

Myers, D. G. (1999). Close relationships and quality of life. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, & N. Schwarz (eds.), *Well-Being: The foundations of hedonic psychology*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

19 Close Relationships and Quality of Life

David G. Myers

As social animals, we humans have a powerful urge to belong—to feel attached to others in close relationships. Our human connections bind infants protectively to their caregivers and enhanced our ancestors' survival. When needs for close relationships are met, through supportive friendships or marriage, people enjoy better physical and emotional quality of life. Cultural and gender variations in social connectedness reveal both benefits and costs of Western individualism. As individualism has increased, and the bonds of marriage and informal networks have decreased, concern has grown for the well-being of children and civil society. Communitarians therefore argue for policies that balance individualism with community, and personal rights with social responsibilities.

I get by with a little help from my friends.

—John Lennon and Paul McCartney,
Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, 1967

DO CLOSE, supportive, intimate human connections enhance quality of life? Western cultures offer mixed messages.

On the one hand, we fret over supposedly addictive, dysfunctional relationships. Pop psychology books warn us against the yoke of "codependent" connections, marked by too much support and loyalty to a troubled partner at the cost of one's own self-fulfillment. Recognizing that the "chains" of marriage and the "shackles" of commitment can put us in "bondage," we are advised to give priority to enhancing our own identity and self-expression. "The only question which matters," declared Carl Rogers (quoted by Wallach and Wallach 1985), "is, 'Am I living in a way which is deeply satisfying to me, and which truly expresses me?'"

On the other hand, we yearn to be liked and loved. Asked, "What missing element would bring you happiness?" the most frequent answer is, "Love" (Freedman 1978). When college students were asked, "What would make you happy—winning millions in the lottery, achieving fame/

prestige in your career, enjoying physical pleasures (sex, food, drink), or falling (or staying) in love with your ideal mate?" 78 percent picked love as their first choice (Pettijohn and Pettijohn 1996).

THE HUMAN NEED TO BELONG

We humans feel motivated to eat, to drink, to have sex, and to achieve. But being what Aristotle called "the social animal," we also have a need to belong, to feel connected with others in enduring, close relationships. Roy Baumeister and Mark Leary (1995) identify functions of this basic human motive.

Aiding Survival

Social bonds boosted our ancestors' survival rate. For both children and adults, bonding was adaptive. By keeping children close to their caregivers, attachments served as a powerful survival impulse. As adults, those who formed attachments were more likely to come together to reproduce and to stay together to nurture their offspring to maturity. Groups shared food, provided mates, and helped care for children.

Survival also was enhanced by group members' cooperation. In solo combat, our ancestors were not the toughest predators. But as hunters they learned that six hands were better than two. Those who foraged in groups also gained protection from predators and enemies. There was strength in numbers. If, indeed, those who felt a need to belong survived and reproduced most successfully, their genes would in time predominate. The inevitable result: an innately social creature.

Wanting to Belong

The need to belong colors our thoughts and emotions. People spend much time thinking about their actual and hoped-for relationships. When relationships form, we often feel joy. Falling in mu-

tual love, people have been known to get cheek-aches from their irrepressible grin. Asked, "What is necessary for your happiness?" or, "What is it that makes your life meaningful?" most people mention—before anything else—satisfying close relationships with family, friends, or romantic partners (Berscheid 1985).

Short-term, superficial relationships alone do not satisfy. Prostitutes report having many physically intimate interactions with interesting people and without the yoke of ongoing obligations. Yet such interactions do not satisfy, prompting a quest for more lasting bonds, sometimes even self-destructive ties to procurers (McLeod 1982). When brothel rules aim to maximize brief contacts and prevent long-term relationships, many prostitutes object, preferring lengthier and repeated contacts, even at the cost of reduced earnings (Symanski 1980).

Because of our pan-human quest for enduring, close relationships, new social bonds are typically marked by celebration. When we marry, have a child, gain a new job, or join a fraternity, sorority, or religious community, we mark the event with food, ritual, or parties.

People in every human society belong to groups and prefer and favor "us" over "them." Thus, in the classic Robbers Cave study, previously unacquainted boys assigned to a group quickly developed strong group loyalty and identification—and antagonism toward those randomly assigned to other groups (Sherif 1966). In experiments, even trivial definitions of groups—for instance, those who favor one abstract painter over another—have led to group identification and in-group biases when dividing up money (Tajfel 1981; Wilder 1981). When facing common predicaments or working for superordinate goals, the sense of belonging becomes all the stronger.

Increasing Social Acceptance

Much of our social behavior aims to increase our belonging—our social acceptance and inclusion. To avoid rejection, we generally conform to group standards and seek to make favorable impressions. To win friendship and esteem, we monitor our behavior, hoping to create the right impressions. Seeking love and belonging, we spend billions on clothes, cosmetics, and diet and fitness aids—all motivated by our quest for acceptance. In cultures where the decline of arranged marriages and the possibility of divorce make romantic attachment

more dependent on attractiveness, more billions are spent on becoming and staying attractive.

Like sexual motivation, which fuels both love and exploitation, the need to belong feeds both deep attachments and menacing threats. Out of our need to define a "we" come loving families, faithful friendships, fraternal organizations, and team spirit, but also teen gangs, isolationist cults, ethnic hostilities, and fanatic nationalism. So it goes with all basic motives that have multiple and strong effects on how we think, feel, and act. It therefore "seems safe to conclude," say Baumeister and Leary, "that human beings are fundamentally and pervasively motivated by a need to belong" (522).

Maintaining Relationships

People resist breaking social bonds (Hazan and Shaver 1994). For most of us, familiarity breeds liking, not contempt. Thrown together at school, at summer camp, on a cross-country bus tour, people resist the group's dissolution. Hoping to maintain the relationships, they promise to call, to write, to come back for reunions. Parting, they feel distress. At the end of a mere vacation cruise, people may hug their waiter or cry when saying good-bye forever to their cabin attendant. Attachments can even keep people in abusive relationships; the fear of being alone may seem worse than the pain of emotional or physical abuse.

When something threatens or dissolves our social ties, negative emotions overwhelm us. Exile, imprisonment, and solitary confinement are progressively more severe forms of punishment. Recently bereaved people often feel that life is empty and pointless. Those denied others' acceptance and inclusion may feel depressed. Anxiety, jealousy, loneliness, and guilt all involve threatened disruptions of our need to belong.

ATTACHMENT

Our infant dependency strengthens our human bonds. Soon after birth we exhibit various social responses—love, fear, anger. But the first and greatest of these is love. As babies we almost immediately prefer familiar faces and voices. We coo and smile when our parents give us attention. By eight months, we crawl after mother or father and typically let out a wail when separated from them. Reunited, we cling.

Deprived of familiar attachments—sometimes

in barren institutions, sometimes locked away at home under conditions of extreme neglect—children may become withdrawn, frightened, silent. Those abandoned in Romanian orphanages were said to “look frighteningly like Harlow’s [socially deprived] monkeys” (Blakeslee 1995). After studying the mental health of homeless children for the World Health Organization, John Bowlby (1980) reflected: “Intimate attachments to other human beings are the hub around which a person’s life revolves, not only when he is an infant or a toddler or a schoolchild but throughout his adolescence and his years of maturity as well, and on into old age. From these intimate attachments a person draws his strength and enjoyment of life” (442).

Passionate Attachments

Researchers have compared the nature of attachment and love in various close relationships—between parents and children, same-sex friends, and spouses or lovers (Davis 1985; Maxwell 1985; Sternberg and Grajek 1984). Some elements are common to all loving attachments: mutual understanding, giving and receiving support, valuing and enjoying being with the loved one. Passionate love is, however, spiced with some added features: physical affection, an expectation of exclusiveness, and an intense fascination with the loved one.

Passionate love is not just for lovers. Phillip Shaver, Cindy Hazan, and Donna Bradshaw (1988) note that year-old infants display a passionate attachment to their parents. Much like young adult lovers, they welcome physical affection, feel distress when separated, express intense affection when reunited, and take great pleasure in the significant other’s attention and approval.

Attachment Styles

Some babies, when placed in a strange situation (usually a laboratory playroom), show *secure attachment*. They play comfortably in their mother’s presence, happily exploring the strange environment. If she leaves, they get distressed; when she returns, they run to her, hold her, then relax and return to exploring and playing. Other infants show the anxiousness and ambivalence of *insecure attachment*. In the strange situation, they are more likely to cling anxiously to their mother. If she leaves, they cry; when she returns, they may be indifferent or even hostile. Still others show *avoidant attachment*. Although internally aroused, they reveal little distress during separation or attachment upon reunion (Ainsworth 1973, 1989).

Some researchers attribute these varying attachment styles to parental responsiveness. Sensitive, responsive mothers—mothers who engender a sense of basic trust in the world’s reliability—typically have securely attached infants, observed Mary Ainsworth (1979) and Erik Erikson (1963). Other researchers believe attachment styles may reflect inherited temperament. Regardless, early attachment styles do seem to lay a foundation for future relationships.

Shaver and Hazan (1993, 1994) and others (Feeney and Noller 1990; Simpson, Rholes, and Nelligan 1992) have explored adult versions of the infant attachment styles. *Secure* individuals find it easy to get close to others and don’t fret about getting too dependent or being abandoned. As lovers they enjoy sexuality within the context of a continuing relationship. *Anxious-ambivalent* individuals are less trusting and therefore more possessive and jealous. They may break up repeatedly with the same person. *Avoidant* individuals fear closeness and therefore become less invested in relationships and more likely to leave them. They also are more likely to engage in one-night stands of sex without love. Kim Bartholomew and Leonard Horowitz (1991) note that avoidant individuals may be either *fearful* (“I am uncomfortable getting close to others”) or *dismissing* (“It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient”).

CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS AND HEALTH

We can easily imagine why close relationships might contribute to illness. Relationships are often fraught with stress, especially in crowded living conditions lacking privacy (Evans et al. 1989). “Hell is others,” wrote Jean-Paul Sartre. Peter Warr and Roy Payne (1982) asked a representative sample of British adults what, if anything, had emotionally strained them the day before. “Family” was the most frequent answer. Even when well meaning, family intrusions can be stressful. And stress contributes to heart disease, hypertension, and a suppressed immune system.

On balance, however, close relationships more often contribute to health and happiness. Asked what prompted the previous day’s times of pleasure, the same British sample, by an even larger margin, again answered, “Family.” For most of us, family relationships provide not only our greatest heartaches but also our greatest comfort and joy.

Moreover, seven massive investigations, each

following thousands of people for several years, reveal that close relationships affect health. Compared with those having few social ties, people are less likely to die prematurely if supported by close relationships with friends, family, fellow church members, coworkers, or members of other support groups (Cohen 1988; House, Landis, and Umberson 1988; Nelson 1988). "Woe to one who is alone and falls and does not have another to help," observed the writer of Ecclesiastes. Some examples:

- A review commissioned by the National Academy of Sciences revealed that broken social ties among people recently widowed, fired, or divorced correlate with increased vulnerability to disease (Dohrenwend et al. 1982). A Finnish study of ninety-six thousand widowed people confirmed the phenomenon: their risk of death doubled in the week following their partner's death (Kaprio et al. 1987). The National Academy of Sciences (1984) reported that the grief and depression that follow the death of a spouse decrease immune defenses (which helps explain the increase in disease among those recently widowed).
- One study followed leukemia patients preparing to undergo bone marrow transplants. Two years later only 20 percent of those who said they had little social support from their family or friends were still alive. Among those who felt strong emotional support, the two-year survival rate was 54 percent (Colon et al. 1991).
- A study of 1,234 heart attack patients found that the rate of a recurring attack within six months nearly doubled among those living alone (Case et al. 1992).
- A study of 1,965 heart disease patients revealed a five-year survival rate of 82 percent among those who were married or had a confidant, but only 50 percent among those did not have such support (Williams et al. 1992).
- A seventy-year study following 1,528 high-IQ score California children found that those whose parents did not divorce during their childhood outlived children of divorce by about four years (Friedman et al. 1995).

There are several possible reasons for the link between health and social support. Perhaps people with strong social ties eat better and exercise more because their partners guide and goad them into healthier living. Perhaps they smoke and drink less; that would help explain the repeated finding that religiously active people enjoy better health (Idler and Kasl 1992; Levin and Vanderpool 1987). If close relationships help us evaluate and overcome stressful events, such as social rejection, then perhaps they bolster immune functioning. When wounded by someone's dislike or by the loss of a

job, a friend's advice, assistance, and reassurance may be good medicine (Cutrona 1986; Rook 1987). Given lots of social support, spouses of cancer patients exhibit stronger immune functioning (Baron et al. 1990).

Close relationships also provide the opportunity to confide painful feelings. In one study, James Pennebaker and Robin O'Heeron (1984) contacted the surviving spouses of people who had committed suicide or died in car accidents. Those who had borne their grief alone had more health problems than those who had openly expressed it.

In a simulated confessional, Pennebaker asked volunteers to share with a hidden experimenter some upsetting events that had been preying on their minds. He asked some of the volunteers to describe a trivial event before they divulged the troubling one. Physiological measures revealed that their bodies remained tense the whole time they talked about the trivial event; they relaxed only when they later confided the cause of their turmoil. Even writing about personal traumas in a diary can help. When volunteers in other experiments did this, they had fewer health problems during the ensuing four to six months (Pennebaker 1990). As one subject explained, "Although I have not talked with anyone about what I wrote, I was finally able to deal with it, work through the pain instead of trying to block it out. Now it doesn't hurt to think about it."

If suppressed, traumas can affect physical health. James Pennebaker, Steven B. Barger, and John Tiebout (1989) also invited thirty-three Holocaust survivors to spend two hours recalling their experiences. Many did so in intimate detail never before disclosed. Most watched and showed family and friends a videotape of their recollections in the weeks following. Those who were most self-disclosing had the most improved health fourteen months later. Although talking about a stressful event can temporarily arouse people, it calms them in the long run (Mendolia and Kleck 1993).

CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS AND SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

Being attached to friends and partners with whom we can share intimate thoughts has two effects, observed Francis Bacon in his 1625 essay "Of Friendship": "It redoubleth joys, and curteth griefs in half." Bacon would not be surprised by observed correlations between close relationships and psychological well-being.

Friendships and Well-Being

"Looking over the last six months, who are the people with whom you discussed matters important to you?" Compared to those who could name no such intimate when queried by the National Opinion Research Center (Burt 1986), those who named five or more such friends were 60 percent more likely to feel "very happy."

Other findings confirm the correlation between social support and well-being:

- The happiest university students are those who feel satisfied with their love life (Emmons et al. 1983).
- Those who enjoy close relationships cope better with various stresses, including bereavement, rape, job loss, and illness (Abbey and Andrews 1985; Perlman and Rook 1987).
- Compared to army soldiers in large, conventional units, with changing memberships, those on stable, cohesive, twelve-person A-teams experience greater social support, better physical and mental health, and more career satisfaction (Manning and Fullerton 1988).
- People report greater well-being if their friends and families support their goals by frequently expressing interest and offering help and encouragement (Israel and Antonucci 1987; Ruehlman and Wolchik 1988).
- Among eight hundred alumni of Hobart and William Smith Colleges surveyed by Wesley Perkins (1991),

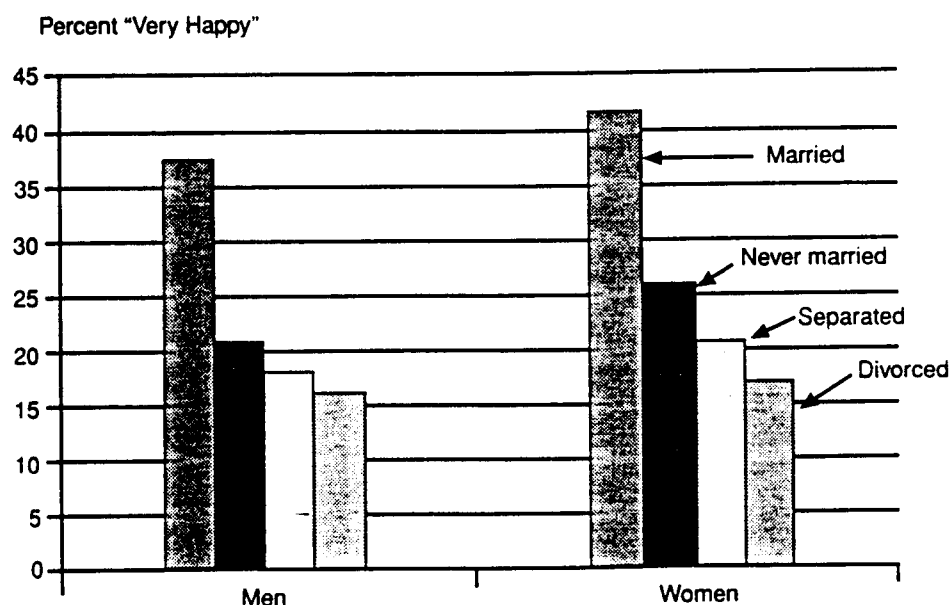
those with "Yuppie" values—who preferred a high income and occupational success and prestige to having very close friends and a close marriage—were twice as likely as their former classmates to describe themselves as "fairly" or "very" *unhappy*.

Marriage and Well-Being

For more than nine in ten people worldwide, reports the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook*, one eventual example of a close relationship is marriage. So, given our need to belong and the resulting link between friendship and happiness, does marriage predict greater happiness? Or is there more happiness in pleasure-seeking independence than under the "yoke" of marriage?

A mountain of data reveal that most people are happier attached than unattached. Survey after survey of many tens of thousands of Europeans and Americans has produced a consistent result: compared to those single or widowed, and especially compared to those divorced or separated, married people report being happier and more satisfied with life (Gove, Style, and Hughes 1990; Inglehart 1990). During the 1970s and 1980s in the United States, for example, 24 percent of never-married adults, but 48 percent of married adults, reported being "very happy" (figure 19.1). Pooling data from national surveys of 20,800 people in

FIGURE 19.1. Marital Status and Happiness



Source: Data from 31,901 participants in the General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center, 1972 to 1994.

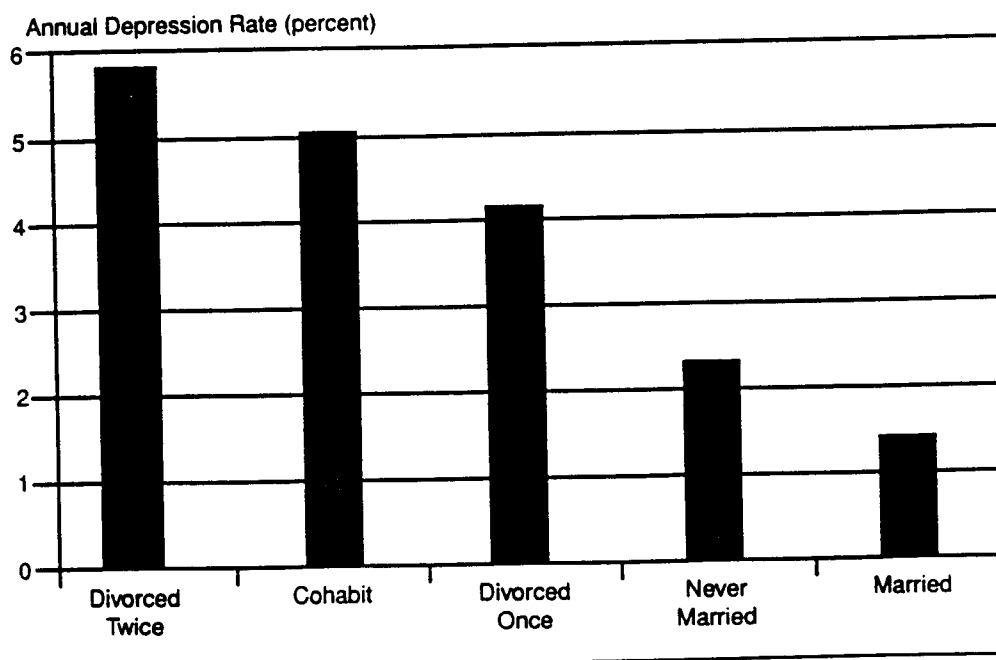
nineteen countries, Arne Mastekaasa (1994) confirmed the correlation between marital status and happiness. Compared to other demographic predictors, such as age, gender, or income, the marriage predictor looms large (Inglehart 1990; Myers 1993). Moreover, unmarried people are at increased risk of depression (figure 19.2).

Is marriage, as is so often supposed, more strongly associated with men's happiness than women's? Do "Guys Wed for Better; Wives for Worse," as *USA Today* headlined (1 October 1993), based on one small study? Given women's greater contribution to household work and to supportive nurturing, we might expect so. From this standpoint, marriage is a better deal for men. However, the married versus never-married happiness gap has been only slightly greater among American men than women (Gove et al. 1990). Moreover, in European surveys, and in a statistical digest of ninety-three other studies, this happiness gap is virtually identical for men and women (Inglehart 1990; Wood, Rhodes, and Whelan 1989). Although a bad marriage can be more depressing to a woman than to her more emotionally numbed husband, the myth that single women are happier than married women can be laid to rest. Throughout the Western world, married people of both sexes report more happiness than those never married, divorced, or separated.

However, more important than being married is the quality of the marriage. People who say their marriage is satisfying—who find themselves still in love with their partner—rarely report being unhappy, discontented with life, or depressed. Fortunately, most married people *do* declare their marriages happy ones. In the United States almost two-thirds say their marriage is "very happy." Three out of four say their spouse is their best friend. Four out of five people say they would marry the same person again (Greeley 1991). The consequence? Most such people feel quite happy with life as a whole.

But why are married people generally happier? Does marriage promote happiness? Or does happiness promote marriage? Are happy people more appealing as marriage partners? Do grouchy or depressed people more often stay single or suffer divorce? Certainly, happy people are more fun to be with. They are more outgoing, trusting, compassionate, and focused on others (Veenhoven 1988). Unhappy people are more often socially rejected. Misery may love company, but research on the social consequences of depression reveals that company does not love misery. An unhappy (and therefore self-focused, irritable, and withdrawn) spouse or roommate is no fun to be around (Gotlib 1992; Segrin and Dillard 1992). For these reasons, positive, happy people more readily form happy relationships.

FIGURE 19.2. Marital Status and Rate of Depression



Source: Robins and Regier 1991, 72.

Yet "the prevailing opinion of researchers," reports the sociologist Arne Mastekaasa (1995), is that the association between marriage and well-being is "mainly due" to the beneficial effects of marriage. Consider: if the happiest people marry sooner and more often, then as people age (and progressively less happy people move into marriage), the average happiness of both married and never-married people should decline. (The older, less happy newlyweds would pull down the average happiness of married people, leaving the unhappiest people in the unmarried group.) But the data do not support this prediction. This suggests that marital intimacy, commitment, and support really do—for most people—pay emotional dividends.

There are at least two reasons why marriage might enhance happiness. The first one is prosaic. Marriage offers the roles of spouse and parent, which can provide additional sources of self-esteem (Crosby 1987). True, multiple roles can multiply stress. One's circuits sometimes overload. Yet each role provides rewards, status, avenues to enrichment, and escape from stress faced in other parts of one's life. When one's personal identity stands on several legs, it more easily holds up under the loss of any one of them. If I mess up at work, well, I can tell myself, I'm still a good husband and father, and in the final analysis, these parts of me are what matter most.

Second, married people are more likely to enjoy an enduring, supportive, intimate relationship and are less likely to suffer loneliness. No wonder male students survived UCLA Medical School with less stress and anxiety if married (Coombs 1991). A good marriage gives each partner a dependable companion, a lover, and a friend.

A good marriage is typically marked by *equity* and *intimacy*. When equity exists—when both partners freely give and receive, and when they share decision-making—their chances for sustained and satisfying companionate love are good (Gray-Little and Burks 1983; Van Yperen and Buunk 1990). Mutually sharing self and possessions, giving and getting emotional support, promoting and caring about one another's welfare, are at the core of every type of loving relationship (Sternberg and Grajek 1984). It's true for lovers, for intimate friends, even for parent and child.

A strong friendship or marriage also involves self-disclosure, a mutual revealing of intimate details about likes and dislikes, dreams and worries, proud and shameful moments (Berg and McQuinn 1986; Hendrick et al. 1988; Sprecher 1987). As a relationship deepens, self-disclosure

increases. As one person reveals a little, the other reciprocates, the first person reveals more, and on and on, as friends or lovers move to deeper intimacy. "When I am with my friend," reflected Seneca, "methinks I am alone, and as much at liberty to speak anything as to think it." At its best, marriage is such a friendship, sealed by commitment. Given reciprocated intimacy and mutually supportive equity, the odds favor enduring love—and happiness.

HUMAN CONNECTIONS ACROSS CULTURES

So, beginning with our infant attachments, we humans have a deep need to belong. With those needs met, through supportive friendships or marriage, we enjoy better physical and emotional quality of life. Consider, then, some curious variations in social connectedness.

Industrialized Western cultures typically value individualism. They give more priority to self-reliance and personal well-being than to social identity. Western books and movies often celebrate rugged individuals who seek their own fulfillment rather than fulfilling others' expectations. Individualism flourishes under conditions of affluence, mobility, urbanism, and exposure to mass media (Triandis et al. 1993). Across time and place, individualism rises as economies become more market-oriented. "Changes in the nature and organization of work under capitalism in Western industrial societies have produced a long-term shift from communal to market values and an accompanying rise of individualism," contends Margaret Mooney Marini (1990). As competition increases and production shifts from families to factories, moral restraints and religious outlooks associated with communal life subside. So do communal values such as trust and sharing.

Asian and Third World cultures place a greater value on collectivism. They give more priority to the goals and welfare of their groups—family, clan, work group. Books and movies often celebrate those who, despite temptations to self-indulgence, remember who they are and do their social duty. When Kobe, Japan, was struck by the devastating 1995 earthquake, Western reporters were struck by the absence of looting and the orderly way in which people lined up for relief supplies—"as if they were waiting for a bus." Collectivism flourishes where people face shared threats such as famine, where families are large, and where life requires cooperation, as when building canals

or harvesting and storing food. In Australia, for example, Aboriginal people tend to value collectivism, while non-Aboriginal people value individualism (Fogarty and White 1994).

Without discounting individual differences within cultures, cross-cultural psychologists such as Harry Triandis, Richard Brislin, and C. Harry Hui (1988; Triandis 1994) have shown how a culture's individualism or collectivism affects self-concept and social relations.

Self-Concept

Shorn of their social connections—separated from family, friends, and work group—individualists retain their identity, their sense of “me.” Thus, individualists feel free to leave jobs, homes, churches, and extended families in search of better opportunities for themselves. As adolescents they struggle to separate from parents and define their own personal sense of self. “Get in touch with yourself, accept yourself, be true to yourself,” they hear from their culture's individualistic advice givers. The therapist Fritz Perls (1973) epitomized the individualism of Western popular psychology: “I do my thing, and you do your thing. I am not in this world to live up to your expectations. And, you are not in this world to live up to mine” (70). Popular songs and sayings express such individualism: “I gotta be me”; “I did it my way”; “Do your own thing”; “If it feels good, do it”; “It's not my bag”; “Seek your own bliss”; “I owe it to myself.”

In collectivist cultures, where communal solidarity is prized, such words would seldom be spoken. For collectivists, social networks provide one's bearings and help define who one is. Extended families are close-knit. One's family name may even be written first to emphasize one's social identity (Hui Harry). Self-reliance means not “doing one's own thing” but “being responsible” (Triandis et al. 1993). Compared to U.S. magazine ads, Korean magazine ads are less likely to appeal to individual interests (“She's got a style all her own”) and more likely to appeal to collective interests (“We have a way of bringing people closer together”) (Han and Shavitt 1994). Rather than the squeaky wheel getting the grease, “the nail that stands out gets pounded down.”

Social Relations

Collectivists may have fewer relationships, but they are deeper and longer-lasting. Compared to North American students, university students in

Hong Kong talk during a day with fewer people for longer periods (Wheeler et al. 1989). In the United States, feeling good is linked with disengaged positive feelings—for example, feeling proud, an emotion that Westerners often feel (Kitayama, Marcus, and Matsumoto 1995). In Japan, feeling good more often links with feeling interpersonally engaged (for example, having friendly feelings). In collectivist cultures, employer-employee relations are marked by mutual loyalty. Valuing social solidarity, people seek to maintain harmony by showing respect and allowing others to save face. They avoid confrontation, blunt honesty, and boasting. Instead, they stay away from touchy topics, defer to others, and display a self-effacing humility (Kitayama and Markus, in press). People do favors for one another and remember who has done favors for them. For collectivists, no one is an island. The self is not independent but *interdependent*. What matters is less “me” than “we.”

Because social identity is so important, collectivists are, however, somewhat quicker to prejudge people by their groups. In their culture, they explain, it *helps* to know people's group identities—“tell me a person's family, schooling, and employment, and you tell me a lot about the person.” In Japan, people exchange cards when first meeting—cards that tell their social identity (name, occupation, address). Individualists warn against stereotyping and prefer not to judge people by their backgrounds and affiliations: “Everyone's an individual, so you shouldn't make assumptions just from knowing a person's sex, race, or background.” Individualists do prejudge people but often by obvious personal attributes, such as physical attractiveness (Dion, Pak, and Dion 1990). And they more often attribute someone's behavior to their disposition, as when attributing a violent act to a “very bad temper” rather than a personal conflict or rivalry (Morris and Peng 1994).

Each cultural tradition offers benefits, for a price. In competitive, individualist cultures, people enjoy more personal freedom, take greater pride in their own achievements, and are less restricted by others' prejudgments. They also enjoy more privacy, behave more spontaneously, and feel freer to move about and choose their own lifestyles. Innovation and creativity are celebrated. Human rights are respected. Such may help explain Ed, Marissa, and Carol Diener's (1995) finding that people in individualistic cultures report greater happiness. When individualists pursue their own ends, and all goes well, life can seem rewarding.

For such benefits, the price is more frequent loneliness, more divorce, more homicide, and more stress-related disease (Popenoe 1993; Triandis et al. 1988). "Rampant individualism," suggests Martin Seligman (1988), helps explain a huge increase in rates of depression in Western countries, resulting partly from the "meaninglessness" that occurs when there is no "attachment to something larger than the lonely self" (55). When things go not so well, and social support is lacking, life can seem less than rewarding.

Gender and Close Relationships

The cultural difference between individualism and collectivism parallels a gender difference between independence and social connectedness. Without denying individual differences, the psychologists Nancy Chodorow (1978, 1989), Jean Baker Miller (1986), and Carol Gilligan and her colleagues (1982, 1990) contend that women more than men give priority to relationships.

The difference surfaces in childhood. Boys strive for independence; they define their identity in separation from the caregiver, usually their mother. Girls value interdependence; they define their identity through their social connections. Boys' play often involves group activity. But girls' play occurs in smaller groups, with less aggression, more sharing, more imitation of relationships, and more intimate discussion (Lever 1978).

Adult relationships extend this gender difference. In conversation, men more often focus on tasks, women on relationships. In groups, men contribute more task-oriented behaviors, such as giving information; women contribute more positive social-emotional behaviors, such as giving help or showing support (Eagly 1987). Women spend more time caring for both preschoolers and aging parents (Eagly and Crowley 1986). They buy most birthday gifts and greeting cards (DeStefano and Colasanto 1990; Hallmark 1990). In most of the U.S. caregiving professions—such as social worker, teacher, and nurse—women outnumber men. Among first-year college students, five in ten males and seven in ten females say it is *very* important to "help others who are in difficulty" (Astin et al. 1995). Women's greater social concern helps explain why, in survey after survey, American women are more likely than men to support Democratic Party candidates and to oppose military initiatives (*American Enterprise*, 1991).

When surveyed, women are also far more likely

to describe themselves as having empathy—being able to rejoice with those who rejoice and weep with those who weep. To a lesser extent, the empathy difference extends to laboratory studies, in which women are more likely to cry or report feeling distressed at another's distress (Eisenberg and Lennon 1983). Shown slides or told stories, girls, too, react with more empathy (Hunt 1990). The gender empathy difference helps explain why, compared to friendships with men, both men and women report friendships with women to be more intimate, enjoyable, and nurturing (Rubin 1985; Sapadin 1988). When they want empathy and understanding, someone to whom they can disclose their joys and hurts, both men and women usually turn to women.

HUMAN CONNECTIONS ACROSS TIME

Since 1960 individualism has strengthened and supportive social connections have weakened. These trends are evident in the weakening of marriage bonds and of informal networks. Although the trends cross Western cultures, I will focus on my own country as a case example.

The Decline of Marriage

Americans are marrying later and divorcing more often. The Census Bureau reports that the typical man isn't marrying until age 26.7 (up from 22.8 in 1960), and the typical woman not until age 24.5 (up from 20.3 in 1960).

Second, people are divorcing more often—at double the 1960 rate. "We are living longer, but loving more briefly," quips Os Guinness (1993, 309). Although the divorce rate has now leveled off, this does not signify a renewal of marital stability, note sociologist Sara McLanahan and Census Bureau researcher Lynne Casper (1994). The divorce rate almost had to level off, given increased cohabitation, increased age at first marriage, and the passage of the baby boom generation through their most divorce-prone years. The high plateau on which divorce continues, combined with the decline of marriage, means that currently divorced people are a still-increasing number of the population (from 2.9 million in 1960 to 17.6 million in 1995). From 1960 to 1995, the percentage of divorced adults quadrupled from 2.3 to 9.2 percent. "The scale of marital breakdowns in the West since 1960 has no historical precedent that I know of, and seems unique,"

reports the Princeton University family historian Lawrence Stone (1989). "There has been nothing like it for the last two thousand years, and probably longer." Moreover, this is not just an increase in bad marriages ending, but in marriages going bad. If it were the former, today's surviving or remarried couples should be happier rather than slightly *unhappier*, as survey data indicate (Glenn 1996).

Third, we are marrying less. This trend, combined with delayed and broken marriages, has produced an increasing proportion of single adults—from 25 percent in 1960 to 39 percent in 1995. With 74.9 million singles (59 percent of whom have never married), there has been an understandable boom in singles bars, singles ministries, singles housing, and singles cruises. With so many more singles—more than twice as many as in 1960—the stigma associated with being single has lessened. Yesterday's "spinster" is today's single professional woman.

People are also delaying remarriage. From the late 1960s to the early 1980s, the proportion of women who remarried within a year after the end of their first marriage plunged from 33 percent to 16 percent (London 1991).

Waning Networks

Like the bonds of marriage, informal bonds have weakened. Face-to-face interactions are waning, thanks partly to the conveniences afforded by drive-through food pickups, ATM machines, and E-mail. People visit one another less, belong to fewer groups, and more often live alone (House 1986). In 1940, 8 percent of American households involved people living alone. Today 25 percent do. The Census Bureau predicts (in a 3 May 1996 release) that by 2010, 27 percent will live alone.

Although Americans still join voluntary groups and volunteer in large numbers, participation is dwindling in Scouting, Red Cross, Jaycees, women's clubs, and fraternal lodges (Grossman and Leroux 1995). PTA membership dropped from twelve million in 1964 to seven million in 1993. We are even bowling more often apart from groups. Since 1980, reports Robert Putnam (1995), the number of bowlers has risen 10 percent, but participation in bowling leagues has dropped 40 percent.

Trust has declined sharply from 1960, when 58 percent told National Opinion Research Center interviewers that they felt people generally could

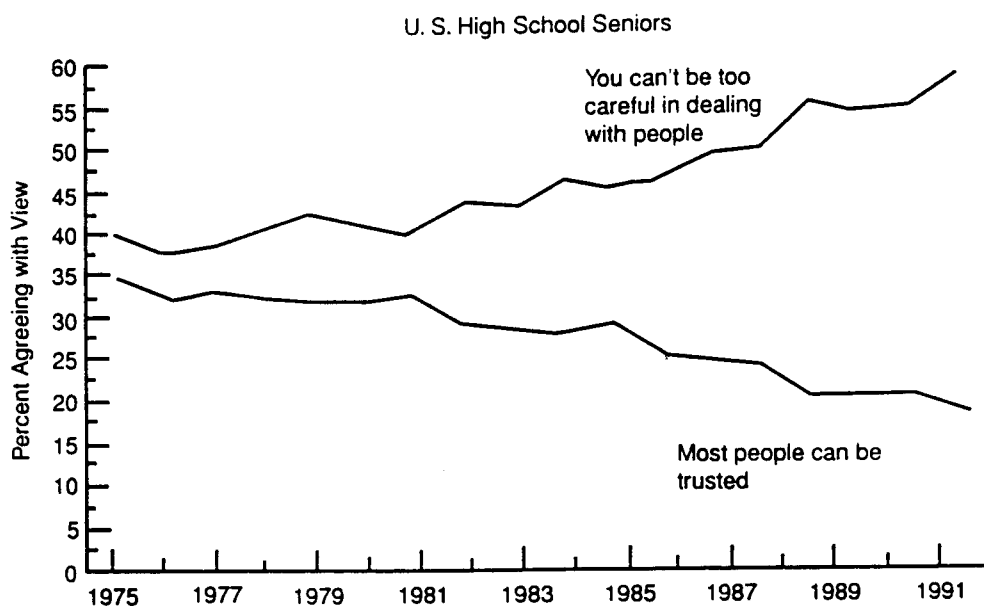
be trusted, to 1994, when slightly more than one-third said the same. In 1994, 69 percent of Americans responding to a Gallup poll (1994) agreed that "these days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on." Prudential Insurance Company, once "the rock" you could count on, now wants to help you "be your own rock." High school seniors' sense of trust has similarly declined (figure 19.3).

Voting, the elementary act of citizenship, also has declined. Compare the 63 percent of eligible American voters who went to the polls in 1960 to the percentage voting in the next presidential election. All in all, note Ron Grossman and Charles Leroux (1995), today's more individualistic twenty- and thirty-somethings are half as likely as their grandparents were to join face-to-face groups, trust others, and vote. This dramatic decline in civic engagement has occurred despite a doubled proportion of high school graduates. Consider: (1) Highly educated people are more likely to be trusting and engaged in civic groups; (2) more people today are highly educated; yet (3) civic involvement has declined sharply (Putnam 1996). Clearly, some social toxin—something powerful enough to overwhelm our increasing education—is corroding America's civic life.

Over the last half-century, parents have become more likely to prize independence and self-reliance in their children, and less concerned with obedience (Alwin 1990; Remley 1988). The pollster Daniel Yankelovich (1994) has observed that the children-cum-adults of the 1990s place a lower value on self-sacrifice, on sexual restraint, and on what we owe others out of moral obligation. "Civilization is an exercise in self-restraint," noted William Butler Yeats. Radical individualism, say its critics, undermines both restraint and concern for future generations.

Another price tag on individualism, argues Martin Seligman (1991), is increased risk of depression, which has risen with individualism and is higher in individualist countries. Seligman attributes the current epidemic of depression to a cultural shift away from the "minimal self" of Yankee culture, which was concerned less with feelings than with behavior, less with freedom than with duty, and less with passions than with virtues. "I believe our epidemic of depression is a creature of [today's] maximal self." With the maximization of the individual self has come a "diminished sense of community and loss of higher purpose. These together proved rich soil for depression to grow in." Having forgone commitments to things larger

FIGURE 19.3. Declining Trust



Source: University of Michigan's annual *Monitoring the Future Survey* of U.S. high school seniors, as reported by Bronfenbrenner et al., 1996, 2.

than self (God, country, family), "where can we now turn for identity, for purpose, and for hope? When we need spiritual furniture, we look around and see that all the comfortable leather sofas and stuffed chairs have been removed and all that's left to sit on is a small, frail folder chair: the self" (284-85). And if success is to be attributed to the individual self, then so is failure. If my career falls short of expectations, my marriage is a disappointment, or my children are flawed, well, who else is to blame? For shame. I should have tried harder, dreamed bigger, thought smarter. Psychologically speaking, the individualist self is ultimately, for better or worse, alone.

Yet we must also remember the complementary truth. There is also a brighter side to individualism. Individualistic countries, as we have noted, exhibit greater respect for individual human rights, more personal freedom, higher levels of individual self-esteem, and (when relationships and work is going well) greater happiness.

Individualism and the American Family

Individualism is up, and family integrity is down. Is there a connection between these two trends?

If individualism corrodes family commitments, we should first expect to see that rising individual-

ism correlates with family decline over time—which it does. Individualism is, however, restrained by our collectivist urges, including our need to belong. Thus, there is always a tension between, on the one side, the value we put on self-fulfillment—we insist on our rights, cherish personal freedom, and value self—and, on the other side, the value we put on commitments—our sense of responsibility, our view of permanence as a virtue, our belief that love is not just a feeling but a binding obligation. Over time the balance has shifted toward prizing fulfillment over commitment, rights over responsibilities, wants over oughts. Rather than view the self as "the servant of the marriage," notes Roy Baumeister (1991), "today people feel that marriage should serve the self" (7). In 1951 only 51 percent of Americans agreed that "parents who don't get along should not stay together because there are children in the family." In 1985, 82 percent agreed (Glenn 1991). And by 1994 only 15 percent agreed that "parents should stay together even if they don't get along" (*American Enterprise*, 1995).

Marriage is less often idealized as self-sacrificial love, as a union for the sake of love's children, or as an enduring mutual commitment. Bernard Farber (1987) sees the culture shifting toward "per-

manent availability"—with adults, regardless of marital status, continuing to compare their marriage with perceived alternatives. The idea that a continual openness to a more satisfying partner would increase satisfaction and happiness ignores "the fact that the freedom of one spouse to leave the marriage at will is the other spouse's insecurity," notes Norval Glenn (1996). And "without a reasonable degree of security, it is unlikely that a spouse will commit fully to the marriage and make the sacrifices and investments needed to make it succeed". Glenn (1993) also is concerned that with increased individualism "the social metric in America has shifted from child well-being to adult well-being" (10).

If individualism corrodes family commitments, we should also expect to see greater individualism linked with weaker family bonds across cultures—and we do. The United States is both the world's most individualistic and most divorce-prone nation. Britain is somewhat less individualistic and has barely half the divorce rate. (Ronald Reagan could divorce, remarry, and become president, but it is not a given that Prince Charles can divorce, remarry, and become king.) Divorce rates tend to be even lower in collectivist cultures such as Japan (Census Bureau 1995, table 1366; Triandis 1994). Collectivists demand less romance and personal fulfillment in marriage, thus putting the marriage relationship under less pressure (Dion and Dion 1993; Hatfield and Sprecher 1995). In one survey, "keeping romance alive" was rated as important to a good marriage by 78 percent of American women and 29 percent of Japanese women (*American Enterprise*, 1992).

If individualism corrodes family commitments we should, finally, expect to see greater individualism correlate with weaker attachments across individuals—and once again, we do. The more people view self-actualization rather than child-rearing as the purpose of partnership, the more likely they are to divorce (Hall 1996). Compared to those who marry, those who cohabit have a greater desire to maintain their autonomy and a lesser need for attachment (Cunningham and Antil 1994). Individualists feel more frustration with their marriages: they criticize their partners more severely and express less marital happiness (Scanzoni et al. 1989).

Declining Civility

Coincident with the weakening of family bonds and social networks have been some additional fa-

vorable and not-so-favorable trends. Since 1960 overt racial and gender prejudice is down and equal opportunities are up—another of individualism's benefits. Disposable (inflation-adjusted) per-person income has doubled, as has the number of cars per person, the frequency of eating out, and other indicators of growing affluence (Myers 1999). Educational levels, life expectancy, and computer-enhanced technologies similarly suggest improving quality of life.

Had Rip Van Winkle fallen asleep in 1960 and awakened in 1996, would he feel pleased with other social trends? Here are the facts of life that would greet him (Myers 1997). Since 1960:

- Since 1976 child abuse and neglect reports quintupled to more than 3.1 million annually.
- Teen sexual activity has doubled, with accompanying increases in sexually transmitted diseases.
- The 5 percent of babies born to unmarried parents in 1960 has increased more than sixfold to 32 percent. Increasingly, in all ethnic groups, children are having children and men are fathering children with little commitment to mother or child.
- In 1960 just over one in ten children did not live with two parents. Today three in ten do not, and most of these rarely see their biological fathers.
- While the over-sixty-five poverty rate has plummeted from 35 to 11 percent in 1997, thanks to shifting resources from children toward older adults, children's poverty dropped during the 1960s, then rose after 1970 from 15 to 20 percent.

Edward Zigler and Elizabeth Gilman (1990) report a consensus among researchers: "In the past thirty years of monitoring the indicators of child well-being, never have the indicators looked so negative." Urie Bronfenbrenner (quoted by Clinton 1995) paints the trends starkly: "The present state of children and families in the United States represents the greatest domestic problem our nation has faced since the founding of the Republic. It is sapping our very roots."

Moreover, family decline since 1960 has been accompanied by other social trends:

- a tripled teen suicide rate
- a quadrupled rate of reported rapes
- a quintupled juvenile violent crime
- soaring depression rates

Are these indicators of social recession interconnected? We know that poverty, school dropout, juvenile violence, and other forms of social and emotional pathology are more common in father-

absent homes. For example, the Bureau of Justice Statistics has reported that seven in ten hard-core delinquents in correctional facilities did not consistently live with both parents while growing up. From this, David Lykken (1994) has computed that the sons of single parents are at seven times greater risk of incarceration than sons reared by two biological parents. Is increased single- and step-parenting and the decline in father care a mere correlate of children's diminishing quality of life, or is it causal?

Although children's responses to family breakup are diverse (some benefit from escaping a traumatic situation), Mavis Hetherington and her colleagues (Hetherington, Stanley-Haga, and Anderson 1989; Hetherington and Clingempeel 1992) conclude that divorce places "children at increased risk for developing social, psychological, behavioral and academic problems." Two studies that control for many covarying circumstances implicate family breakup. Knowing that intact and divided families can differ in many ways, Census Bureau researchers studying more than seventeen thousand children for the National Center for Health Statistics (Dawson 1991) controlled for parental education, race, and income. Still, children of divided parents were about twice as likely to experience a variety of social, psychological, or academic problems (such as being suspended from school or needing psychological counseling).

To glimpse divorce effects, the sociologist Andrew Cherlin and his colleagues (Cherlin et al. 1991; Cherlin, Kiernan, and Chase-Lansdale 1995) compared children before and after divorce. This monumental study began when researchers interviewed 17,414 women—the mothers of 98 percent of all British children born during the first full week of March 1958. Cherlin and his coworkers studied these children as seven-year-olds and again as eleven-, sixteen-, and twenty-three-year-olds, knowing that some would experience parental divorce. For example when the children had reached age twenty-three, the intrepid researchers traced and interviewed 12,537 of the original sample, enabling them to compare those who at age seven had been living with two biological parents and whose parents divorced by age sixteen with those whose parents did not divorce by that time. Their finding: those whose parents had divorced experienced more problems.

Summing up dozens of studies, Patrick Davies and Mark Cummings (1994) note: "Destructive forms of marital conflict undermine children's feelings of emotional security" (405). So, are children's postdivorce problems influenced solely by

the preexisting marital conflict (divorce or no), or also by the marriage breakup? Controlling for predivorce family problems did *not* weaken the divorce effect, report Cherlin and his colleagues. Even after adjusting for emotional problems and school achievement at age seven, the odds of scoring above the clinical cutoff for psychopathology were 39 percent greater among sixteen-year-olds whose parents had divorced in the intervening years. By launching children into "negative life trajectories through adolescence into adulthood," divorce predicted problems that were unexplained by predivorce family problems (Chase-Lansdale, Cherlin, and Kiernan 1995). Curiously, a parental death (which can feel less rejecting and involves less conflict) had "a substantially weaker effect." For a child, death and divorce are not psychological equivalents.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS: COMMUNITARIAN INDIVIDUALISM

We humans have a basic need to belong, to feel attached. Close, supportive, committed relationships boost our chances for physical and subjective well-being. Yet family connections and civic networks have waned since 1960, with accompanying increases in incivility and decreases in children's well-being. Three decades after Martin Luther King Jr. implored us "to choose between chaos and community," one senses a seismic shift in our national dialogue.

- The sociologists Robert Bellah (1985), Amitai Etzioni (1993), and Philip Selznick (1992) challenge contemporary individualism and remind us of the importance of social ties and social norms.
- The Harvard legal scholar Mary Ann Glendon's *Rights Talk* (1991) illuminates the price we pay for translating every political dispute into the language of individual entitlement.
- The Democratic Leadership Council and its research affiliate, the Progressive Policy Institute, seek alternatives to the individualism of both Reagan conservatism and classical liberalism. President Clinton is elected with talk of a "New Covenant" of mutual responsibility between the government and the governed, between what society gives individuals and what individuals give back in voluntary service.
- Charles Colson (1989) warns that the restraints on America's individualism "have all but collapsed" (36) and that the time has come to "reassert a sense of shared destiny as an antidote to radical individualism" (178).

The message common to these varied voices is this: *As the collapse of communism shows the failure of extreme collectivism, so the American social recession shows the failure of extreme individualism.* "Most civilizations die from within," observes John Gardner (1993), founder of Common Cause and a former cabinet secretary, "and are conquered less often by traitors within the gate than by traitors within the heart—loss of belief, corruption and disintegration of shared purposes."

Sharing such concerns, Gardner and several dozen other prominent citizens (including John Anderson, Betty Friedan, Elliot Richardson, Lester Thurow, and Daniel Yankelovich) have signed on to a "communitarian platform" that "recognizes that the preservation of individual liberty depends on the active maintenance of the institutions of civil society" and that a "fragile social ecology" supports the family and community life that is essential to civility. Communitarians see themselves as a centrist alternative to the extremes of libertarianism and collectivism. "Democratic communitarianism is based on the value of the sacredness of the individual, which is common to most of the great religions and philosophies of the world," explains Bellah (1995-96). But it also "affirms the central value of solidarity . . . that we become who we are through our relationships." Agreeing that "it takes a village to raise a child," communitarians remind us of what it takes to raise a village.

Listen to communitarians talk about European-style child benefits, extended parental leaves, flexible working hours, campaign finance reform, and ideas for "fostering the commons," and you'll swear they are liberals. Listen to them talk about marital commitments, divorce reform, father care, and character education, and you'll swear they are conservatives. In fact, communitarians see themselves as a third alternative to the liberal-conservative polarity. Their aim, expressed with appreciation for both individual rights and committed relationships, is to protect essential freedoms by balancing rights with responsibilities, individualism with community, liberty with fraternity.

Parts of this chapter are adapted from my books *The Pursuit of Happiness, Psychology, and Social Psychology*.

REFERENCES

- Abbey, A., and Andrews, F. M. (1985). Modeling the psychological determinants of life quality. *Social Indicators Research*, 16, 1-34.
- . (1979). Infant-mother attachment. *American Psychologist*, 34, 932-37.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1973). The development of infant-mother attachment. In B. Caldwell and H. Ricciuti (Eds.), *Review of child development research* (vol. 3). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . (1989). Attachments beyond infancy. *American Psychologist*, 44, 709-16.
- Alwin, D. F. (1990). Historical changes in parental orientations to children. In N. Mandell (Ed.), *Sociological studies of child development* (vol. 3). Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.
- American Enterprise*. (1991). Women and the use of force. March-April, 85-86.
- . (1992). Women, men, marriages, and ministers. January-February, 106.
- . (1995). 1992 Yankelovich Clancy Shulman survey for Time and CNN; 1994 National Opinion Research Center survey. July-August, 104.
- Astin, A. W. et al. (1995). *The American freshman: National norms for fall, 1995*. Los Angeles: UCLA Higher Education Research Institute.
- Baron, R. S., Cutrona, C. E., Hicklin, D., Russell, D. W., and Lubaroff, D. M. (1990). Social support and immune function among spouses of cancer patients. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 344-52.
- Bartholomew, K., and Horowitz, L. (1991). Attachment styles among young adults: A test of a four-category model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 61, 226-44.
- Baumeister, R. F. (1991). *Escaping the self: Alcoholism, spirituality, masochism, and other flights from the burden of selfhood*. New York: Basic Books.
- Baumeister, R. F., and Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachment as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 497-529.
- Bellah, R. N. (1985). *Habits of the heart: individualism and commitment in American life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . (1995-96). Community properly understood: A defense of "democratic communitarianism." *The Responsive Community* (Winter): 49-54.
- Berg, J. H., and McQuinn, R. D. (1988). Loneliness and aspects of social support networks. Unpublished manuscript, University of Mississippi.
- Berscheid, E. (1985). Interpersonal attraction. In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology*. New York: Random House.
- Blakeslee, S. (1995). In brain's early growth, timetable may be crucial. *New York Times*, August 29, C1, C2.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., McClelland, P., Wethington, E., Moen, P., and Ceci, S. J. (1996). *The state of Americans*. New York: Free Press.
- Bowlby, J. (1980). *Attachment and loss*, vol. 3, *Loss, sadness, and depression*. New York: Basic Books.
- Burt, R. S. (1986). *Strangers, friends, and happiness*. GSS Technical Report 72. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.

- Case, R. B., Moss, A. J., Case, N., McDermott, M., and Eberly, S. (1992). Living alone after myocardial infarction: Impact on prognosis. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 267, 515-19.
- Census Bureau (1995). *Statistical abstract of the United States 1995*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Chase-Lansdale, P. L., Cherlin, A. J., and Kiernan, K. E. (1995). The long-term effects of parental divorce on the mental health of young adults: A developmental perspective. *Child Development*, 66, 1614-34.
- Cherlin, A. J., Kiernan, K. E., and Chase-Lansdale, P. L. (1995). Parental divorce in childhood and demographic outcomes in young adulthood. *Demography*, 32, 299-316.
- Cherlin, A. J., Furstenberg, F. F., Jr., Chase-Lansdale, P. L., Kiernan, K. E., Robins, P. K., Morrison, D. R., and Teitler, J. O. (1991). Longitudinal studies of effects of divorce on children in Great Britain and the United States. *Science*, 252, 1386-89.
- Chodorow, N. J. (1978). *The reproduction of mothering: Psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . (1989). *Feminism and psychoanalytic theory*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Clinton, H. R. (1995). *It takes a village*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Cohen, S. (1988). Psychosocial models of the role of social support in the etiology of physical disease. *Health Psychology*, 7, 269-97.
- Colon, E. A., Callies, A. L., Popkin, M. K., and McGlave, P. B. (1991). Depressed mood and other variables related to bone marrow transplantation survival in acute leukemia. *Psychosomatics*, 32, 420-25.
- Colson, C. (1989). *Against the night: Living in the new dark ages*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Servant Publications.
- Coombs, R. H. (1991). Marital status and personal well-being: A literature review. *Family Relations*, 40 (January): 97-102.
- Crosby, F. J. (Ed.). (1987). *Spouse, parent, worker: On gender and multiple roles*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Cunningham, J. D., and Antil, J. K. (1994). Cohabitation and marriage: Retrospective and predictive comparisons. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 11, 77-93.
- Cutrona, C. E. (1986). Behavioral manifestations of social support: A microanalytic investigation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 201-8.
- Davies, P. T., and Cummings, E. M. (1994). Marital conflict and child adjustment: An emotional security hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 116, 387-411.
- Davis, K. E. (1985). Near and dear: Friendship and love compared. *Psychology Today* (February): 22-30.
- Dawson, D. A. (1991). *Family structure and children's health: United States, 1988*. Department of Health and Human Services publication 91-1506. *Vital and Health Statistics*, series 10, no. 178. Washington, D.C.: National Center for Health Statistics.
- DeStefano, L., and Colasanto, D. (1990). Unlike 1975, today most Americans think men have it better. *Gallup Poll Monthly*, no. 293 (February): 25-36.
- Diener, E., Diener, M., and Diener, C. (1995). Factors predicting the subjective well-being of nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 851-64.
- Dion, K. K., and Dion, K. L. (1993). Individualistic and collectivistic perspectives on gender and the cultural context of love and intimacy. *Journal of Social Issues*, 49, 53-69.
- Dion, K. K., Pak, A. W.-P., and Dion, K. L. (1990). Stereotyping physical attractiveness: A sociocultural perspective. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 21, 378-98.
- Dohrenwend, B., Pearlin, L., Clayton, P., Hamburg, B., Dohrenwend, B. P., Riley, M., and Rose, R. (1982). Report on stress and life events. In G. R. Elliott and C. Eisdorfer (Eds.), *Stress and human health: Analysis and implications of research* (A study by the Institute of Medicine/National Academy of Sciences). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Eagly, A. H., and Crowley, M. (1986). Gender and helping behavior: A meta-analytic review of the social psychological literature. *Psychological Bulletin*, 100, 283-308.
- Eisenberg, N., and Lennon, R. (1983). Sex differences in empathy and related capacities. *Psychological Bulletin*, 94, 100-131.
- Emmons, R., et al. (1983). Factors predicting satisfaction judgments: A comparative examination. Paper presented at the Midwestern Psychological Association Convention, Chicago (May).
- Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and society*. New York: Norton.
- Etzioni, A. (1991). The community in an age of individualism (interview). *The Futurist* (May-June): 35-39.
- . (1993). *The spirit of community*. New York: Crown.
- Evans, G. W., Palsane, M. N., Lepore, S. J., and Martin, J. (1989). Residential density and psychological health: The mediating effects of social support. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 994-99.
- Farber, B. (1987). The future of the American family: A dialectical account. *Journal of Family Issues*, 8, 431-33.
- Feeney, J. A., and Noller, P. (1990). Attachment style as a predictor of adult romantic relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 281-91.
- Fogarty, G. J., and White, C. (1994). Differences between values of Australian Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 25, 394-408.
- Freedman, J. (1978). *Happy people*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Friedman, H. S., Tucker, J. S., Schwartz, J. E., Tomlinson-Keasey, C., Martin, L. R., Wingard, D. L., and Criqui, M. H. (1995). Psychosocial and behavioral

- predictors of longevity: The aging and death of the "Termites." *American Psychologist*, 50, 69-78.
- Gallup Poll Monthly. (1994). Gallup poll (July): 35.
- Gardner, J. W. (1993). Rebirth of a nation. Address to the Forum Club of Houston, February 17.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gilligan, C., Lyons, N. P., and Hanmer, T. J. (Eds.). (1990). *Making connections: The relational worlds of adolescent girls at Emma Willard School*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Glendon, M. A. (1991). *Rights talk: the impoverishment of political discourse*. New York: Free Press.
- Glenn, N. D. (1991). *The family values of Americans*. New York: Institute for American Values.
- . (1993). Letter to the editor. *Atlantic* (July): 10.
- . (1996). Values, attitudes, and the state of American marriage. In D. Popenoe, J. B. Elshtain, and D. Blankenhorn (Eds.), *Promises to keep: Decline and renewal of marriage in America*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Gotlib, I. H. (1992). Interpersonal and cognitive aspects of depression. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 1, 149-54.
- Gove, W. R., Style, C. B., and Hughes, M. (1990). The effect of marriage on the well-being of adults: A theoretical analysis. *Journal of Family Issues*, 11, 4-35.
- Gray-Little, B., and Burks, N. (1983). Power and satisfaction in marriage: A review and critique. *Psychological Bulletin*, 93, 513-38.
- Greeley, A. (1991). *Faithful attraction*. New York: Tor Books.
- Grossman, R., and Leroux, C. (1995). Nation of strangers: A new silence. *Chicago Tribune*, December 29, 1, 8-9.
- Guinness, O. (1993). *The American hour: A time of reckoning and the once and future role of faith*. New York: Free Press.
- Hall, D. R. (1996). Marriage as a pure relationship: Exploring the link between premarital cohabitation and divorce in Canada. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 27, 1-12.
- Hallmark Cards (1990). Cited in *Time*, Fall special issue on women.
- Han, S.-P., and Shavitt, S. (1994). Persuasion and culture: Advertising appeals in individualistic and collectivistic societies. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 30, 326-50.
- Hatfield, E., and Sprecher, S. (1995). Men's and women's preferences in marital partners in the United States, Russia, and Japan. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 26, 728-50.
- Hazan, C., and Shaver, P. R. (1994). Attachment as an organizational framework for research on close relationships. *Psychological Inquiry*, 5, 1-22.
- Hendrick, S. S., Hendrick, C., and Adler, N. L. (1988). Romantic relationships: Love, satisfaction, and staying together. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 980-88.
- Hetherington, E. M., and Clingempeel, W. G. (1992). Coping with marital transitions: A family systems perspective. *Society for Research in Child Development Monographs*, 57, 1-242.
- Hetherington, E. M., Stanley-Hagan, M., and Anderson, E. R. (1989). Marital transitions: A child's perspective. *American Psychologist*, 44, 303-12.
- House, J. S. (1986). Social support and the quality and quantity of life. In F. M. Andrews (Ed.), *Research on the quality of life*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- House, J. S., Landis, K. R., and Umberson, D. (1988). Social relationships and health. *Science*, 241, 540-45.
- Hunt, M. (1990). *The compassionate beast: What science is discovering about the humane side of humankind*. New York: Morrow.
- Idler, E. I., and Kasl, S. V. (1992). Religion, disability, depression, and the timing of death. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97, 1052-79.
- Inglehart, R. (1990). *Culture shift in advanced industrial society*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Israel, B. A., and Antonucci, T. C. (1987). Social network characteristics and psychological well-being: A replication and extension. *Health Education Quarterly*, 14, 461-81.
- Kaprio, J., Koskenvuo, M., and Rita, H. (1987). Mortality after bereavement: A prospective study of 95,647 widowed persons. *American Journal of Public Health*, 77, 283-87.
- Kitayama, S., and Markus, H. R. (in press). Construal of the self as cultural frame: Implications for internationalizing psychology. In J. D'Arms, R. G. Hastie, S. E. Hoelscher, and H. K. Jacobson (Eds.), *Becoming more international and global: Challenges for American higher education*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., and Matsumoto, H. (1995). Culture, self, and emotion: A cultural perspective on "self-conscious" emotions. In J. P. Tangney and K. W. Fisher (Eds.), *Self-conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride: Empirical studies of self-conscious emotions* (pp. 439-64). New York: Guilford.
- Lever, J. (1978). Sex differences in the complexity of children's play and games. *American Sociological Review*, 43, 471-83.
- Levin, J. S., and Vanderpool, H. Y. (1987). Is frequent religious attendance really conducive to better health?: Toward an epidemiology of religion. *Social Science and Medicine*, 14, 589-600.
- London, K. A. (1991). Cohabitation, marriage, marital dissolution, and remarriage: United States, 1988. Data from National Center for Health Statistics, *National Survey of Family Growth: Vital and health statistics: Advance data*. Report 194 (January 4).
- Lykken, D. T. (1994). On the causes of crime and vio-

- lence: A reply to Aber and Rappaport. *Applied and Preventive Psychology*, 3, 55-58.
- Manning, F. J., and Fullerton, T. D. (1988). Health and well-being in highly cohesive units of the U.S. Army. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 18, 503-19.
- Marini, M. M. (1990). The rise of individualism in advanced industrial societies. Paper presented at the Population Association of America annual meeting.
- Mastekaasa, A. (1994). Marital status, distress, and well-being: An international comparison. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 25, 183-206.
- . (1995). Age variations in the suicide rates and self-reported subjective well-being of married and never-married persons. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 5, 21-39.
- Maxwell, G. M. (1985). Behaviour of lovers: Measuring the closeness of relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2, 215-38.
- McLanahan, S., and Casper, L. (1994). The American family in 1990: Growing diversity and inequality. Princeton University. Unpublished paper.
- McLeod, E. (1982). *Women working: Prostitution today*. London: Croom Helm.
- Mendolia, M., and Kleck, R. E. (1993). Effects of talking about a stressful event on arousal: Does what we talk about make a difference? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64, 283-92.
- Miller, J. B. (1986). *Toward a new psychology of women*. 2nd ed. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Morris, M. W., and Peng, K. (1994). Culture and cause: American and Chinese attributions for social and physical events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 949-71.
- Myers, D. G. (1993). *The pursuit of happiness*. New York: Avon.
- . (1999). *The american paradox*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- National Academy of Science. (1984). *Bereavement: Reactions, consequences, and cure*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Nelson, N. (1988). A meta-analysis of the life-event/health paradigm: The influence of social support. Ph.D. diss., Temple University.
- Pennebaker, J. (1990). *Opening up: The healing power of confiding in others*. New York: Morrow.
- Pennebaker, J. W., Barger, S. D., and Tiebout, J. (1989). Disclosure of traumas and health among Holocaust survivors. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 51, 577-89.
- Pennebaker, J. W., and O'Heeron, R. C. (1984). Confiding in others and illness rate among spouses of suicide and accidental death victims. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 93, 473-76.
- Perkins, H. W. (1991). Religious commitment, Yuppie values, and well-being in post-collegiate life. *Review of Religious Research*, 32, 244-51.
- Perlman, D., and Rook, K. S. (1987). Social support, social deficits, and the family: Toward the enhancement of well-being. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Family processes and problems: Social psychological aspects*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Perls, F. S. (1973). *Ego, hunger, and aggression: The beginning of Gestalt therapy*. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Pettijohn, T. F., II, and Pettijohn, T. F. (1996). Perceived happiness of college students measured by Maslow's hierarchy of needs. *Psychological Reports*, 79, 759-62.
- Popenoe, D. (1993). The evolution of marriage and the problem of stepfamilies: A biosocial perspective. Paper presented at the National Symposium on Stepfamilies, Pennsylvania State University.
- Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6, 65-78.
- . (1996). The strange disappearance of civic America. *American Prospect* (Winter): 34-48.
- Remley, A. (1988). From obedience to independence. *Psychology Today* (October): 56-59.
- Robins, L., and Regier, D. (1991). *Psychiatric disorders in America*. New York: Free Press.
- Rook, K. S. (1987). Social support versus companionship: Effects on life stress, loneliness, and evaluations by others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52, 1132-47.
- Rubin, L. B. (1985). *Just friends: The role of friendship in our lives*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Ruehlman, L. S., and Wolchik, S. A. (1988). Personal goals and interpersonal support and hindrance as factors in psychological distress and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55, 293-301.
- Sapadin, L. A. (1988). Friendship and gender: Perspectives of professional men and women. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 5, 387-403.
- Sax, L., Astin, A. W., Korn, W. S., and Mahoney, K. M. (1995). *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1995*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.
- Scanzoni, J., Polonko, K., Teachman, J., and Thompson, L. (1989). *The sexual bond: Rethinking families and close relationships*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Segrin, C., and Dillard, J. P. (1992). The interactional theory of depression: A meta-analysis of the research literature. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 11, 43-70.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (1988, October). Boomer blues. *Psychology Today*, 50-55.
- . (1991). *Learned optimism*. New York: Knopf.
- Selznick, P. A. (1992). *The moral commonwealth: Social theory and the promise of community*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Shaver, P. R., and Hazan, C. (1993). Adult romantic attachment: Theory and evidence. In D. Perlman and W. Jones (Eds.), *Advances in personal relationships* (vol. 4). Greenwich, Conn.: JAI.
- . (1994). Attachment. In A. L. Weber and J. H. Harvey (Eds.), *Perspectives on close relationships*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Shaver, P., Hazan, C., and Bradshaw, D. (1988). Love as

- attachment: The integration of three behavioral systems. In R. J. Sternberg and M. L. Barnes (Eds.), *The psychology of love*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Sherif, M. (1966). In *common predicament: Social psychology of intergroup conflict and cooperation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Simpson, J. A., Rholes, W. S., and Nelligan, J. S. (1992). Support seeking and support giving within couples in an anxiety-provoking situation: The role of attachment styles. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62, 434-46.
- Sprecher, S. (1987). The effects of self-disclosure given and received on affection for an intimate partner and stability of the relationship. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 4, 115-27.
- Sternberg, R. J., and Grajek, S. (1984). The nature of love. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47, 312-29.
- Stone, L. (1989). The road to polygamy. *New York Review of Books*, March 2, 12-15.
- Symanski, R. (1980). Prostitution in Nevada. In E. Muga (Ed.), *Studies in prostitution*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asai, M., and Lucca, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 323-38.
- Triandis, H. C., Brislin, R., and Hui, C. H. (1988). Cross-cultural training across the individualism-collectivism divide. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 12, 269-89.
- Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., Betancourt, H., Iwao, S., Leung, K., Salazar, J. M., Setiadi, B., Sinha, J. B. P., Touzard, H., and Zaleski, Z. (1993). An etic-emic analysis of individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 24, 366-83.
- Van Yperen, N. W., and Buunk, B. P. (1990). A longitudinal study of equity and satisfaction in intimate relationships. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 20, 287-309.
- Veenhoven, R. (1988). The utility of happiness. *Social Indicators Research*, 20, 333-54.
- Wallach, M. A., and Wallach, L. (1985). How psychology sanctions the cult of the self. *Washington Monthly* (February): 46-56.
- Warr, P., and Payne, R. (1982). Experiences of strain and pleasure among British adults. *Social Science and Medicine*, 16, 1691-97.
- Wheeler, L., Reis, H. T., and Bond, M. H. (1989). Collectivism-Individualism in Everyday Social Life: The Middle Kingdom and the Melting Pot. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 79-86.
- Wilder, D. A. (1981). Perceiving persons as a group: Categorization and intergroup relations. In D. L. Hamilton (Ed.), *Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Williams, R. B., Barefoot, J. C., Califf, R. M., Haney, T. L., Saunders, W. B., Pryor, D. B., Hlatky, M. A., Siegler, I. C., and Mark, D. B. (1992). Prognostic importance of social and economic resources among medically treated patients with angiographically documented coronary artery disease. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 267, 520-24.
- Wood, W., Rhodes, N., and Whelan, M. (1989). Sex differences in positive well-being: A consideration of emotional style and marital status. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106, 249-64.
- Yankelovich, D. (1994). The affluence affect. In H. J. Aaron, T. Mann, and T. Taylor (Eds.), *Values and public policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Zigler, E. F., and Gilman, E. P. (1990). An agenda for the 1990s: Supporting families. In D. Blankenhorn, S. Bayme, and J. B. Elshtain (Eds.), *Rebuilding the nest: A new commitment to the American family*. Milwaukee: Family Service America.