposite sex.					
2. It is very important to me to feel independent from the opposite sex.					
3. I find it easy to get emotionally close to people of the opposite sex.					
4. I want to merge completely with people of the opposite sex.					
5. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to people of the opposite sex.					
6. I am comfortable without close emotional relationships with people of the opposite sex.					
7. I am not sure that I can always depend on people of the opposite sex to be there when I need them.					
8. I want to be completely emotionally intimate with people of the opposite sex.					
9. I worry about not having opposite-sex friends.					
10. I am comfortable depending on people of the opposite sex.					
11. I often worry that people of the opposite sex don't really like me.					
12. I find it difficult to trust people of the opposite sex.					
13. I worry about people of the opposite sex getting too close to me.					
14. I want emotionally close relationships with people of the opposite sex.					

5 = very much like me 4 = like me 3 = not sure

2 = not much like me 1 = not at all like me

	1	2	3	4	5
15. I am comfortable having people of the opposite sex depend on me.					
16. I worry that people of the opposite sex don't value me as much as I value them.					
17. People of the opposite sex are never there when you need them.					
18. My desire to merge completely sometimes scares people of the opposite sex away.					
19. It is very important to me to feel self-sufficient.					
20. I am nervous when anyone of the opposite sex gets too close to me.					
21. I often worry that my friendships with the opposite sex won't last.					
22. I prefer not to have people of the opposite sex depend on me.					
23. I worry about being abandoned by people of the opposite sex.					
24. I am uncomfortable being close to people of the opposite sex.					
25. I find that members of the opposite sex are reluctant to get as close as I would like.					
26. I prefer not to depend on people of the opposite sex.					
27. I know that people (of the opposite sex) will be there when I need them.					
28. I worry about having people of the opposite sex not accept me.					
29. Members of the opposite sex often want me to be closer than I feel comfortable being.					
30. I find it relatively easy to get close to members of the opposite sex.					

APPENDIX G

ATTACHMENT MEASURES: METAPERSPECTIVES

1. PATTERNS OF ATTACHMENT (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994)

Please rate each of the following statements as you think your spouse would rate them. Tick the appropriate boxes:

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure
2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
I wish there was less anger in my relationship with my spouse.					
I get frustrated when my spouse is not around as much as I would like.					
My spouse only seems to notice me when I'm angry.					
I'm furious that I don't get any comfort from my spouse.					
I get really angry at my spouse because I think he or she could make more time for me.					
I often feel angry with my spouse without knowing why.					
My spouse is always disappointing me.					

	1	2	3	4	5
I put my spouse's needs before my own.					
I can't get on with my work if my spouse has a problem.					
I enjoy taking care of my spouse.					
I expect my spouse to take care of his or her own problems.					
I don't make a fuss over my spouse.					
I don't sacrifice my own needs for the benefit of my spouse.					
It makes me feel important to be able to do things for my spouse.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
I feel it is best not to depend on my spouse.					
I want to get close to my spouse, but I keep pulling back.					
I wouldn't want my spouse relying on me.					
I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my spouse.					
It's easy for me to be affectionate with my spouse.					
I'm so used to doing things on my own that I don't ask my spouse for help.					
I feel that there is something wrong with me because I am so remote from my spouse.					

	1	2	3	4	5
I often feel too dependent on my spouse.					
I wish I could be a child again and be taken care of by my spouse.					
I rely on myself and not my spouse to solve my problems.					
I do not need my spouse to take care of me.					
I'm never certain about what I should do until I talk to my spouse.					
I would be helpless without my spouse.					
I feel that the hardest thing to do is to stand on my own.					

2. DIMENSIONS OF ATTACHMENT (West & Sheldon-Keller, 1994)

Please rate each of the following statements as you think your spouse would rate them. Tick the appropriate boxes:

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure
2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
I have to have my spouse with me when I'm upset.					
I feel lost if I'm upset and my spouse is not around.					
When I am anxious I desperately need to be close to my spouse.					
I don't object when my spouse goes away for a few days.					
I resent it when my spouse spends time away from me.					
I feel abandoned when my spouse is away for a few days.					
I have a terrible fear that my relationship with my spouse will end.					
I'm afraid that I will lose my spouse's love.					
I'm confident that my spouse will always love me.					
I'm confident that my spouse will try to understand my feelings.					
I worry that my spouse will let me down.					
When I'm upset, I am confident my spouse will be there to listen to me.					
I turn to my spouse for many things, including comfort and reassurance.					
I talk things over with my spouse.					
Things have to be really bad for me to ask my spouse for help.					

APPENDIX H

TRUST SCALE

(Rempel, Holmes & Zanna, (1985)

1. PERSPECTIVES

Using the scale provided, please rate each of the following statements, by ticking the appropriate boxes:

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure
2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. My spouse has proven to be trustworthy and I am willing to let him/her engage in activities which other spouses find too threatening.					
2. Even when I don't know how my spouse will react, I feel comfortable telling him/her anything about myself; even those things of which I am ashamed.					
3. Though times may change and the future is uncertain, I know my spouse will always be ready and willing to offer me strength and support.					
4. I am never certain that my spouse won't do something that I dislike or will embarrass me.					
5. My spouse is very unpredictable. I never know how he/she is going to act from one day to the next.					
6. I feel very uncomfortable when my spouse has to make decisions which will affect me personally.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure
2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
7. I have found that my spouse is unusually dependable, especially when it comes to things which are important to me.					
8. My spouse behaves in a very consistent manner.					
9. Whenever we have to make an important decision we have never encountered before, I know my spouse will be concerned about my welfare.					
10. Even if I have no reason to expect my spouse to share things with me, I still feel certain that he/she will.					
11. I can rely on my spouse to react in a positive way when I expose my weaknesses to him/her.					
12. When I share my problems with my spouse, I know he/she will respond in a loving way even before I say anything.					
13. I am certain that my spouse would not cheat on me, even if the opportunity arose and there was no chance that he/she would get caught.					
14. I sometimes avoid my spouse because he/she is unpredictable and I fear saying or doing something which might create conflict.					
15. I can rely on my spouse to keep the promises he/she makes to me.					
16. When I am with my spouse I feel secure in facing unknown new situations.					
17. Even when my spouse makes excuses which sound rather unlikely, I am confident that he/she is telling the truth.					

2. METAPERSPECTIVES

Using the scale provided, please rate each of the following statements, according to the way you think your spouse would respond to each one. Tick the appropriate boxes.

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure
2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. My spouse has proven to be trustworthy and I am willing to let him/her engage in activities which other spouses find too threatening.					
2. Even when I don't know how my spouse will react, I feel comfortable telling him/her any thing about myself; even those things of which I am ashamed.					
3. Though times may change and the future is uncertain, I know my spouse will always be ready and willing to offer me strength and support.					
4. I am never certain that my spouse won't do something that I dislike or will embarrass me.					
5. My spouse is very unpredictable. I never know how he/she is going to act from one day to the next.					
6. I feel very uncomfortable when my spouse has to make decisions which will affect me personally.					
7. I have found that my spouse is unusually dependable, especially when it comes to things which are important to me.					
8. My spouse behaves in a very consistent manner.					
9. Whenever we have to make an important decision we have never encountered before, I know my spouse will be concerned about my welfare.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure
2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
10. Even if I have no reason to expect my spouse to share things with me, I still feel certain that he/she will.					
11. I can rely on my spouse to react in a positive way when I expose my weaknesses to him/her.					
12. When I share my problems with my spouse, I know he/she will respond in a loving way even before I say anything.					
13. I am certain that my spouse would not cheat on me, even if the opportunity arose and there was no chance that he/she would get caught.					
14. I sometimes avoid my spouse because he/she is unpredictable and I fear saying or doing something which might create conflict.					
15. I can rely on my spouse to keep the promises he/she makes to me.					
16. When I am with my spouse I feel secure in facing unknown new situations.					
17. Even when my spouse makes excuses which sound rather unlikely, I am confident that he/she is telling the truth.					

APPENDIX I

LOVE STYLES SCALE

(adapted from Hendrick & Hendrick, 1986)

Some of the following items refer to your relationship with your spouse while others refer to general attitudes and beliefs about love. Whenever possible, rate the items with your spouse in mind. Please tick the appropriate boxes.

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure
2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. My spouse and I were attracted to each other immediately after we first met.					
2. My spouse and I have the right physical 'chemistry' between us.					
3. The emotional expression of our love is very intense and satisfying.					
4. I feel that my spouse and I were meant for each other.					
5. My spouse and I became emotionally involved very quickly.					
6. My spouse and I really understand each other.					
7. My spouse fits my ideal standards of physical beauty/handsomeness.					
8. I try to keep my spouse a little uncertain about my commitment to him/her.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
9. I do believe that what my spouse doesn't know won't hurt him/her.					
10. I have sometimes had to keep my spouse from finding out about a friend I've had.					
11. I can get over marital upsets pretty easily and quickly.					
12. My spouse would be upset if he/she knew of some of the friendships I've had with people of the opposite sex.					
13. When my spouse gets too dependent on me, I want to back off a little.					
14. I enjoy flirting with different people.					
15. It's hard to say exactly where friendship ends and love begins.					
16. Genuine love first requires caring.					
17. I still have good friendships with almost everyone with whom I have had a love relationship.					
18. The best kind of love grows out of a long friendship.					
19. It is hard to say exactly when my spouse and I fell in love.					
20. Love is really a deep friendship, not a mysterious, mystical emotion.					
21. My most satisfying love relationships have developed from good friendships.					
22. I consider what a person is going to become in life before I get involved with him/her.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
23. I tried to plan my life carefully before I chose a spouse.					
24. It is best to love someone with a similar background.					
25. A main consideration in choosing a spouse is how he/she reflects on my family.					
26. An important factor in choosing a spouse is whether he/she will be a good parent.					
27. One consideration in choosing a spouse is how he/she will reflect on my career.					
28. Before I got involved with my spouse, I figured out how compatible his/her hereditary background was with mine in case we had children.					
29. When things aren't right with my spouse, my stomach gets upset.					
30. When my love affairs have broken up I have become so upset that I have even thought of suicide.					
31. Sometimes I get so excited about being in love, that I can't sleep.					
32. When my spouse doesn't pay attention to me, I feel sick all over.					
33. When I'm in love, I have trouble concentrating on anything else.					
34. I cannot relax if I suspect my spouse is with someone else.					
35. If my spouse ignores me for a while, I sometimes do stupid things to get his/her attention back.					

5 = strongly agree 4 = agree 3 = not sure

2 = disagree 1 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
36. I try to always help my spouse through difficult times.					
37. I would rather suffer myself than let my spouse suffer.					
38. I cannot be happy unless I place my spouse's happiness before my own.					
39. I am usually willing to sacrifice my own wishes to let my spouse achieve his/hers.					
40. Whatever I own is my spouse's to use as he/she chooses.					
41. When my spouse gets angry with me, I still love him/her fully and unconditionally.					
42. I would endure all things for the sake of my spouse.					

APPENDIX J

FRIENDSHIP ROLES

1. QUESTIONNAIRE

Below are several descriptions of friends. Please think of the people in your life who meet/have met each of the descriptions and write their first names on the lines. Do not repeat names. Although you might not be able to identify a person for each description, please try to respond to as many as possible. A minimum of 25 names is required. It is also essential that both same- and opposite-sex friends should be identified.

Current friendships

When responding to this section, consider those persons whom you currently think of as being your friends.

A person of the same sex as you with whom you were friendly before you were married, and still are: _____

A person of the opposite sex with whom you were friendly before you were married, and still are: _____

Someone of the same sex as you whom you met after being married and who is equally a friend of you and your spouse: _____

Someone of the opposite sex to you whom you met after being married and who is equally a friend of you and your spouse: _____

Someone of the same sex as you, who is more of a friend to you than to your spouse: _____

Someone of the opposite-sex to you, who is more of a friend to you than to your spouse: _____

Someone of the same sex whom you consider is more of a friend of your spouse than of you: _____

Someone of the opposite-sex to you, who is more a friend of your spouse than of yours: _____

Someone of the same sex as you, who was single when you first knew him/her, but has since got married: _____

Someone of the opposite sex to you, who was single when you first knew him/her, but has since got married: _____

Someone of the same sex as you, whom you knew when he/she was married, but who is now widowed/divorced: _____

Someone of the opposite sex to you, whom you knew when he/she was married, but who is now widowed/divorced: _____

A friend of the same sex as you, whom you suspect your spouse does not like much: _____

A friend of the opposite sex, whom you suspect your spouse does not like much: _____

A person (of the same sex as you) whose friendship with your spouse you don't approve of: _____

A person (of the opposite sex as you) whose friendship with your spouse you don't approve of: _____

A person (of the same sex as you) whose friendship with you, you suspect, your spouse doesn't approve of: _____

A person (of the opposite sex as you) whose friendship with you, you suspect, your spouse doesn't approve of: _____

Other current friends

Other friends (of the same sex as you) not already listed:

_____

_____

Other friends (of the opposite sex to you) not already listed:

_____

_____

Lapsed friendships

When responding to this section, think of those persons whom you do not really classify as friends any more because you have lost contact with them, or the friendship has dissolved.

A person of the same sex as you, with whom you were friendly before you got married, but no longer are: _____

A person of the opposite sex as you, with whom you were friendly before you got married, but no longer are: _____

Someone of the same sex as you who was a friend of both you and your spouse, during your marriage: _____

Someone of the opposite sex to you who was a friend of both you and your spouse, during your marriage: _____

Someone of the same sex as you who was a friend of yours (but not your spouse) before you got married: _____

Someone of the opposite sex to you who was a friend of yours (but not your spouse) before you got married: _____

Someone of the same sex as your spouse who was a friend of his/hers (but not yours) before you got married: _____

Someone of the opposite sex to your spouse who was a friend of his/hers (but not yours) before you got married: _____

Someone of the same sex as you with whom you were friendly before he/she got married, but no longer are: _____

Someone of the opposite sex to you with whom you were friendly before he/she got married, but no longer are: _____

Other lapsed friends

Other friends (of the same sex as you) not already listed:

_____

_____

Other friends (of the opposite sex to you) not already listed:

_____

_____

Future/ideal friendships

When responding to this section, think hypothetically about people whom you wouldn't mind making friends of, if the right opportunities arose:

Someone of the same sex whom you wouldn't mind making a friend of: _____

Someone of the same sex whom you would choose not to make a friend of: _____

Someone of the opposite sex whom you wouldn't mind making a friend of: _____

Someone of the opposite sex whom you would choose not to make a friend of: _____

2. FEATURE LIST (EXAMPLE FROM TEMBI)

Bring to mind an image, memory or scene of yourself together with the following friend: _____.

How do you remember feeling when you were together? Please consider each one of the following words/phrases in turn and tick the relevant ones to describe the way you remember feeling:

secure	able to disclose
confident	like a sibling
trusting	listened to
afraid to get too close	responded to
suspicious	protected
uncomfortable	destructive
frustrated	retreating
anxious	able to reciprocate
worried about being rejected	fuming
flirtatious	direct
sexually attracted	angry
jealous	cheeky
sulky	honest
happy	accommodating
misunderstood	fair
respectful	wronged
interfering	different from him/her
unsure	argumentative
comforted	calm & collected
able to contribute	talkative

++++++

At the time you are referring to here:

were you married? yes no

was this person married? yes no

APPENDIX K

DATA

1. WELL-BEING AND HAPPINESS SCALES & LADDERS OF LIFE SATISFACTION

Name: Clinton

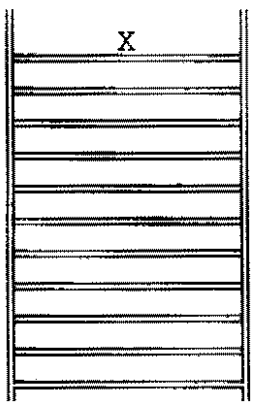
Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Good health	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	1. Sickness
2.	Financial security	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	2. Strained finances
3.	Happy family life	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	3. Family strife
4.	At peace with myself	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	4. Inner unhappiness
5.	Successful daughters	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	5. Failures
6.	Closeness to son	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	6. Apart from son
7.	Security	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	7. Insecurity
8.	Contentment	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	8. Unhappiness
9.	Freedom	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	9. Lack of freedom
10.	Solitude	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	10. Disturbances
11.	Good sex life	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	11. Unhappy sex life
12.	Flexibility	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	12. Rigidness
13.	Friendships	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	13. Loneliness
14.	Carefree	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	14. Tied down
15.	Developed hobbies	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	15. Boredom

Mean: 1,93

****

Ladder of Life Satisfaction



Name: Cathy

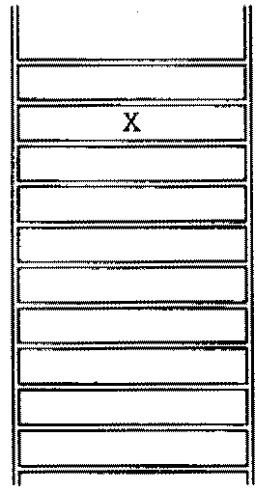
Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	Rested		X					1. Tired
1.	Secure		X					1. Insecure
1.	Accounts paid up			X				1. In debt
1.	A job well done		X					1. Frustrated
1.	Time out alone			X				1. Imposed upon
2.	Warm and well		X					2. Cold and ill
2.	Friends	X						2. Lonely
3.	Watching daughter dance		X					3. -
3.	House full of teens		X					3. Empty house
4.	Contented		X					4. Discontented
5.	Children cooperative				X			5. Kids bolshy
5.	Designing wedding outfits				X			5. Uncreative
6.	Empty washing basket(!!!)			X				6. Overworked
6.	Sticking to my diet all day long		X					6. Binging
6.	Empty house after weekend		X					6. Peace temporarily

Mean = 2,40

****

Ladder of Life Satisfaction



5 (completely satisfied)
4
3
2
1
0
-1
-2
-3
-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Charlotte

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Loved	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	1. Unloved
2.	Being healthy	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	2. Sickly
3.	Hopeful	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	3. Hopeless
4.	Secure	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	4. Insecure
5.	Contented	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	5. Dissatisfied
6.	Carefree	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	6. Worrying
7.	Peaceful	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	7. Anxious
8.	Joyful	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	8. Sad
9.	Needed	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	9. Not needed
10.	Being a friend	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	10. Having no friends
11.	Having friends	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	11. Having no friends
12.	Safe	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	12. Endangered
13.	Cleanliness	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	13. Dirt
14.		___:___:___:___:___:___	14.
15.		___:___:___:___:___:___	15.

Mean: 1,23

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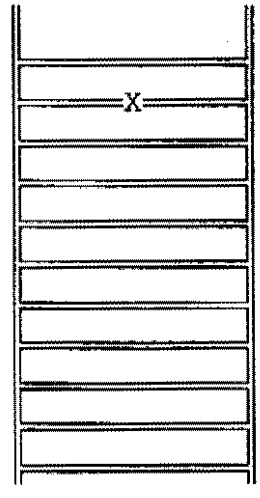
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



5 *(completely satisfied)*
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-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Cheryl

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	In a loving relationship (with spouse)	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	1. Having no loving relationship
2.	Loving relationship with my children	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	2. No loving relationship with my children.
3.	A "good" spiritual life	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	3. No/"bad" spiritual life
4.	Having good, deep friendships	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	4. Having superficial friendships
5.	Time for husband and I - alone	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	5. No time alone for us
6.	Good, quality family time	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	6. No family time
7.	Wanted	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	7. Rejected
8.	Secure	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	8. Insecure
9.	Content	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	9. Discontented
10.	Good family relationships	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	10. No family relationships
11.	Healthy	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	11. Unhealthy
12.	Having a hobby I really enjoy	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	12. Having no enjoyable hobby
13.	Having a comfortable home	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	13. No having a comfortable home
14.	Open home	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	14. Closed home
15.	Being financially comfortable; not necessarily wealthy	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	15. Financially insecure

Mean = 2,13

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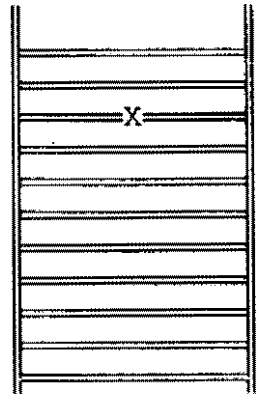
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



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-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Irene

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Knowing I am in the Lord's will	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	1. Floundering
2.	At peace spiritually	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	2. In turmoil spiritually
3.	Accepted as I am	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	3. Rejected unless conform
4.	Trusted	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	4. Distrusted
5.	Giving of myself	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	5. Receiving from others
6.	Content	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	6. Frustrated
7.	Secure	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	7. Insecure
8.	Confident	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	8. No confidence
9.	Needed	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	9. Unwanted (unneeded)
10.	Fulfilled	___:___:___:_X_:___:___	10. Dissatisfied
11.	Having deep friendships	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	11. Shallow friendships
12.	Being appreciated	___:___:___:___:_X_:___	12. Taken for granted
13.	Peaceful	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	13. Anxious
14.	Time for myself	___:___:___:___:_X_:___	14. At beck and call all the time
15.	Carefree	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	15. Worried

Mean = 2,6

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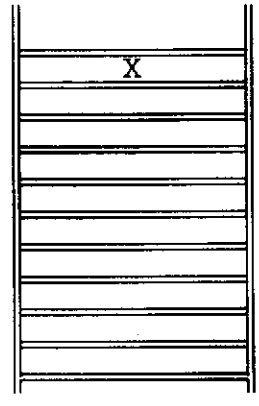
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



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-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Helen

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	Spiritually stable	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	1. Spiritually dry
2.	Loved	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	2. Unloved
3.	Secure	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	3. Insecure
4.	Financially secure	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	4. Poor
5.	Good relationship with spouse	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	5. Broken marriage
6.	Good relationship with children	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	6. Rebellious children
7.	Sufficient time to give of myself	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	7. Selfish
8.	Able to complete tasks	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	8. Incomplete tasks
9.	Busy	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	9. Bored
10.	Healthy	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	10. Ill
11.	Creative	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	11. Routine
12.	Organised	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	12. Disorganised
13.	Fit	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	13. Unfit
14.	Correct weight	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	14. Overweight
15.	Nicely dressed	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	15. Shabby

Mean = 5,13

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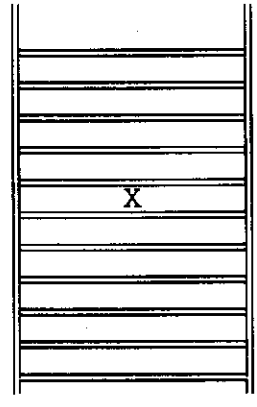
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



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-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Leigh

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Secure	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	1. Insecure
2.	Happy marriage	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	2. Unhappy marriage
3.	Having deep friendships	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	3. Having shallow friendships
4.	Living near to friends	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	4. Living far away
5.	Successful	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	5. Unsuccessful
6.	Financially stable	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	6. Having money problems
7.	Having a close family	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	7. Having a fragmentary family
8.	Having lots of free time	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	8. Having no free time
9.	Being content	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	9. Being discontent
10.	Intellectually stimulated	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	10. Being unstimulated
11.	Having confidence	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	11. Lacking confidence
12.	Being able to travel	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	12. Being restricted
13.	Being free from worry	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	13. Worrying
14.	Being respected professionally	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	14. Not being respected
15.	Being slim	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	15. Being overweight

Mean = 4,33

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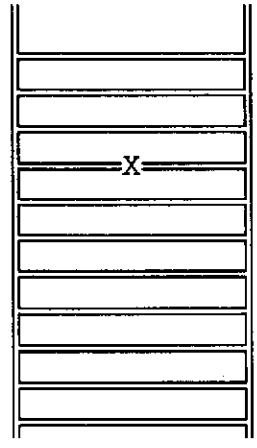
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



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-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Paula

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	Peaceful	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	1. Troubled
2.	Contented	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	2. Discontented
3.	Independent	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	3. Dependent
4.	Secure	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	4. Insecure
5.	Free	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	5. Bound
6.	Full of joy	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	6. Sad/heavy
7.	Close friendships	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	7. Meaningless friendships
8.	Being fit and healthy	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	8. Ill and unfit
9.	Creative	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	9. Uninspired/unimaginative
10.	Serving e.g. community	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	10. Serving oneself
11.	Giving	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	11. Selfish/miserly
12.	Being hospitable	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	12. Inhospitable
13.	Learning/exploring/growing	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	13. Staid/dull
14.	Spontaneous	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	14. Restrained/constrained
15.	Adventurous	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	15. Over-cautious

Mean = 3,53

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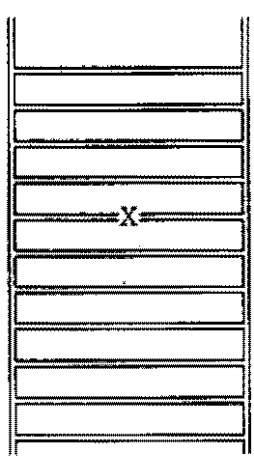
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



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-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Ann

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Loved	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	1. Disliked/tolerated
2.	Being relied upon and trusted by a loved one	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	2. Unreliable and untrustworthy
3.	Wanted	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	3. Rejected
4.	Sense of security	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	4. Insecure
5.	Having close family ties	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	5. Distanced
6.	Understood	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	6. Misunderstood
7.	Appreciated	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	7. Unappreciated
8.	Being able to 'cope' (in all ways)	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	8. Inability to 'cope'
9.	Well-adjusted emotionally	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	9. Maladjusted
10.	Able to communicate well	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	10. At a loss for words
11.	Ability to be patient	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	11. Impatient
12.	1-2 sincere friendships	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	12. Insincere friendships
13.	Extroverted	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	13. Introverted
14.	Sense of achievement	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	14. Failure
15.	Sense of comfort	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	15. Alone/isolated

Mean = 3,27

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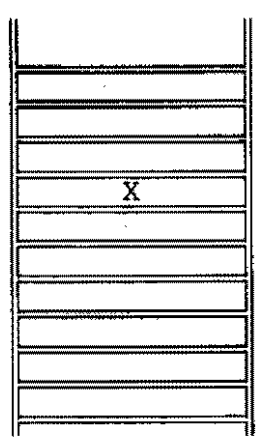
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



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-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Ron

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Loved one (to have)	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	1. Single
2.	Security	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	2. Insecurity
3.	Job satisfaction	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	3. Dissatisfaction
4.	Contentment	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	4. Discontant
5.	Peace of mind	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	5. Turmoil
6.	Happiness	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	6. Sadness
7.	Loved (to be)	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	7. Unloved
8.	Friendship	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	8. Lack of friendship
9.	Independence	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	9. Dependence
10.	Travel	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	10. Unable to travel
11.	Wealth	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	11. Poverty
12.	Spiritual well being	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	12. Spiritual pauper
13.	Confidant (to be a)	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	13. Distrusted
14.	Health	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	14. Sickness
15.	Popular	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	15. Unpopular

Mean = 3.80

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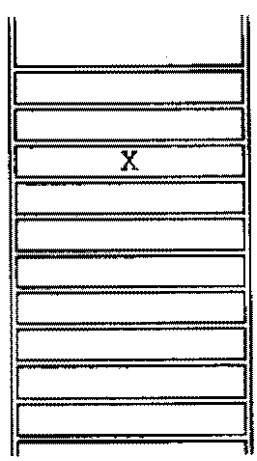
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



5 *(completely satisfied)*
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-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Jane

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Religious/grateful for life	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	1. Atheist
2.	Healthy	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	2. Unhealthy
3.	Happy	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	3. Unhappy
4.	Caring	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	4. Cruel
5.	Trustworthy	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	5. Dishonest
6.	Sincere	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	6. Insincere
7.	Lasting friendships	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	7. Shallow friendships
8.	Fulfilled	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	8. Empty feeling
9.	Carefree	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	9. Bound by rules/society
10.	Stimulating self	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	10. Unsuccessful
11.	Achievement	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	11. Failures
12.	Confident	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	12. Lacking in confidence
13.	Interesting profession/ hobbies	___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___	13. Boring profession/hobbies
14.	Secure	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	14. Insecure
15.	Social status	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	15. No status

Mean = 2,67

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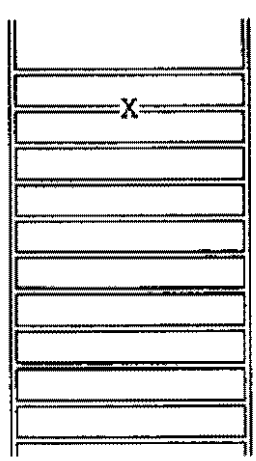
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



5 *(completely satisfied)*
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-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Tembi

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	Adjusting to life	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	1. Maladjustment
2.	Secured job	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	2. Insecure job
3.	Curious	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	3. Uninterested
4.	Loving	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	4. Unloving
5.	Caring	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	5. Careless
6.	Uninterested	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	6. Anxious
7.	Sensitive	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	7. Insensitive
8.	Too emotional	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	8. Too unemotional
9.	Good tempered	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	9. Moody
10.	Fearless	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	10. Fearful
11.	Secure	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	11. Insecure in life
12.	Comforted	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	12. Miserable
13.	Content	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	13. Not content
14.	Good friendships	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	14. Poor friendships
15.	Satisfactory relationships	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	15. Unsatisfactory relationships

Mean = 5,20

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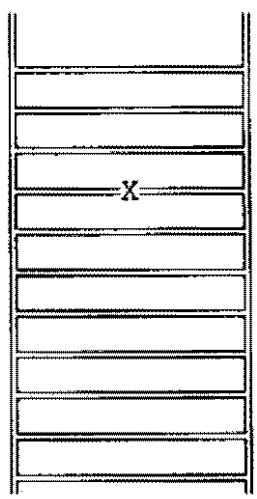
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



5 *(completely satisfied)*
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-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Mary

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Happy	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	1. Unhappy/sad
2.	Healthy	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	2. Unhealthy
3.	Loved	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	3. Unloved
4.	Safe	___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___	4. Alone/cold (One against the world)
5.	Organised	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	5. Confused
6.	Secure	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	6. Insecure/unsure/worried
7.	Supported	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	7. Opposed
8.	Trusting	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	8. Unbelieving
9.	Calm	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	9. Angry
10.	"Touchable"	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	10. Untouchable
11.	Stable	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	11. Unstable/thrown about
12.	Rested	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	12. Tired/weak
13.	Good friendships	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	13. No friendships
14.	Strong family ties	___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___	14. No family ties
15.	Cared for	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	15. Empty

Mean = 6.00

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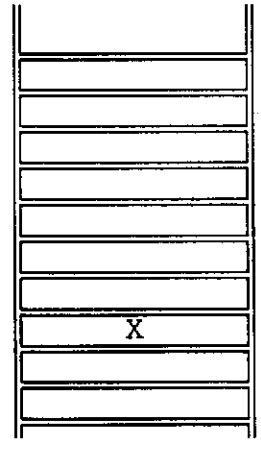
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



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-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Lesley

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	Secure (financially)	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	1. Insecure financially
1.	Being charitable	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	1. Not being able to give
1.	Feeling loved	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	1. Unloved
1.	Achieving goals	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	1. Aimless
1.	Satisfaction	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	1. Discontent
1.	Maturity	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	1. Immaturity
1.	Loving someone	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	1. Having no-one to love
1.	Having loving children	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	1. No love from children
1.	Friendship	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	1. Loneliness
1.	Harmony	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	1. Discord
1.	Peaceful	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	1. Violence
1.	Creative	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	1. Dull, routine
1.	Serenity	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	1. Moodiness
1.	Purposeful	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	1. Lacking drive
1.	Humerous	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	1. Sour, unhappy

Mean = 4.73

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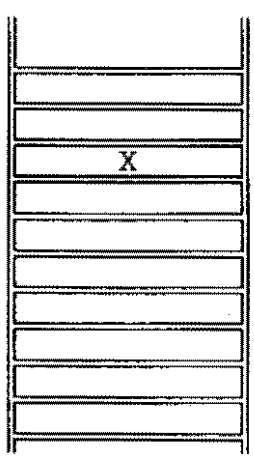
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



Name: John

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	Family love and support	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	1. Family feuds
2.	Good health	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	2. Poor health
3.	Family's health	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	3. Sickly family
4.	Children's happiness	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	4. Children's troubles
5.	Income security	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	5. Income insecurity
6.	Adequate housing	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	6. Bad housing
7.	Acceptable future outlook	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	7. Fear of future
8.	Emotional placidity	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	8. Emotional turmoil
9.	Job satisfaction	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	9. Job frustration
10.	Physical security	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	10. Physical insecurity
11.	Sense of achievement	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	11. Frustration
12.	Enjoyment of leisure time	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	12. Leisure time boredom
13.	Spiritual comfort	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	13. Spiritual unrest
14.	Sense of being appreciated	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	14. Being ignored
15.	Congenial surroundings	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	15. Feelings of animosity

Mean = 2,80

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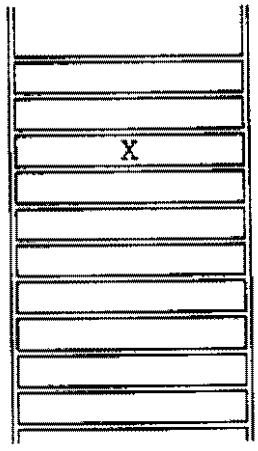
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



5 *(completely satisfied)*
4
3
2
1
0
-1
-2
-3
-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

Name: Ken

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Health	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	1. Ill health
1.	Secure	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	1. Insecure
1.	Loyalty	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	1. Disloyal
1.	Love	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	1. Hatred
2.	Responsibility	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	2. Negative
2.	Contentment	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	2. Discontent
3.	Forward planning	___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___	3. Wait and see
3.	Appreciation	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	3. Ignored
5.	Recognition	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	5. Disregard
6.	Achievement	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	6. Negative
6.	Communication	_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___	6. Uncommunicative
6.	Organised	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	6. Disorganised
10.	Live and let live	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	10. Interfere
10.	Challenge	___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_	10. Static
12.	Acceptance	___:___:___:_X_:___:___:___	12. Rejection

Mean = 3.07

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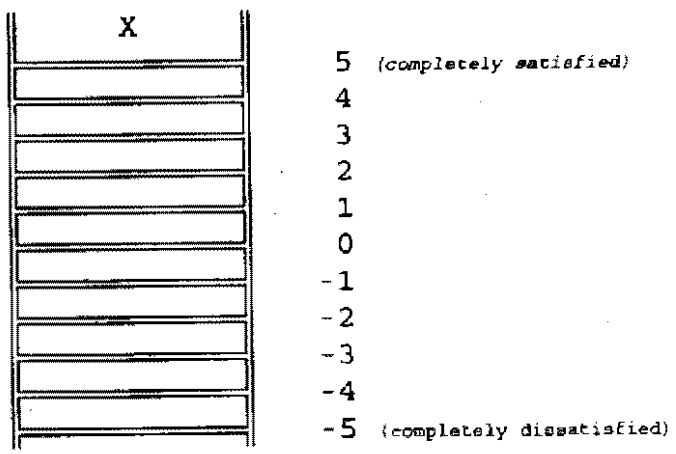
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



Name: Susan

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state		Opposite pole
1.	Love	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	1. Hatred
1.	Faith	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	1. Unbelief
1.	Health	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	1. Ill health
1.	Consideration	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	1. Unreasonable
2.	Understanding	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	2. Not bothered
2.	Caring	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	2. Uncaring
2.	Loyalty	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	2. Disloyal
2.	Honesty	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	3. Untruthful
3.	Peaceable	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	3. Insecure
4.	Compassionate	___:___:_X_:___:___:___	4. Disinterested
4.	Contented	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	4. Dissatisfied
5.	Motivation	___:___:___:_X_:___:___	5. Negative
5.	Hope	___:_X_:___:___:___:___	5. Disbelief
5.	Positive	_X_:___:___:___:___:___	5. Negative
6.	Creditability	___:___:___:___:___:_X_	6. Dishonour

Mean = 2,07

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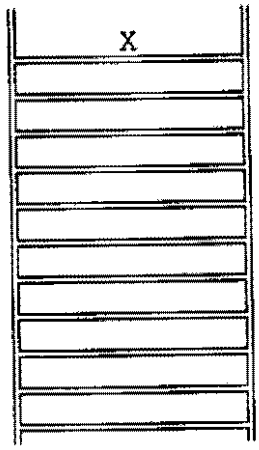
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



Name: Eddie

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	Free from guilt		X					1. Guilt-ridden
2.	Accepting		X					2. Rebellious
3.	Patient			X				3. Impatient
4.	Tolerant		X					4. Intolerant
5.	Hopeful			X				5. Despondent
6.	Self confidence			X				6. Inferiority complex
7.	Serene		X					7. Restless
8.	Generous				X			8. Stingy
9.	Satisfied				X			9. Dissatisfied
10.	Secure			X				10. Afraid
11.	Sociable				X			11. Unsociable
12.	Carefree			X				12. Worried
13.	Comfortable		X					13. Uncomfortable
14.	Content		X					14. Discontent
15.	Humorous			X				15. Dry

Mean = 2,80

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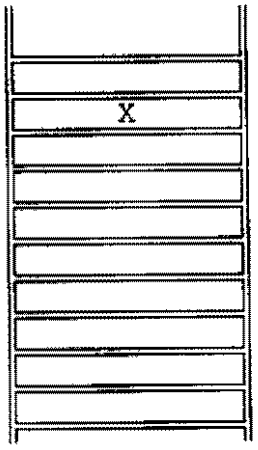
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



Name: Pam

Well-being and Happiness

	Ideal state							Opposite pole
1.	Deep peace with God	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	1. Turmoil
2.	Enthusiastic	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	2. Disinterested
3.	More sociable	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	3. Unsociable
4.	Less sensitive	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	4. Touchy
5.	Content	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	5. Discontented
6.	Appreciative	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	6. Complaining
7.	Unenvious	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	7. Envious
8.	Secure	___	___	_X_	___	___	___	8. Insecure
9.	Sincere	_X_	___	___	___	___	___	9. Insincere
10.	Patient	___	___	___	_X_	___	___	10. Impatient
11.	Carefree	___	___	___	___	___	_X_	11. Inhibited
12.	Outgoing	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	12. Withdrawn
13.	Kind	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	13. Unkind
14.	Humorous	___	___	___	___	_X_	___	14. Soberside
15.	Generous	___	_X_	___	___	___	___	15. Greedy

Mean = 3,80

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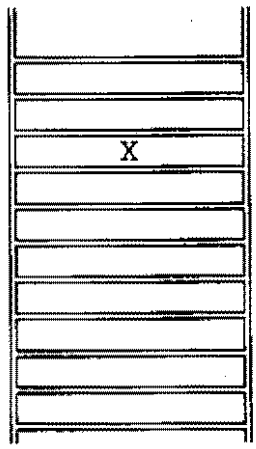
Ladder of Life Satisfaction



5 *(completely satisfied)*
4
3
2
1
0
-1
-2
-3
-4
-5 (completely dissatisfied)

2. DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS

Respondents	Age	Marital Status	Number of years married	Home language	Field of Occupation
Tembi	29	Married	3	Sotho	Teaching
Mary	26	Divorced (twice)	i) 0,33 ii) 1	English	Secretarial
Jane	43	Married	16	Afrikaans	Teaching
Leigh	41	Married	4	English	Teaching
Ron	51	Never married	0	English	Technical
Ann	27	Married	3	English	Teaching
Lesley	36	Divorced, remarried, separated	i) 5 ii) 1	English & Portuguese	Secretarial
Paula	42	Divorced	18	English	Secretarial
Irene	46	Married	24	English	Home - executive
Cheryl	34	Married	4	English	Personnel consultant
Helen	37	Married (twice)	i) 5 ii) 7	English	Fitness training
Clinton	54	Married (twice)	i) 12 ii) 31	English	Business
Cathy	42	Married	19	English	Home-executive
Charlotte	49	Married	26	English	Home-executive
Ken (married)	79	Married (twice)	i) 35 ii) 20	English	Mining
Susan	69	Married	30	English	Secretarial
John	76	Widowed	50	Afrikaans	Engineering
Eddie (married)	74	Married (twice)	i) 41 ii) 10	English	Business
Pam	79	Married (twice)	i) 44 ii) 10	English	Secretarial

3. NUMBER OF CLOSE FRIENDS AND TIME SPENT TOGETHER

Respondents	Number of close same-sex friends	Hours per week spent with same-sex friends	Number of close opposite-sex friends	Hours per week spent with opposite-sex friends
Tembi	3	0	2	1
Mary	0	0	1	80
Jane	10	1	7	0
Leigh	5	0	1	< 1
Ron	8	3	10	20
Ann	3	1	1	0,50
Lesley	3	5	0	0
Paula	0	0	2	< 1
Irene	9	5	1	< 1
Cheryl	15	11	5	5
Helen	5	5	2	4
Clinton	1	1	1	168*
Cathy	20	6	4	1
Charlotte	5	3	0	0
Ken	10	0	0	0
Susan	10	2	0	0
John	1	< 1	1	< 1
Eddie	1	0	0	0
Pam	5	0	0	0

* Clinton included his spouse as his only close opposite-sex friend.

4. BOUNDARY SCORES

Respondents	Personal Total (396)	World Total (156)	Sumbound (552)
Tembi	147	65	212
Mary	267	97	364
Jane	137	69	206
Leigh	257	89	346
Ron	139	89	228
Ann	162	90	252
Leeley	228	89	317
Paula	154	81	235
Irene	148	94	242
Cheryl	132	106	238
Helen	179	90	269
Clinton	90	62	152
Cathy	206	87	293
Charlotte	89	56	145
Ken	102	68	170
Susan	107	75	182
John	174	96	270
Eddie	188	90	278
Pam	129	74	203

(The higher the score, the thinner the boundary.)

5. TRUST SCALE SCORES: PERSPECTIVES AND METAPERSPECTIVES

Respondents		Dependability §(25)		Predictability §(25)		Faith §(35)		Total §(85)	
		D	M	D	M	D	M	D	M
Tembi		8	8	10	13	19	9	37	30
Mary		7	15	8	17	10	27	25	59
Jane		17	15	12	12	22	25	51	52
Leigh		21	20	22	22	20	27	63	69
Ron		15	9	17	20	28	34	60	63
Ann		20	23	24	15	32	34	76	72
¶ Lesley	1	10	22	6	25	15	31	31	78
	2	14	20	7	21	16	29	37	70
* Paula		5	-	5	-	6	-	16	-
Irene		20	21	16	17	20	25	56	63
Cheryl		22	21	21	19	34	32	77	72
Helen		20	21	18	23	31	33	69	77
Clinton		19	16	23	17	25	25	67	58
Cathy		21	24	17	18	34	34	72	76
Charlotte		21	25	22	20	32	31	75	75
Ken		25	25	25	25	35	35	85	85
Susan		25	25	25	25	35	35	85	85
John		25	13	15	20	29	26	69	59
Eddie		20	18	22	17	28	28	70	63
Pam		25	25	23	23	35	35	83	83

¶ Lesley's responsees refer to her first marriage (1) and her second marriage (2).

* Paula considered it impossible to respond from a metaperspective.

§ Total maximum scores

D = Direct perspectives

M = Metaperspectives

6. RELATIONSHIP SCALES QUESTIONNAIRE (RSQ): MEAN SCORES

Respondents	Secure *(5)	Fearful (5)	Dismissing (5)	Preoccupied (5)
Tembi	2,60	2,75	4,60	1,25
Mary	3,00	4,50	3,40	3,25
Jane	3,60	3,50	3,40	1,50
Leigh	2,60	3,00	4,40	1,50
Ron	3,20	1,25	1,40	2,20
Ann	2,80	4,50	3,20	2,25
Lesley	2,40	3,00	2,40	3,00
Paula	2,00	3,50	4,20	2,50
Irene	3,60	2,00	3,40	3,00
Cheryl	4,20	1,75	2,60	2,50
Helen	4,20	3,50	4,80	2,50
Clinton	3,40	1,75	1,60	3,75
Cathy	3,80	1,50	2,50	3,00
Charlotte	2,60	2,25	5,00	1,00
Ken	2,60	1,00	4,20	1,00
Susan	3,70	3,25	4,60	2,25
John	3,40	3,00	3,80	1,25
Eddie	3,80	1,75	1,60	3,00
Pam	3,20	1,00	1,20	2,00

* Maximum scores

7. ATTACHMENT-PATTERN SCORES: PERSPECTIVES AND METAPERSPECTIVES

Respondents	ATTACHMENT PATTERNS							
	Angry withdrawal		Compulsive care-giving		Compulsive self-reliance		Compulsive care-seeking	
	D	M	D	M	D	M	D	M
Tembi	4,14	3,29	3,14	2,43	2,57	2,43	3,00	1,86
Mary	4,14	3,29	4,14	2,43	2,86	3,43	2,29	3,29
Jane	2,86	3,43	3,29	3,57	3,56	2,86	2,71	2,29
Leigh	1,00	2,29	3,71	2,86	2,14	1,86	1,43	3,29
Ron	2,14	2,86	5,00	3,43	1,00	1,29	2,71	4,14
Ann	2,43	1,86	4,00	4,57	1,14	1,86	3,43	2,29
¶ Lesley 1	3,29	4,57	3,71	2,00	3,43	3,71	3,14	4,29
Lesley 2	2,14	2,71	2,86	1,14	3,43	4,00	1,71	3,86
Paula	3,57	3,71	2,86	1,14	4,00	3,14	2,43	2,43
Irene	2,43	2,86	4,43	3,29	2,57	1,71	2,29	2,86
Cheryl	2,00	2,14	4,14	3,86	1,00	1,00	3,29	2,43
Helen	1,86	2,86	3,29	3,00	2,29	3,67	1,14	1,00
Clinton	1,57	2,43	4,00	3,71	1,43	2,29	2,71	2,57
Cathy	1,86	1,29	3,00	1,43	1,43	1,43	2,43	1,86
Charlotte	1,00	1,43	3,57	3,29	3,00	2,71	2,14	1,57
Ken	1,00	1,00	4,00	5,00	1,00	1,00	3,43	2,71
Susan	1,00	1,00	3,43	5,00	1,00	1,00	3,43	3,29
John	1,86	2,71	3,29	3,29	2,43	2,71	1,71	3,00
Eddie	1,43	2,29	3,43	3,86	1,43	1,29	3,00	3,00
Pam	1,00	1,57	4,57	4,70	1,00	1,00	3,29	3,57

Range of mean scores: 0 - 5

D = Direct perespectives

M = Metaperspectives

¶ Lesley's responses refer to her first marriage (1) and her second marriage (2)

8. ATTACHMENT-DIMENSION SCORES: PERSPECTIVES AND METAPERSPECTIVES

Respondents		ATTACHMENT DIMENSIONS									
		Proximity seeking		Separation protest		Feared loss		Availability		Use of attachment figure	
		D	M	D	M	D	M	D	M	D	M
Tembi		4,00	3,67	2,00	4,00	3,00	2,67	3,33	3,67	2,33	4,00
Mary		3,00	3,00	2,00	5,00	3,00	1,57	1,14	1,14	1,14	2,33
Jane		2,33	3,00	3,00	4,00	2,00	2,00	2,67	4,00	2,00	2,33
Leigh		1,60	4,00	2,33	4,00	1,33	2,67	3,33	4,33	4,00	4,33
Ron		4,00	4,00	2,67	4,66	2,33	3,00	5,00	1,86	5,00	5,00
Ann		4,33	3,67	4,33	4,00	1,67	1,00	4,67	3,00	3,00	4,66
¶ Lesley	1	3,33	4,00	1,33	3,33	4,67	4,00	2,67	3,00	3,33	2,67
	2	1,00	2,00	1,00	1,67	3,33	1,00	3,33	3,33	3,33	2,00
Paula		1,00	1,33	1,00	4,00	2,33	3,00	2,33	3,00	3,33	2,33
Irene		1,33	4,33	1,00	2,67	2,00	2,33	4,00	3,33	4,00	4,66
Cheryl		2,67	1,33	2,67	3,00	1,00	1,00	4,33	3,00	5,00	3,00
Helen		2,33	2,00	2,67	3,33	1,00	3,00	3,67	4,00	3,00	3,33
Clinton		3,33	2,66	3,00	1,66	4,00	1,00	4,66	3,00	5,00	3,66
Cathy		4,33	5,00	1,00	1,33	1,00	1,00	4,33	3,00	4,33	3,00
Charlotte		2,00	1,00	2,00	2,33	1,33	1,00	4,00	4,67	3,00	3,33
Ken		4,33	4,33	1,33	1,00	1,00	1,00	3,00	5,00	3,00	5,00
Susan		3,67	4,67	1,33	1,00	1,00	1,00	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00
John		1,33	3,33	1,00	2,33	1,00	2,67	3,33	3,67	1,33	4,00
Eddie		4,00	4,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	1,33	5,00	3,67	4,33	4,00
Pam		1,00	5,00	2,33	2,67	1,00	3,00	3,67	3,67	2,33	5,00

Range of mean scores: 0 - 5

D = Direct perspectives
M = Metaperspectives

¶ Lesley's responses refer to her first marriage (1) and her second marriage (2)

9. LOVE STYLE SCORES AND ATTACHMENT STYLES

Respondents	Attachment style	Eros	Ludus	Storge	Pragma	Mania	Agape
Tembi	Anxious	3,43	2,57	2,43	3,36	3,43	3,43
Mary	Avoidant	3,86	3,00	3,87	3,00	4,29	4,43
Jane	Avoidant	2,86	2,86	4,00	3,14	2,43	3,43
Leigh	Avoidant	3,14	2,00	3,43	3,29	3,29	3,86
Ron	Secure	4,14	3,29	3,00	1,29	3,57	4,43
Ann	Secure	4,29	1,71	2,29	2,43	2,86	4,00
Leeley	Avoidant	2,57	2,86	4,00	4,14	4,00	3,86
Paula	Avoidant	1,71	3,00	4,71	3,86	1,86	4,43
Irene	Secure	2,57	2,00	3,29	2,43	2,43	3,29
Cheryl	Secure	4,00	1,57	3,86	1,86	2,14	4,00
Helen	Secure	3,43	1,71	3,86	2,14	2,43	4,29
Clinton	Secure	4,00	1,43	3,57	2,57	2,14	3,00
Cathy	Secure	4,00	2,57	4,29	3,14	4,00	3,86
Charlotte	Secure	3,70	2,00	4,70	2,10	1,10	3,10
Ken	Secure	4,71	1,57	3,00	2,29	1,00	5,00
Susan	Secure	4,71	1,57	5,00	2,14	1,00	5,00
John	Avoidant	2,57	1,43	4,57	3,00	1,86	3,43
Eddie	Secure	4,00	1,86	3,29	2,86	2,00	4,00
Pam	Avoidant	5,00	2,14	4,43	2,71	2,71	5,00