

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

**University
Microfilms
International**

300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

8319742

Barkas, J. L.

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS AMONG YOUNG URBAN SINGLE WOMEN

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1983

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1983

by

Barkas, J. L.

All Rights Reserved

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy.
Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ✓.

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy ✓
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages ✓
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS AMONG YOUNG URBAN SINGLE WOMEN

by

J.L. BARKAS

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1983

COPYRIGHT BY
J.L. BARKAS
1983

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

4/15/83
date

Charles Kadushin
Chairman of Examining Committee

4/15/83
date

Bogdan Denitch
Executive Officer

Michael E. Brown, Ph. D.

Charles Kadushin, Ph. D.

Bogdan Denitch, Ph. D.
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

ABSTRACT

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS AMONG YOUNG URBAN SINGLE WOMEN

by

J.L. Barkas

Adviser: Professor Charles Kadushin

This study explores how the friendship patterns of a specific sample of urban single women might aid or inhibit their social integration. The literature on friendship is categorized into the "great friend" and the "modern man" approaches. One "theory" ("Like Attracts Like"), the developmental, and the sociological views, are also presented and critiqued. That urban single women, as well as their friendship patterns, have received scant systematic scholarly attention, is discussed.

In order to study the friendship patterns of young urban single women who live alone, interviews were conducted with women between the ages of twenty and forty who live alone on one randomly selected block on the Upper East Side of Manhattan. An analysis and interpretation of the data reveals that the friendship patterns of this sample (N = 27) contradict the literature about female friendships, namely that they are dyadic, based on sharing confidences, and involve rivalry over men. For the current closest friendships of this sample, only 41% are dyads; the remainder are

part of triads (22%), or networks (37%). The sample, in general, bases their friendships on: sharing activities and emotional support (85%); on sharing only confidences (7%); and on sharing only activities (7%). Of the fifty closest and failed friendships probed in detail, only two friendships involved rivalry over men.

For this sample population, there are, on average, 1 best, 4 close, 8 casual, and 2 failed friendships. Through reason analysis, why this sample population initiated, maintains, or dissolved their current closest or important failed friendships are explored. Simmel's insights about the necessity of two for the life of the dyad, but only one for its death, are supported by these data. The findings of this study on friendship initiation are compared to the six maxims of the "Like Attracts Like" theory: three maxims are substantiated (friends like each other, are the same age, and are in proximity); three need modification (friends are not all of the same sex, values, or personalities). The majority of the sample (85%) initiated their current closest friendship because the future friend fulfilled the respondent's friendship expectations for companionship (40%), shared interests (26%), or emotional support (19%). The majority of the sample (85%) maintains their current closest friendship because of a characteristic of the friend (37%) or the nature of their exchange (26%). By contrast, proximity (26%) and a sharing of activities (65%) were the key reasons for maintaining the friendships that later failed.

Current and failed closest friendships of this sample population also differ in the evenness of the friendships and triggering incidents to becoming friends, and the length of time

from meeting to becoming friends.

Further analysis of the general friendship patterns of this sample reveal that thirteen of the respondents have one to three friendship networks; all the women lack networks based on romantic partners. Contrary to prior research minimizing the role of kin relations for singles, 48% of this sample are close to a nuclear kin relation ("friendly kin relations"). Friendly kin relations were also related to whether or not a respondent had a best friend, or a friendship network.

Thus, the social integration of this sample population is generally high, in spite of their living alone or unattached status, not because of one "great friend", but because of the multiplicity of non-romantic relations available to these women, including: work-related acquaintanceships; dyadic, triadic, or network friendships of varying levels of intimacy (best, close, or casual); and friendly kin relations. It is concluded that the friendship patterns of this sample reflects their primary role as worker.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is the end of a long educational journey as well as the beginning of a new phase in my academic career. Along the way, teachers, family members, and friends have been helpful to my professional and personal development. I want to thank Professor Richard Quinney of Brown University and Louis Rappaport of Temple University; after I completed my M.A. in Criminal Justice, they encouraged me to pursue a doctorate in sociology. A meeting with Professor Michael Brown helped me to decide among the doctoral programs at Columbia University, New York University, and City University of New York Graduate School and University Center. Professor Lindsay Churchill welcomed me to CUNY Graduate Center; Executive Officer Bogdan Denitch and, during his sabbatical, Rolf Meyersohn, continued to guide me during my Ph.D. studies. Drs. Edward Speedling, Samuel Bloom, and Ruth Zambrana accepted me into the Mt. Sinai Medical Sociology Fellowship program, funded by NIMH, which intellectually and financially aided my first year in the doctoral program. Professors Gaye Tuchman, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Emile Ostereicher, Patricia Kendall, Edward Sagarin, Hylan Lewis, Aubrey Bonnet, Judith Lorber, William Kornblum, David Caplovitz, Roslyn Bolough, Mary Parlee, Morton Bard, and Edgar Borgatta also helped me during my doctoral studies. Lynn Mullins and Judy Cestaro, who hired me as the Coordinator of the Community Crime Prevention Center, housed at Marymount Manhattan College and funded by an 18-month grant from the U. S. Department of Justice, enabled me to gain valuable administrative, reference, and community action

skills. My teaching experiences at St. John's University, under the chairmanship of Dr. Richard Harris, and at Pennsylvania State University, under Dr. Wendall Harris and Bob Downs, were also very beneficial to me as was the earlier training I received in criminal justice, under the mentorship of the late Arthur Niederhoffer, and the courses that I taught at the New School for Social Research and Temple University.

I especially want to thank my dedicated Dissertation Committee, Drs. Bogdan Denitch and Michael Brown, and my devoted mentor and adviser, Professor Charles Kadushin, who have given much time, sincere interest, and skill to this dissertation, and to my intellectual development.

Researching and writing this dissertation has been enhanced by those friends and kin who unselfishly offered their support and encouragement, especially my parents, Dr. William and Gladys Barkas, Dr. Steven Gruenberg, Eileen and Dick Hoffman, Mary Tierney, Nona Aguilar, Maxine Wallach, Jean Barish, Patricia Mangiapane, Marcia Goldenberg, Nancy Creshkoff, Alex and Frederika Gruenberg, Dr. Steven and Susan Zeisel, Wendy and Matt Silverman, Ginny and Jim Mugavero, Richard Snider, Ira and Ruth Salzman, Karen Lobovits, Susan Chadick, and Bob Weiss. Thanks are also due to fellow students, especially Robyn Goldstein, Carol Ann Finkelstein, Betty Sung, Jean Williams, Nancy Naples, and Ralph Stavitz, and to Marion Smith, secretary to the Executive Officer of the Ph.D. Program in Sociology. The collections of the following libraries were useful to me: New York Public Library, Yorkville branch and Research Collections; New York Historical Society; The Pennsylvania State

University; and CUNY Graduate Center. Helga Feder of CUNY Graduate Center library assisted me in the numerous computer searches of the literature that I conducted for this dissertation. Pearl Zinner and Barbara Simon of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in New York City were also very helpful to me in regard to sampling and interviewing procedures and skills. The staffs of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the New York City Department of Planning, and the CUNY Data Service were generous in providing statistics on singles, as needed. Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour, of Lancaster University in England, who organized the First International Conference on Personal Relationships, (which I attended in July 1982), have been very gracious in providing me with reprints of their work, and access to other researchers on friendship.

Numerous social scientists assisted me by granting interviews, sending along unpublished papers and published reprints, or letters offering information and encouragement. In addition to those researchers who have been acknowledged thus far, I want to especially thank William J. Goode, David Sills, Peter J. Stein, Nicholas Babchuk, Marshall Clinard, Ted Huston, Claude Fisher, Anne Peplau, Dan Perlman, Brian Bigelow, Sharon Hymer, John Clausen, J. Barry Gurdin, Lucille Duberman, and Zick Rubin. (Other names appear in the Unpublished Materials section of this dissertation's bibliography.) Their help, as well as the ideas contained in all the works cited in the bibliography, have provided valuable background materials for this dissertation. The final dissertation is, however, wholly my own.

Central to the original research for this dissertation are

those persons who must remain anonymous. They assisted me by confidentially filling out questionnaires or participating in my pilot or final interview studies. Without their help the essential part of this dissertation -- the field work -- could not have been accomplished. Although they can not be named, my gratitude to those individuals, especially the single women who live on Manhattan's Upper East Side who comprise the final sample, is profound.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xvi
Chapter	
1 INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND OVERVIEW	1
2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	13
The "Great Friend" Approach	
The "Modern Man" Approach	
The "Like Attracts Like" Theory	
The Developmental View	
Gender Differences	
The Sociological View	
Questions for Study	
3 EXECUTION OF STUDY DESIGN	49
Setting the Scene for the Single Woman	
Background of Sample: Manhattan's Upper East Side	
Description of the Block	
Description of Respondents	
Presentation of Background and Friendship	
Data for the Entire Sample	

4	ACQUAINTANCESHIPS	93
5	FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS	112
	Dyads	
	Triads	
	Networks	
	Absence of Romantic-Based Networks	
	Kin Relations	
6	FRIENDSHIPS: INITIATION	150
7	FRIENDSHIPS: MAINTENANCE	186
8	FRIENDSHIPS: DISSOLUTION	220
	Initiation	
	Maintenance	
	Dissolution	
	Faded and Fading Friendships	
	Comparison of Current to Failed Friendships	
9	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	253
	Suggestions for Further Research	
		
	APPENDIX	277
I	ACCOUNTING SCHEMES AND STUDY DESIGN	
	Reason Analysis	
	Examples of Research Using Accounting Schemes	
	Accounting Schemes for This Study	
	Attributes of the Actors	
	Categorization of Actors	
	Final Interview Strategy and Questions	
	Sample Questions	

Study Design

II RESEARCH DATA COLLECTION

Obtaining the Sample

III DATA ANALYSIS

Examples of Coding on Attributes

Additional Charts and Tables

SOURCES CONSULTED 328

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT 358

LIST OF TABLES

1. Age of Respondents	71
2. Places Respondents Grew Up	72
3. Respondents' Religious Background	73
4. Marital Status of Respondents and Her Parents	74
5. Number of Siblings of Respondents	75
6. Highest Degree Earned By Respondents	76
7. Respondents' Occupations	78
8. Salary Range of Respondents	79
9. Length of Time in Manhattan and on the Block	80
10. Hobbies	81
11. Organizational Memberships	83
12. Frequency Table of Best Friends	84
13. Frequency Table of Close Friends	84
14. Frequency Table of Casual Friends	85
15. Frequency Table of Total Friends of All Types	86
16. Frequency Table of Friendship Patterns	87
17. Increase in Potential Relationships With an Increase in Group Size	126
18. Presence of Best Friend(s) Versus Close Relationship to Kin Member(s)	137
19. Who Initiated This Friendship	251
20. Ways of Meeting Named Friend	324
21. Sources of Networks	325
22. Distribution of Size of Networks	325

23.	Respondents Having Kin-related Friendships by Number of Best Friends and Type of Kin	326
24.	Frequency of Contact With Current Closest Friend Reorganized According to Proximity of Friend and Reason for Maintaining the Friendship	327

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Developmental Models of Friendship Stages	25
2. Domestic Arrangements in New York City	49
3. Parsons' Five Pattern Variables	103
4. Model of Relationship from Shared Situation	104
5. Core of Edda's Snowball Friendship Network	128
6. Reasons for Initiating Current Closest Friendship	153
7. Model of a Close Friendship from a Shared Situation	158
8. Reordering of Reasons by Age for Initiating Current Closest Friendship	173
9. Decision Tree Model I	174
10. Decision Tree Model II	175
11. Reasons for Maintaining Current Closest Friendship	189
12. Why Closest Friendship Was Initiated and Is Maintained	201
13. Comparison of Reasons for Initiation and Maintenance of Current Closest Friendship	202
14. Reasons for Initiating Friendship That Later Ended	221
15. Reasons for Maintaining Important Friendship That Later Failed	227
16. Reasons for Dissolving the Important Failed Friendship	230
17. Reasons for Initiating, Maintaining, and Ending the Most Important Failed Friendship	239
18. Comparison of Reasons for Current Closest and Failed Friendships	240

19. Model of Levels and Types of Relationships	255
20. Proximity Categories of Friends	259
21. Sills' Accounting Scheme for Ascertaining Reasons for Accepting or Not Accepting Family Planning ...	285
22. Zeisel's Scheme of Reasons for Choosing Trial With or Without Jury	286
23. Elements Necessary for a Complete Answer About the Course of a Friendship.....	293
24. Demographic and Background Data to be Elicited	295
25. Categorization of Actors	296

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND OVERVIEW

This dissertation is concerned with social integration, a classic concept in sociology. Durkheim's seminal work on suicide used empirical data to show how social integration and suicide rates were correlated.¹ Factors such as religion, age, national origin, marital status, and parenthood were all found to be relevant. Durkheim's explanation for the lower suicide rates of married men (the coefficient of preservation of married persons) was that marriage and the family foster social integration.² Predictably, married men had lower suicide rates than unmarried men.

Durkheim also discovered that unmarried women, who should be less socially integrated than their married counterparts, had a higher suicide rate than married men, but had a lower suicide rate than wives, especially childless married women. Durkheim suggested that the reason was that "women...gain less [from marriage] than men".³ Furthermore, Durkheim continued, "Conjugal society, so disadvantageous for women, must, even in the absence of children, be admitted to be advantageous for men."⁴

Contemporary studies correlating mental illness and mortality with sex, age, and marital status have obtained similar results. Married men are less likely to be distressed than unmarried men, but

unmarried women are much better off than married women or single men.⁵ Researcher Walter R. Gove rejects Durkheim's role and selective explanations for the disparity in mortality rates for unmarried men and women.⁶ Gove suggests instead that "...single women are apt to have stronger ties to family and friends [than single men]."⁷ A more recent study, by Gove and Hughes, further suggests that unmarrieds who live alone may have better mental health than those unmarrieds who live with others. Thus, living with others may not in and of itself increase social integration; it may represent costs as well as rewards.⁸

This dissertation set out to study how the friendship patterns of unmarried women who live alone effect their social integration. It also sought to explore how Simmel's belief that modern man is only capable of differentiated friendships applies to a specific urban population.⁹

Another theoretical issue that this dissertation set out to explore was how the non-romantic relationships of single women add to, or reduce, role strain in their pursuit of their primary role as worker.¹⁰ It was proposed that the friendship patterns of young urban single woman would reflect a partial social system, with acquaintanceships at one end of the continuum and best friends at the other end.¹¹

Although singleness has been growing in the United States, little empirical research has been done on single women between the ages of twenty and forty or their friendship patterns.¹² Researchers on adolescence, divorce, and widowhood have recognized, and studied, friendship during these transition phases, but little

is known about the friendship patterns of young urban single women, for whom singleness may be permanent.¹³ This dissertation is intended to fill that gap in the literature. This work is also an outgrowth of this researcher's earlier descriptive research, based on a convenience sample of all types of singles (single parents, the divorced, never-marrieds, the widowed, the clergy).¹⁴ While conducting that research, it became clear that friendship is important to singles, especially the unattached.¹⁵ This dissertation is also an extension of this researcher's prior work on deviance,¹⁶ for, after a certain age, singleness is deviant in the primarily married American society.¹⁷

Friendship Patterns Among Young Urban Single Women provided the chance to study just one group of singles -- urban single women -- in a thorough and systematic way, focusing on their friendship patterns. This research study set out to answer specific questions about the friendship patterns of single women, such as: Do single women who live alone rely on their friends in lieu of romantic or kinship ties? Do dating or attached single women have fewer friends than those who are not dating? How many urban single women in one systematic sample have cross-sex best friends? What effect does the role of self-supporting fulltime worker have on the friendships of urban single women?

This dissertation investigates how friendship fosters or inhibits the social integration of young urban single women who live alone, as well as the nature of their friendship patterns. It is also this researcher's hope that the methodology used to study the friendship patterns of urban single women, in particular the

operationalization of friend into best, close, or casual friends, and the categorization of friendship patterns into dyads, triads, and networks, will facilitate more precise research and findings (and, hence, knowledge), about the friendship patterns of this and other sample populations.

Chapter 2, "Review of the Literature," discusses why this dissertation is a necessary addition to the literature on friendship. In that chapter, the literature on friendship is reviewed and critiqued by this author. The two major perspectives on friendship, The "Great Friend" Approach and The "Modern Man" Approach, are presented and discussed. The "Like Attracts Like" Theory, The Developmental View, The Sociological View, and the contradictory evidence about gender differences in friendship are also highlighted. Questions for study, that would be answered by the data and through grounded theory, are also presented.¹⁸

The final data analysis for this dissertation is based on interviews with complete strangers, randomly selected in an orderly fashion. Chapter 3, "Execution of Study Design," describes the steps that this researcher took to obtain the final sample. (A more detailed account, "Obtaining the Sample", appears in the Appendix.) A look at Manhattan's Upper East Side, the larger community from which the final sample was drawn, begins Chapter 3. The one block, randomly selected from Census Tract 134, from which the sample of young single women was obtained, is described. Chapter 3 concludes with thumbnail sketches of each woman in the final sample as well as tables highlighting information about the background (demographics) and friendships of the entire sample.

Chapters 4 through 8 contain the analysis and interpretation of the data. Throughout these chapters, verbatim extracts from the elicited data are used to support the findings. Chapter 4, "Acquaintanceships", discusses the stage before all friendships begin; a model of a relationship from a shared situation, through acquaintanceship (utilitarian and opportunistic), to friendship, is presented. Chapter 5, "Friendship Patterns", looks at the dyads, triads, and networks of this sample population. The characteristics of each friendship pattern is explored, along with examples from the elicited data. Networks are divided into "open" and "closed"; the way those networks develop, and are maintained, are described.

Chapters 6 through 8 are devoted to the initiation, maintenance, and/or dissolution of tried-and-true friendships (best, close, or casual). The sample is subdivided by the main reason for initiating, maintaining, or dissolving their closest friendship (according to reason analysis, a methodology described in detail in Appendix I).

"Summary and Conclusions," Chapter 9, presents a conceptual and theoretical summary of the findings of this dissertation on the friendship patterns of young urban single women. The theoretical issues that emerged from this research, such as how friendship is functional or dysfunctional for the working single urban woman, are presented. The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research on this and other sample populations.

This study differs from this author's previous research in that the data collection, and analysis, was preceded by twenty-two months of pre-testing and refinement of the research strategy and interview

questions. Appendix I, "Accounting Schemes and Study Design," highlights that process. That section also includes a general discussion of reason analysis and accounting schemes, as well as exemplary schemes; those methods helped to pre-sort the type of data to be elicited so that it could be coded more effectively. Verbatim interview questions from one final interview are included to show how the accounting schemes were applied during data collection. Appendix I concludes with a synopsis of the research strategy and study design for the final interviews on which this dissertation is based.

Appendix II provides further details on how the final sample was obtained. Appendix III includes examples of questions, and answers, on need for friends, need for alone time, and other categorizations of the actors are provided, along with the codings for each respondent. Additional tabular material is included on the data that was presented in Chapters 4-8. A list of resources, "Sources Consulted", concludes this dissertation: published materials (articles, books, and reports) and unpublished materials (conferences, correspondence, interviews, and papers) are included.

It should be noted that although the final sample on which this dissertation is based consists of 27 single women living alone, this study is the culmination of far more original research on friendship. During the pilot study phases of this research, 117 questionnaires on friendship were collected from four classes of university students (in Queens, New York and in State College, Pennsylvania) and from a snowball sample of adults living in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Virginia, New Hampshire,

California, Tokyo, and London. Twenty-five telephone and in-person pilot interviews were also conducted. In addition, while data was being collected from the final sample of urban single women on the Block, fifteen telephone and five in-person interviews on friendship were also conducted. Interviewees included sociologists and other experts on friendship and on singleness, as well as men and women who did not conform to the study design for the final sample (e.g. single men, never-married and divorced women over 40, married men and women, elderly widows, etc.). This researcher also spoke with practitioners who have observed the friendship patterns of specific populations, such as a Reverend in White Plains, New York who, for almost a decade, has led a mission for older recently-separated women. The author also attended the First International Conference on Personal Relations, held at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, in July 1982. Co-sponsored by the university's Department of Sociology, researchers on friendship and intimacy from all over the world were in attendance. Afterwards, pertinent papers were solicited from attendees. Although none of these just-cited materials (questionnaires, additional interviews, conference papers, etc.) were used for the analysis of the final sample of urban single women, those additional research efforts certainly contributed to this author's background knowledge about friendship.

Footnotes

¹Emile Durkheim, Suicide: A Study in Sociology. Translated by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1952 (1897), pp. 171-216, 241-76. (See also the preface and introduction to this edition by George Simpson, pp. 9-32.)

²Ibid., p. 179.

³Ibid., p. 184. A contemporary version of this notion is sociologist Jessie Bernard's view of the "his" and "hers" marriage. See: Jessie Bernard, The Future of Marriage (New York: Ballantine Books, 1973), pp. 16-58.

⁴Durkheim, Suicide, p. 193.

⁵Walter R. Gove, "Sex, Marital Status, and Mortality", American Journal of Sociology 79 (July 1973):45.

Other sources on the effect of marital status on mental health include: Genevieve Knupfer, Walter Clark, and Robin Room, "The Mental Health of the Unmarried," American Journal of Psychiatry (February 1966):841-51; Lisa F. Berkman and S. Leonard Syme, "Social Networks, Host Resistance, and Mortality: A Nine-Year Follow-Up Study of Alameda County Residents", American Journal of Epidemiology 109 (1979):186-204; Leonard I. Pearlin and Joyse S. Johnson, "Marital Status, Life-Strains and Depression," American Sociological Review 42 (October 1977):704-15; Leona L. Bachrach, "Marital Status and Mental Disorder: An Analytical Review" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975); Dava Sobel, "Depression: Elderly and Singles Show Unexpected Strength," New York Times, November 17, 1981, pp. C1, C5; James J. Lynch, The Broken Heart (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979); Jane Brody, "Loneliness -- A Look at How It Can Make You Sick," San Francisco Chronicle, June 6, 1979, p. FF-4; Anne R. Somers, "Marital Status, Health and Use of Health Services: An Old Relationship Revisited," Journal of the American Medical Association 241 (April 27, 1979):1818-22; Lois M. Verbrugge, "Marital Status and Health," Journal of Marriage and Family 41 (May 1979):576-97; Francis E. Kobrin and Gerry E. Hendershot, "Do Family Ties Reduce Mortality?" Journal of Marriage and Family 39 (November 1977):737-45; Luther G. Baker, "The Personal and Social Adjustment of the Never-Married Woman", Journal of Marriage and the Family 30 (August 1968):473-79; and Michael Hughes and Walter R. Gove, "Living Alone, Social Integration, and Mental Health", American Journal of Sociology 87 (July 1981):48-74.

⁶Gove, "Sex, Marital Status, and Mortality", pp. 63-4.

⁷Ibid., p. 46.

⁸Hughes and Gove, "Living Alone, Social Integration and

Mental Health", p. 48.

⁹George Simmel, The Sociological of Georg Simmel, translated, edited, and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff. (New York: Free Press, 1950), p. 326.

¹⁰William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain", American Sociological Review 25 (1960):483-96.

¹¹Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: Free Press, 1951), pp. vii, 67, 109, 428-79.

¹²On the increase in singles, including single women, see: Jenny de Jong-Gierveld and Monique Aalberts, "Singlehood: A Creative or a Lonely Experience?" Alternative Lifestyles 3 (August 1980):350-68; Peter J. Stein, "The Lifestyles and Life Chances of the Never-Married" Marriage & Family Review 1 (July/August 1978):1, 3-11; Linda Wolfe, "The Good News," New York, December 28, 1981 - January 4, 1982, p. 33; Paul C. Glick, "Social Change and the American Family," Social Welfare Forum (1977):43-62; Paul C. Glick and Arthur J. Norton, Marrying, Divorcing, and Living Together in the U.S. Today (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, Inc., October 1977); Population Reference Bureau, Inc., "The Domestic Life of Americans" Inter-Change 6 (May 1977), p. 1; U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 349, "Household and Family Characteristics: March 1979" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980); "Census Finds Adults Wed Later, Divorce Sooner," New York Times, January 8, 1976, p. 62; Tom Ferrell, "U.S. Divorces Climb Beyond 1 Million," New York Times, July 8, 1979, p. 18E; "U.S. Women Marrying Later, Having Babies Later, Spacing Them Further Apart Than in Earlier Years," Family Planning Perspectives 10 (September/October 1978), p. 302; Allyson Sherman Grossman, Labor Force Patterns of Single Women (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1980); Roger W. Libby, "Creative Singlehood as a Sexual Life-Style: Beyond Marriage as a Rite of Passage," in Marriage and Alternatives, ed. R.W. Libby and Robert N. Whitehurst (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1977), pp. 37-61; and Roger W. Libby, Mary Pat Fisher, and Gilbert Nass, "Adult Sexual Careers" in Sexual Choices (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishers, 1981), chapter 9.

Although there has been a lot of popular writing about the single woman, empirical data is scant. What has been done by social scientists has used convenience samples or very specific populations, such as members of professional businesswoman organizations studied by Baker. (See citation that follows). A computerized search was conducted by the New York State Library Data Base Services on my behalf covering "Friendships among women" and "Single women" in the data base of Sociological Abstracts from 1978 to April 1982. Only ten references were found, and few were pertinent to single women. References found by this author on single women include: Margaret Adams, "The Single Woman in Today's Society: A Reappraisal," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 41 (October 1971):780-81; Margaret Adams, Single Blessedness (New York: Penguin Books, 1976); Luther G. Baker, "The Personal and Social

Adjustment of the Never-Married Woman"; Elmer Spreitzer and Lawrence E. Riley, "Factors Associated With Singlehood," Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1974): 533-42; Peter J. Stein, Single (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976); Peter J. Stein, "Understanding Single Adulthood," Paper presented at the National Council on Family Relations, Annual meeting, August 14-18, 1979; Peter J. Stein, "The Lifestyles and Life Chances of the Never-Married;" and Peter J. Stein, ed., Single Life (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981).

Popular writings on single women include: Christine Doudna with Fern McBride, "Where Are the Men For the Women at the Top?," Savvy, February 1980, pp. 17-24; New York-Women's Week, "Being Single" issue, July 17, 1978; Karen Durbin, "On Being a Woman Alone," The Village Voice, August 30, 1976, pp. 14-17; Joyce R. Starr and Donald E. Carns, "Singles in the City," Society, February 1972, pp. 43-48; Mary Gordon, Final Payments (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978); Richard Price, Ladies' Man (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978); Martin Levin, ed., Love Stories (New York: Popular Library, 1975) and Anne Tolstoi Wallach, Women's Work (New York: New American Library, 1981.) A popular approach to female friendships, based on the lives of famous women, such as Colette, Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, and Gertrude Stein, is Louise Bernikow's Among Women (New York: Harmony Books, 1980).

¹³Research on friendship during adolescence, divorce, and old age includes: Harry Stack Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (New York: Norton, 1953); Joseph Epstein, Divorced in America, (New York: Penguin Books, 1974), chapter 6, "The Cost of Discord," pp. 136-74; Nicky Hart, When Marriage Ends: A Study in Status Passage (London: Tavistock, 1976); J.L. Barkas, Single in America (New York: Atheneum, 1980); Helena Znaniecki Lopata, Women As Widows (New York: Elsevier, 1979); Peter J. Stein, Single (Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976); Margaret Adams, Single Blessedness; Zena Smith Blau, Old Age in a Changing Society (New York: Franklin Watts, 1973); Diane Vaughan, "Uncoupling: The Social Construction of Divorce" in Social Interaction, eds. Howard Robboy, Sidney L. Greenblatt, and Candace Clark (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), pp. 323-38; Arthur A. Miller, M.D., "Reactions of Friends to Divorce" in Divorce and After, ed. P. Bohannon (Garden City: Doubleday/Anchor, 1971), pp. 63-86; Irving Rosow, Socialization to Old Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 141-6, 155-67; Wenda J. Dickens and Daniel Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-cycle," in Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships, ed. Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 117-20; Greg Arling, "The Elderly Widow and Her Family, Neighbors and Friends" Journal of Marriage and the Family (November 1976):757-68; Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal and Clayton Haven, "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable," American Sociological Review 33 (1968):20-30; and Edward A. Powers and Gordon L. Bultena, "Sex Differences in Intimate Friendships of Old Age," Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):739.

¹⁴Barkas, Single in America and Japanese edition, Tokyo:

TBS, 1981.

¹⁵Barkas, Single in America, pp. 165-66.

¹⁶J.L. Barkas, Victims (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978) and British edition, London: Peel Press, 1979.

¹⁷Barkas, Single in America, pp. 28-29, 42.

Whether singleness is voluntary or by default, whether it is temporary or prolonged, after the age at which most American women marry, single women become increasingly more deviant (from the norm of marriage). Although divorce has increased, so has remarriage. Although never marrying has been increasing, by the age of thirty-five, over 85 percent of Americans are married or have been married (Barkas, Single in America, p. 15).

The single woman represents an intriguing example of age-related deviance -- with pressure to join the "inside" group of marriage and parenthood increasing in the twenties and thirties, then declining with the passage of the woman's childbearing years. To some extent, single women are subject to the same social controls and stigmas accorded other deviant groups. Kaufman also discusses deviance in reference to single women, stating: "A tentative conclusion [based on her data] might be that unmarried professional women, more than married professional women, suffer from the stigma of 'deviancy'." [Debra Renee Kaufman, "Associational Ties in Academe: Some Male and Female Differences," Sex Roles 4 (1978), p. 19.]

That this is changing -- and the single woman is being looked on as less deviant -- is reflected in the results of a survey on attitudes toward marriage, conducted by the Alan Guttmacher Institute, and reported on in the New York Times. See: "Changing Views on Marriage", New York Times, December 23, 1982, p. C5. (The article immediately below that one, about a pregnant single woman allowed to keep her teaching job in the town of East Hampton, Long Island, also reflects those changes. See: "Pregnant, Unwed Teacher Keeps Job", New York Times, December 23, 1982, p. C5.) See also: Arland Thornton and Deborah Freedman, "Changing Attitudes Toward Marriage and Single Life", Family Planning Perspectives 14 (November/December 1982):297-303.

References on deviance include: Fred Davis, "Deviance Disavowal: The Management of Strained Interaction by the Visibly Handicapped" in The Other Side, ed. Howard S. Becker (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 119-37; Marshall B. Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior, 4th ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957, 1963, 1968, 1974); Alex Thio, "Class Bias in the Sociology of Deviance," The American Sociologist 8 (February 1973):1-12; J. L. Barkas, Victims; Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Sociologist as Partisan: Sociology and the Welfare State," American Sociologist 3 (May 1968):103-16; Robert A. Scott, The Making of Blind Men: A Study of Adult Socialization (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969); Albert K. Cohen, Deviance and Control (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966); Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, (1895), 8th ed., ed. George E. G. Catlin, trans. Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller (New York: Free Press, 1966); Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York:

Free Press, 1963); Richard Quinney, "Who Is the Victim?" Criminology 10 (1972):314-23; Interview with Edward I. Sagarin, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, 27 October 1980; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (New York: Free Press, 1960); Gresham Sykes and David Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," American Sociological Review 22 (December 1957):664-70; Anna Freud, The Ego and Mechanisms of Defense (New York: International Universities Press, 1936); and William Ryan, Blaming the Victim, rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1971, 1976).

¹⁸Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature on friendship reveals that there are two assumptions about friendship that are indisputable:

(1) friendship is a voluntary relationship, outside of legal and formal control.¹

(2) friends are not related by blood, although they may be "kindred spirits".²

After that, the agreement ends. For example, throughout history, the value of friendship has been stated and, more recently, empirically reaffirmed: first by philosophers ("...without friendship life is not worth living"), then by poets ("No man is an island"), and finally by social scientists ("...social and community ties may play some role in the etiology of disease").³ Yet, there has been disagreement about why friendship is an important social relation.⁴ Is it that friendship is fundamental, or is its value dependent upon how it replaces or enhances other traditional institutions, such as the family, the community, or the workplace? The later view has been the one most frequently adopted by social scientists. It is, in fact, a reason for the increase in interest in the study of friendship. Sociologists have especially noted that the value of peer relations rises as the closeness of the family

declines.⁵ Sociologist Bell echoed that view when he wrote that friendship is becoming more vital in American society "...because of the weakening of many kinship ties."⁶ Psychologists, such as Harry Stack Sullivan, have stressed that same-sex friendship is the training ground for developing the skills for future heterosexual romantic intimacy.⁷ Other controversies about friendship have revolved around the capability of women for friendship, whether there are gender differences in friendship patterns, and, if there are, whether those variations are due to "dispositional factors" or to socialization.⁸

Still another controversy that has clouded the literature on friendship has been what is meant by a friend. For example, when Lopata surveyed Chicago area widows, and respondents said that their "friends" provided them with emotional support, were those widows referring to best friends, close buddies, or casual friends?⁹ Similarly, Arling's study of elderly widows in South Carolina treated family, neighbors, and friends as if those terms, and relationships, were comparable.¹⁰ Thus, even what researcher's have meant by a friend has been unclear. Friend has been employed as if equal to such specific relations as spouse or sibling.

Refinement of friendship into a researchable concept has been occurring. Caldwell and Peplau's 1979 study of sex differences in same-sex friendships differentiated friendship, asking college respondents about their intimate, good, and casual friends.¹¹ A study by sociologist Claude Fischer and his associates surveyed 1,050 adults in Northern California and compiled data on the respondents' "friends" and "just friends" (instead of only a "best"

friend).¹² Simon, Crotts, and Mahan did an empirical study of the close friends of midwestern middle- and working-class married women.¹³ Unfortunately, those examples are exceptions. Most research on friendship has failed to make those distinctions; its value is therefore doubtful because what kind of friend needs to be specified.¹⁴ That is one of the problems with Seiden and Bart's pilot study of friendships among movement women -- friendship is never defined. (The other problem is that it is never revealed how they selected the twelve feminists that they interviewed, or the eight women to whom they distributed a questionnaire about female friendships).¹⁵

Although the interdisciplinary literature on friendship is vast and somewhat overwhelming,¹⁶ it can all be placed within two distinct perspectives: The "Great Friend" Approach and The "Modern Man" Approach.

The "Great Friend" Approach

The first, and oldest, perspective on friendship -- but one that is still perpetuated -- is The "Great Friend" Approach. This orientation was heralded by the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero); it was refined by later essayists and poets (Bacon, Montaigne, Emerson, and Thoreau);¹⁷ it has been carried into the twentieth century by Simmel and adopted by contemporary social scientists and popular writers (Lowenthal and Haven, Davis, and Wallach Tolstoi).¹⁸

According to The "Great Friend" Approach, friendship is:

- (1) idealized and romanticized

- (2) dyadic, since there can be only one "great friend"
- (3) between those of the same sex
- (4) based upon an appreciation of each other's "essence"
- (5) reciprocal
- (6) in competition with marriage and the family

The "Great Friend" Approach was once an impressionistic one, largely based on the examples and insights of its advocates; more recently, it has been "backed up" with empirical data. Thus, Davidson and Duberman's 1979 study of same-sex best friend dyads is as representative of The "Great Friend" Approach as is Plato's Lysis, an ancient philosophical dialogue about the essence of friendship.¹⁹ When Simmel wrote about the nature of friendship, based on unsystematic observations and "gut-level" perceptions, he really echoed The "Great Friend" Approach.²⁰ Intimate Relations, a book by symbolic interactionist Murray Davis, based on his informal observations about friendship, is within the "Great Friend" Approach.²¹ The value of the Detroit survey of the friends of 811 men between the ages of 21 and 65 is reduced by the researchers' sole concern with their best friend.²²

The dyadic nature of The "Great Friend" Approach is implicit; so all-encompassing and exclusive a relation would be hard to sustain in a three-way or group setting. Such an idealized and intimate union thus negates other friends or friendships; such relations would be as threatening as extramarital liaisons. The "great friend" relation is, hence, as exclusive and as binding spiritually as marriage is legally.

That marriage and friendship are in competition with each

other, a tenet of this approach, is reflected in Simmel's writings in which he contrasts these relationships.²³ Berger and Kellner offer a more contemporary rendition of this when they theorize about how marriage overrides friendship and reinterprets those competing relations in its own image.²⁴

There is some disagreement over whether the "great friend" knows the friend's true self, "other" self, or helps to create a "third" self. Aristotle wrote that a true friend is "another self"; Montaigne viewed it as having a "second self"; for Bacon it was "another himself", for symbolic interactionist Suttles it is a "real self".²⁵ The "great friend", however, is an all-encompassing friendship between two individuals who are like brothers (or sisters). What is clear is that this kind of a friendship has been elevated to the level of intimacy that modern times has come to associate with an ideal marriage.

The "great friend" has, therefore, been seen as a relation not just in competition with marriage but as something even better than marriage; in the past, it offered a closeness that marriage supposedly lacked. Furthermore, the voluntary nature of the friendship was its strength -- it continued only because of the emotional bonds of the friendship pair.

Until the twentieth century, only adult men were considered capable of having a "great friend." In ancient Greece, for example, women were considered too ignorant and uneducated to be capable of a meaningful friendship.²⁶ It is possible that Durkheim shared that two-thousand year view, and that he therefore did not even consider what role friendship played in the lower suicide rates of unmarried

women (compared to single men and married women).²⁷ By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, women were supposedly becoming capable of friendship. Simmel wrote that although women were once "at the stage of low personality development" so that friendship was impossible "...the modern, highly differentiated woman shows a strikingly increased capacity for friendship and an inclination toward it, both with men and with women."²⁸

Historian Smith-Rosenberg is just one of many scholars who has tried to dispute the notion that women of previous times were incapable of having a "great friend". Although the data has been questioned as unrepresentative, Smith-Rosenberg, based on an analysis of correspondence and diaries written in nineteenth century America, documented the loving, intimate, and long-lived friendships of certain women.²⁹ Similarly, Nancy Cott, in describing New England women from 1780-1835, used their diaries to document how female friendships provided them with security and emotional expression lacking in their relationships with men.³⁰ Cott notes: "Wives who had female friends or relatives living with them seemed the most contented of women."³¹

Thus a female version of The "Great Friend" Approach has, indeed, emerged. It mirrors all the age-old characteristics of this approach, only the gender of the protagonists has changed. Like The "Great Friend" Approach, it is first noticeable in popular treatments, although empirical studies substantiating it may someday follow. For instance, one recent popular novel, Women's Work, is a well-written but stereotypical account of a divorced woman executive with two grown children who is trying to make it to the top of the

advertising world. She does have a "great friend" but, interestingly enough, the heroine only "gets her man" after the "great friend" suddenly dies, the victim of heart failure while undergoing face lift surgery, as if "a man" and a "great friend" are mutually exclusive.³² In "A Coupla White Chicks Sitting Around Talking," an off-Broadway play by John Ford Noonan, the two wives, who are neighbors, become "great friends", interacting with their "cores", in a way that threatens their "out of touch" and insensitive husbands.³³

The "Modern Man" Approach

According to The "Modern Man" Approach, friendship is:

- (1) viewed realistically
- (2) triadic or networks (or dyadic)
- (3) as possible for women as it is for men
- (4) between those of the same (or opposite) sex
- (5) differentiated (based on only one aspect of a person)
- (6) not necessarily an equal exchange
- (7) not threatening to other relationships

This approach, postulated by Simmel, is in direct opposition to the "great friend" approach. Indeed, Simmel believed that friendship, in the "great friend" ancient sense of the words, was impossible for modern man. Simmel wrote: "...such complete intimacy becomes probably more and more difficult as differentiation among men increases....Modern man, possibly has too much to hide to sustain a friendship in the ancient sense."³⁴

In his explanation of differentiated friendships -- the only friendships that modern man is capable of -- Simmel wrote that

modern man is forced to have lots of friends, each fulfilling a different need.³⁵ Simmel wrote that those friendships would "...cover only one side of the personality, without playing into other aspects of it."³⁶ Ideal friendships of antiquity were typified by "...absolute psychological intimacy..." where "even material property should be common..."³⁷ Having numerous friends, each sharing something but not everything, may be the kind of differentiated friendship more compatible in modern society. As Simmel put it:

...connect us with one individual in terms of affection, with another, in terms of common intellectual aspects, with a third, in terms of religious impulses, and with a fourth, in terms of common experiences -- all these friendships present a very peculiar synthesis in regard to the question of discretion, of reciprocal revelation and concealment. They require that the friends do not look into the mutual spheres of interest and feeling which, after all, are not included in the relation and which, if touched upon, would make them feel painfully the limits of their mutual understanding.³⁸

An unmarried Hispanic graduate student in her early forties, interviewed during the pilot studies for this dissertation, typified Simmel's notion of differentiated friendship in her answer to a question about her closest friend: "I consider myself one of the best read in a number of foreign languages. I like opera. I like sports. I like a lot of things. I don't find that my friends share all my interests. I may go to plays with some; others with whom I may go to the opera; others with whom I may go bicycle riding; others with whom I may share my problems in school."³⁹ In Worlds of Friendship, sociologist Bell similarly echoes Simmel's concept of differentiated friendships for modern man: "A single friendship will not generally meet the needs of an individual throughout each person's life. New friends are added and old friends drop off.

Many of a person's needs may be met in a relationship other than friendship. For example, some needs are better served by colleagues than by friends."⁴⁰

Since in The "Modern Man" Approach friendships are more differentiated, and not necessarily dyadic, it follows that triadic friendships, far more stable yet far less intimate relations (according to Simmel), should also be possible.⁴¹ In theory, these modern differentiated friendships should be easier to sustain than the "great friend" dyads of yesteryear.

Within the two global orientations toward friendship -- the "great friend" and the "modern man" approaches, the literature on friendship is under the rubric of one theory, Like Attracts Like, two orientations, The Developmental View and The Sociological View, and one controversy, whether or not there are gender differences, all of which will be discussed below.

The "Like Attracts Like" Theory

The notion that in friendship "like attracts like" is an ancient one. Twentieth century social scientists, however, have sought to confirm that axiom with experiments, survey research, and data analysis. Thus psychologist Theodore Newcomb's experiments in the 1950s with University of Michigan transfer students confirmed what Aristotle had written in The Nicomachean Ethics, namely that "like attracts like".⁴² Lazarsfeld and Merton's secondary analysis of data gathered for another study merely embellished the status homophily notion with value homophily -- that friends also tend to share similar values.⁴³ Dickens and Perlman, in their

review article on friendship over the life cycle, document six concepts that are pervasive in the friendship literature, and that are supported by the research of some thirteen social scientists, which all simply reiterate "like attracts like". The "Like Attract Like" Theory, therefore, says that friendships tend to be between those who:

- (1) like each other
- (2) share similar values
- (3) have similar personalities
- (4) live near each other (proximity)
- (5) are the same age
- (6) are the same sex⁴⁴

The "like attracts like" theory also encompasses the exchange theory, expounded by Homans and Blau, among others.⁴⁵ This could be the seventh component of the "like attracts like" theory, namely that friendships tend to be between those who feel that the exchange is equal.⁴⁶ Put another way, we like those who give back to us what we give to them. This is, however, really a throwback to the "great friend" approach that, it will be recalled, stresses equality in a friendship.

The Developmental View

According to the Developmental View, friendship:

- (1) changes from infancy to maturity in tandem with the cognitive, intellectual, emotional, and social development of the individual
- (2) is important because it fosters, supplements, or conflicts with, other primary roles

(3) is different for males and females

This view incorporates the "Great Friend" and "Modern Man" Approaches and the "Like Attracts Like" Theory, but it adds two other dimensions -- the life cycle and gender differences. The previous orientations were mainly concerned with the friendships of adults. The developmental view looks at friendship from infancy through senescence, for males and for females. In general, psychologists have concentrated on friendships from infancy through adolescence, and sociologists on young adulthood through old age, although there have been some exceptions to this.⁴⁷

That the developmental view encompasses the "Like Attracts Like" theory is apparent even in the titles of representative published studies, such as "Similarity in Real-Life Adolescent Friendship Pairs", "Similarity of Attitudes and Constructs in Children's Friendships," or "Similarity of Activity Preferences Among Friends: Those Who Play Together Stay Together".⁴⁸ The developmental view also leans toward the "Modern Man" approach in that it is based on the principle of differentiated friendships. The difference is that in the Developmental View, the differentiation refers to the discarding of friends as one progresses through life's stages and cycles, not to multiple friends simultaneously to fulfill disparate needs. Thus, throughout the literature with a developmental view, there is less regard for who the friend is than for whether or not a child (or an adult) has one. The Detroit Study of best friends of a sample of men from the ages of 21 to over 65 is representative of this developmental view, as reflected in this statement: "Our results indicate, in fact, that a

major, if not the major, influence on individuals' networks [best friendships] is their position in the life-cycle".⁴⁹

Thus, a distinction of the Developmental View of friendship is that friendship changes over the life cycle. More specifically, from infancy through young adulthood, the very notion of a friend changes as the cognitive, emotional, and social development of the individual progresses. After that, the sociologists have shown that who the friends are will change depending upon what principal role an adult is performing (e.g. single worker, married homemaker, parent, retiree, widow, etc.).⁵⁰ The Developmental View is further characterized by the notion that friendship in the formative years is necessary for emotional and social development and, indeed, the training ground for adult heterosexual intimacy.⁵¹

Thus far, the most systematic application of the Developmental View of friendship are the stages of friendship that psychologists Selman/Jacquette and Bigelow/La Gaipa evolved from observations and content analysis, respectively.⁵² Those stages attempt to do for friendship what Freud did for sexual development, Piaget did for cognitive development, Kohlberg did for moral development, and Erikson did for the child-adult life cycle.⁵³

Figure 1

Developmental Models of Friendship Stages

Selman/Jacquette model

- Stage 0 (Ages 3-7) Momentary Physical Playmate
- Stage 1 (Ages 4-9) One-Way Assistance
- Stage 2 (Ages 6-12) Fairweather Cooperation
- Stage 3 (Ages 9-15) Intimate-Mutual Sharing
- Stage 4 (Age 12+) Autonomous Interdependence

Bigelow/La Gaipa model (Ages 8 to 14)

- Stage 1 Situational
- Stage 2 Contractual
- Stage 3 Internal-psychological⁵⁴

Far more useful than whether or not the above stages do, indeed, occur at the ages to which they are related is Selman and Selman's note that two adults who meet for the first time might begin their relationship at the child's Stage 0 and, as their relationship evolves and deepens, progress to Stage 4. It might be useful, therefore, to redefine Selman's stages as something other than progressive ones -- leading up to a "great friend" relation -- but as the way that friendships of different levels might be characterized. For example, acquaintances might be "Fairweather Cooperation" and a close friend might be "Intimate-Mutual Sharing", but a best friend might be "Autonomous Interdependence".

Gender Differences

Behind the developmental view of friendship, whether it is proposed by a psychologist or a sociologist, is still the notion that opposite-sex intimacy is the primary goal in life. Peer relations (friendship) are seen as preparatory to that goal, as in childhood and preadolescence, or as substitutes for it, as in the case of widowhood. Thus, it is not surprising to find an explanation of gender differences in friendship, like the one offered by sociologist Beth Hess, that female friendships prepare them for their roles as wife, mother, and confidant to their husbands, and male friendships, based on participation in "teams", prepare them for being part of the corporate "team."⁵⁵ Similarly, sociologist Janet Lever found boys' play to be "more complex" than girls' which, Lever hypothesizes, would give boys' the greater edge "for success in team sports and in modern organizations."⁵⁶ Of course this may simply be an example of the cart before the horse syndrome. Thus, the supposed gender differences that are claimed by the Developmental View advocates may not be based on "dispositional factors", as Fischer and his colleagues suggest, but on the differing roles that boys and girls, men and women have, in the past, been asked to play.⁵⁷

The literature on gender differences in friendship is laden with contradictions. There are those, like Robert E. Lewis, who write that men are socialized to be incapable of close friendships, and those that say that is also true of women.⁵⁸ Thus within the developmental view can be found the old "Great Friend" debate over which sex, if any, is capable of genuine friendship. Sociologist

Alan Booth, for example, found that males had more friends, but female friendship was "affectively richer."⁵⁹ Caldwell and Peplau, basing their conclusions on a self-report questionnaire study and a role-play study with University of California undergraduates, found that women emphasized "emotional sharing and talking" while men emphasized "activities and doing things together".⁶⁰ Powers and Bultena's study found that women reported more "intimate friends" than men did, and Booth, Booth & Hess, and Lowenthal & Haven found that women were more likely than men to have intimate "confidants".⁶¹

Even one of the most enlightening sociological studies on friendship, Babchuk and Bates and Babchuk's studies of the friendship patterns of middle-class married couples in Lincoln, Nebraska, confirmed the gender prejudices within the Developmental View -- married women were likely to have friendships that were initiated by their husbands. Thus, they substantiated the view of friendship as a relation in the service of the primary relation of marriage and inadvertently confirmed how shaky a woman's friendships must be if she "gives them up" for her husband.⁶² (Simon, Crofts, and Mahan, who interviewed only wives about their friendships -- Bates and Babchuk had interviewed the marital couple -- did not, however, find that their respondents said that they gave up friendships because of their spouses. Because the samples are so different in these studies, however, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from their contradictory findings.)⁶³

The Sociological View

The sociological perspective on friendship is buried within

the writings on friendship by symbolic interactionist Gerald D. Suttles. That view accepts the two basic tenets of friendship, but it adds one vantage point that differs from the Developmental View, namely that friendship is:

-- a unique institution that provides intimacy and presentations of self not permitted in any other role settings, albeit in marriage, the family, or work⁶⁴

Thus, according to the Sociological View, friendship is not simply preparatory to other roles, or in lieu of those roles or relations, but a relationship providing something not available anywhere else. Furthermore, the Developmental View considers friendship only one of many relations; friendship is important, but secondary to the primary relations of spouse, parent, and worker. The unique place accorded friendship in the Sociological View is significant to consider in the context of the friendship patterns of urban single childless women; either by choice or by default, they do not now have -- and may never have -- those other relations, such as a family of procreation, or even a long-term heterosexual relationship.

The sociological view considers friendship an institution that allows deviation from public propriety, not permissible in other social relationships, including marriage; friendship also permits the exposure, and acceptance, of one's true self. The closer the friend's perception of the other's true self, the more validating, successful, and effective is that individual and shared view of each other, and the more likely a friendship will be formed and maintained.⁶⁵ It is that very deviation from public propriety --

the public self -- that makes friendship such a self-validating (and potentially devastating) relationship. Once entered into, it is not so easily ended for the consequences of the ending become more damaging as the information exchanged is more intimate.⁶⁶

In contrast to the Developmental View, therefore, in the Sociological View, changes, such as status changes, relocations, even death, will not end genuine friendship since the feelings -- based upon a deep-rooted acceptance of the other -- will withstand fluctuations.⁶⁷ In that way, the Sociological View does incorporate the "Great Friend" approach.

Because of the specific group under study for this dissertation, the Sociological View is a useful backdrop. The friendships of urban single women are primary, fitting Cooley's definition of "...those [groups] characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation."⁶⁸ For this group of women, friendship may just be the only non-kin intimacy available to them. Because of the uniqueness of this population, therefore, it might be possible to look at friendship stripped of the secondary status it has previously been accorded by The Developmental View, taking on, instead, the Sociological View that friendship is a unique institution providing intimacy that transcends that available from other more traditional sources.

This dissertation therefore seeks to take The Sociological View one step further -- by exploring the uniqueness of friendship as a social institution, applying that view to a specific group, and, unlike Suttles, basing any conclusions on empirical data.

This dissertation is a necessary addition to the literature on

friendship and on single women because:

(1) the single childless middle-class working woman living alone is a relatively new phenomenon that has not been systematically studied

(2) the research that has been done on single women has been based on samples obtained in an unreliable manner, impressionistic observations, or, like Kaufman's study of academic women, did not look at urban single women⁶⁹

(3) like most other friendship studies, that research did not define friendship narrowly enough so that its results would have analytical and empirical value.⁷⁰

What do we now know about the friendship patterns of young urban single women? There's popular writing on single women, but scant empirical research on single women, in general, or the young urban single woman, in particular. The cliché has been that the single woman was too busy husband hunting, having affairs, or taking care of her elderly parent, with whom she still lived, to be concerned with friendships.⁷¹ Furthermore, until recently, the friendships of women in general have been largely ignored. Whether women were previously incapable of friendship, or whether those writing about friendship are only now willing to admit to her friendship capacities, is outside the scope of this review. That by Simmel's time the view of women in regard to friendship was changing is reflected in his writings, excerpted earlier in this chapter and now reprinted in its entirety:

Now, women are the less individualized sex; variation of individual women from the general class type is less great than is true, in general, of men. This explains the very widespread

opinion that, ordinarily, women are less susceptible to friendship than men. For, friendship is a relation entirely based on the individualities of its elements, more so perhaps even than marriage; because of its traditional forms, its social rules, its real interests, marriage contains many super-individual elements that are independent of the specific characters of the personalities involved. The fundamental differentiation on which marriage is based, as over against friendship, is in itself not an individual, but a species, differentiation. It is therefore understandable that real and lasting friendships are rare at the stage of low personality development; and that, on the other hand, the modern, highly differentiated woman shows a strikingly increased capacity for friendship and an inclination toward it, both with men and with women. Individual differentiation here has overwhelmed species differentiation. We thus see a correlation emerge between the most pointed individualization and a relationship which, at this stage is least, is absolutely limited to the dyad. This, of course, does not preclude the possibility that the same person can, at the same time, be engaged in more than one relation of friendship.⁷²

What contemporary research has been done on female friendships has been concerned with specific populations, such as children, adolescents, coeds in campus settings, midwestern assistant professors, working- or middle-class married women, or elderly widows.⁷³ Post-college single childless women were not, until recently, a population to be reckoned with. The statistics indicate the phenomenal growth of this population (due to temporary or permanent delaying of first marriage and childbearing because of career goals and the "marriage gradient" as well as the increase in divorce).⁷⁴ From 1970 to 1980, the number of women living alone increased 50.6% — from 7,319,000 to 11,022,000. Never-married women increased 89.2% during that time period. The age at first marriage has risen for women: in 1981, 53% of women between the ages of 20 and 24 years of age were still single compared to only 28% in 1960. For women in the 25 to 29-year-old age group, the number never married increased from 11% to 23% between 1960 and 1981.⁷⁵

The friendship patterns of urban single women between the ages of twenty and forty are worthwhile to study because, if, and when, these women do marry or remarry, they will bring to those marital relationships ideas about friendship far different from their older sisters, who often went from their childhood home to the marital bed (if not to the nunnery). In those "new" marriages, where the woman has had an extended period of singleness, and employment, the findings about friendship patterns of middle-class couples may no longer be applicable.⁷⁶ These "new" women may be more adamant about being the ones to initiate, or determine, with whom the couple will be friendly (or they may opt for more time away from the home to be with "their" friends as well as their jobs). Thus, the friendship patterns of single women, who later marry, may effect the character of marriage and the family.

With the realization that temporary, or permanent, singleness is real -- and that some kind of meaningful relationship, even friendship, can offset the dyre effects of living singly -- friendship is receiving increasing attention.⁷⁷ The earlier studies on singleness have been valuable in drawing attention to singleness, in disputing myths about the maladjustment of singles, or in noting the importance of friendship to singles, rather than in providing definitive empirical data about the friendship patterns of single women.⁷⁸

In one of the best early articles on single women, Margaret Adams, a consultant in social work in Massachusetts, included some generalizations about their friendships. In "The Single Woman in Today's Society: A Reappraisal," published in 1971, Adams pointed

out the strains on friendship for single women. Friendships with other single women may be problematic, Adams noted, if both women believe in their inferior status, and suspect that they are using each other only as a "stopgap to ward off loneliness and fill the time, pending a more rewarding relationship with a man."⁷⁹ Adams continued: "Further, the overwhelming importance attached to this latter objective [marriage] introduces a frustration and desperation [into the friendship] heightened by the fear that one may succeed, thus abandoning the other to loneliness and a reinforced sense of underachievement."⁸⁰

Adams believed that in order to avoid loneliness, single women developed "informal, loosely-knit communes of unattached individuals who are not close and intimate friends but operate among each other on the basis of shared needs and reciprocal services."⁸¹ Just how these networks are formed, however, is not revealed; this dissertation sought to find out what kind of networks urban single women might have, if any.

Sociologist Peter J. Stein's book, Single, is based on data gathered from two separate samples of single men and women -- a younger sample of college students, who were not interviewed but completed a questionnaire, and an older sample of forty men and women, between the ages of 25 and 45, who lived in Brooklyn Heights, New York or in Boston. The older sample were interviewed, but they were not chosen in a random fashion; respondents had all previously stated that they considered their singleness a permanent state. Stein himself writes: "The author is aware of the limitations of the sample."⁸² Therefore, Stein's conclusions on friendship, a brief

notation in his book, must be considered with caution.⁸³

In her later book, Single Blessedness, Adams added to her earlier impressions on singleness with data obtained from in-depth interviews with twenty-seven single men and women. That sample, like the samples of singles that Stein used, were convenience samples of all types of singles, more reflective of the networks of the researcher than singleness per se. Furthermore, since Adams and Stein were researching singleness, and not just the friendship patterns of a specific group of singles, their findings about the friendships of singles are more general than specific, more impressionistic than empirical.⁸⁴

Hess, in her review article on friendship throughout the life cycle, writes: "In adulthood, single men and women appear to confide more in cross-sex than in same-sex friends..."⁸⁵ That statement, however, is not backed up with empirical data. This dissertation sought to confirm or refute that generalization with empirical data on a specific sample of single women.

One of the aims of this dissertation, therefore, was to see if some of the general insights suggested by Adams, Stein, and Hess might be backed up, or refuted, by empirical data gathered from a specific group of singles.

In their review article on friendship throughout life, Dickens and Perlman make this generalization: "...contact with friends declines during the adult stage of the life-cycle while contact with kin increases."⁸⁶ This statement is based on the assumption, however, that someone is married and with spouse and children present. Shulman, in analyzing interviews with 347 adults between

18 and 65 years of age, including singles, found that singles, when ranking kin, friends, and neighbors for importance in their personal networks, were least likely to name any kin.⁸⁷ This dissertation sought to find out just how important kin are to urban single women living alone, who are probably not living close to their kin.

Thus, based upon a review of the literature on friendship, and on singleness, this dissertation set out to research the friendship patterns of a specific population -- urban single women between the ages of twenty and forty who are working, childless, and living alone. A search of the literature by computer and by hand revealed that, to date, the friendship patterns of urban single women who live alone has not been researched in a systematic and thorough fashion.⁸⁸ It was this researcher's belief that a contribution to the literature on friendship about one specific population would be more useful than an attempt to cover too wide a spectrum of groups. Furthermore, in order to avoid falling into the "great friend" trap in researching friendship, this researcher sought to gather specific information about all types of friendships, namely best, close, and casual friends.

Questions For Study

In the tradition exemplified by Weber's theory of bureaucracy and Durkheim's theory of suicide, this dissertation seeks to uncover a general theory about friendship, and a specific theory about the friendship patterns of urban single women, based upon an analysis of the data collected by this researcher. Called "grounded theory" by Glaser and Strauss, the theory detailed in the final chapters of

this dissertation is "derived from data and then illustrated by characteristic examples of data".⁸⁹ Omitted in this section, therefore, are hypotheses derived from the theories of the grand theorists in sociology (Weber, Durkheim, Simmel, Marx, Veblen, Cooley, Mead, Park, etc.) that this dissertation research sought to "test out".⁹⁰ Instead, what follows below are a series of questions, and areas for study, that this researcher was concerned with from the initiation of the research process, and throughout the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the data. Unlike the logico-deductive method of research, these questions did not lock in the analysis and interpretation of the actual data. In the tradition of "grounded theory," this dissertation therefore sought to study a general area -- friendship -- from a general sociological perspective -- how friendship effects the social integration of a population of urban single women who are cut off from more traditional sources of intimacy (marriage and the family). This research is not "based on a preconceived theoretical framework."⁹¹ This dissertation sought to combine the best techniques of such insightful sociologists as Simmel, Goffman, and Riesman (who have been criticized on the grounds that they lack empirical data) and those "more rigorously minded sociologists" who have the data, but did not take their data that extra step into the range of grounded theory.⁹²

Therefore, based on a review of the literature, and two years of pilot studies, the following questions, and areas of study, were pinpointed for investigation:

- * are the empirical findings of Caldwell and Peplau, who

found college coeds to have more talking and confidence-related friendships than the activity-related friendships of their male counterparts, replicated in a study of a sample of urban single working women?⁹⁴ Or would women who have adult roles more closely mirroring the role of male worker have friendships that are closer to the male stereotype?

- * what factor, or sets of factors, would account for variations in the friendship patterns of a sample of urban single women?

- * how does the single woman relate to her married friends?⁹³

- * what relationship would a commitment to singleness have on friendship?⁹⁵

- * if an urban single woman is dating, how important are her date's friends to her?⁹⁶

- * within a group of working urban single women who live alone, would the number, or type, of friendships account for better social integration, or would there be other factors of equal or greater importance (closeness to kin, job satisfaction, etc.)?

- * will urban single women be involved in informal friendship networks to compensate for an absence of marriage and parenting ties?

- * would the friendship patterns of urban single women who live alone be highly differentiated (The "Modern Man" Approach) or all-encompassing dyads (The "Great Friend" Approach)?

In order to answer the above questions, data on friendship had to be collected from a sample population of single women who live alone. An urban population was chosen for this study for practical reasons and also because these women, uprooted from their families of orientation, it was theorized, would be more dependent upon friendship ties for their social integration. (The study would exclude women who had male or female roommates, or children.)

In the next chapter, the Upper East Side of Manhattan, the area from which a sample of young urban single women living on one block was drawn, is described. The respondents, upon which this dissertation is based, are also described in detail. (See Appendix I for a comprehensive discussion of the methods that were used to conduct this in-depth study of the friendship patterns of a sample of urban single women.)

Footnotes

¹Odd Ramsøy, "Friendship", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan and Collier, 1968), pp. 12-17 and Gerald D. Suttles, "Friendship as a Social Institution" in Social Relationships (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), pp. 95-100.

²Ibid.

³These quotes are from: Cicero, On Old Age and On Friendship, trans. Frank O. Copley (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 82; John Donne, "Devotions" quoted in The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 186; and Lisa F. Berkman and S. Leonard Syme, "Social Networks, Host Resistance, and Mortality: A Nine-Year Follow-Up Study of Alameda County Residents", Journal of Epidemiology 109 (1979):189.

⁴On the significance of friendship see: Beth Hess, "Friendship" in Aging and Society, Volume 3, eds. Matilda White Riley, Marilyn Johnson, and Anne Foner (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), pp. 357-93; Harry Stack Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (New York: Norton, 1953); Tim Brennan and Nathan Auslander, "Adolescent Loneliness" (Boulder: Behavioral Research Institute, 1979); Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson, The Adolescent Experience (New York: Wiley, 1966), "Friendship," pp. 174-228; Zick Rubin, Children's Friendships (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980); Mary B. Parlee, "The Friendship Bond: PT's Survey Report on Friendship in America", Psychology Today, October 1979; Wenda J. Dickens and Daniel Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-Cycle", pp. 91-122 in Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships, eds. Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour (New York: Academic Press, 1981); Willard W. Hartup, "Peer Relations and the Growth of Social Competence" in The Primary Prevention of Psychopathology, Vol. 3, Promoting Social Competence and Coping in Children (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1979), pp. 150-70; Glenn Collins, "Friendship: A Fact of Life for Toddlers, Too," New York Times, December 15, 1980, p. B16; Remarks of Harold H. Kelley, "Personal Relationships: Their Nature and Significance", International Conference on Personal Relationships, University of Wisconsin at Madison, 18 July 1982; and Lisa F. Berkman and S. Leonard Syme, "Social Networks, Host Resistance, and Mortality: A Nine-Year Follow-Up Study of Alameda County Residents," American Journal of Epidemiology 109 (1979):186-204.

⁵Bensman and Lilienfeld have written, for example: "...friendship can perhaps compensate us for the loss of intimacy from what is widely perceived as an erosion of family, community, and other traditional institutions." (Joseph Bensman and Robert Lilienfeld, "Friendship and Alienation," Psychology Today, October

1979, p. 56).

⁶Robert R. Bell, Worlds of Friendship (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981), p. 12.

⁷Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry, p. 245.

⁸Claude S. Fischer and Stacey J. Oliner, "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle", unpublished working paper (Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, March 1980), pp. 1-12.

⁹Helena Znaniecka Lopata, Women and Widows: Support Systems (New York: Elsevier North Holland, 1979), pp. 211-14.

¹⁰Greg Arling, "The Elderly Widow and Her Family, Neighbors and Friends", Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):757-68.

¹¹Mayta A. Caldwell and Letitia Anne Peplau, "Sex Differences in Same-Sex Friendship," manuscript for article to appear in Sex Roles (December 1979 typescript), p. 1.

¹²Fischer and Oliner, "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle", pp. 1-24.

¹³Rita James Simon, Gail Crofts, and Linda Mahan, "An Empirical Note About Married Women and Their Friends", Social Forces 48 (June 1970):520-25.

¹⁴Anne M. Seiden and Pauline B. Bart, "Woman to Woman: Is Sisterhood Powerful?" in Old Family/New Family, ed. Nona Glazer-Malbin (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1975), pp. 189-228.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶That a thoughtful review of the literature on friendship is a challenging task is demonstrated by the failure of all similar attempts that this researcher has read thus far. For example, one of the best efforts of this kind to date is by the esteemed sociologist Helena Z. Lopata. Entitled "Friendship: Historical and Theoretical Introduction," it appears in a 1981 research annual devoted to friendship. (Research in the Interweave of Social Roles: Friendship, edited by Helena Z. Lopata and David Maines, vol. 2, Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, Inc., 1981, pp. 1-19). Lopata begins, ambitiously enough, with a careful and provocative review of Aries' Centuries of Childhood, showing how changes in the family have effected friendship. According to Aries, during the seventeenth century, social life was removed from the streets. After that "...sociability and the concept of the family were incompatible, and could develop only at each other's expense." (Lopata, p.5.) Unfortunately, after her summary of Aries' work, Lopata abandons a schematic approach to friendship. The remainder of her review is, by and large, an annotated listing of friendship

research conducted during the twentieth century. (Ibid., pp.8-15)

Alas, other friendship reviews, such as the one by psychologists Dickens and Perlman, begin with equal ambitiousness, but fall prey to the same "list" approach. Dickens and Perlman do, however, try to organize the cited and summarized sources into those dealing with friendships during childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age. (Dickens and Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-cycle", pp. 91-122.)

¹⁷Citations include: Plato, Lysis, or Friendship from The Works of Plato, selected and edited by Irwin Edman, based on the standard Jowett translation (New York: Modern Library, 1928), pp. 3-32; Aristotle, The Nicomachean Ethics, vol. 19, Aristotle in Twenty-Three Volumes, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), Books 8 and 9; Cicero, "On Old Age and on Friendship"; Sir Francis Bacon, "Of Friendship" in Classic Essays in English, 2nd ed., ed. Josephine Miles (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), pp. 15-21; Montaigne, "Of Friendship" in The Complete Essays of Montaigne, ed. and trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), pp. 135-44; Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Friendship" in Essays by Ralph Waldo Emerson (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), pp. 121-56; and Henry David Thoreau, "Great Friend" in The Portable Thoreau, ed. Carl Bode (New York: Viking Press, 1947), pp. 236-7.

¹⁸Citations include: Marjorie Fisk Lowenthal and Clayton Havens, "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable", American Sociological Review 33(1968):20-30; Murray Davis, Intimate Relations (New York: Free Press, 1973); and Anne Toilstoi Wallach, Women's Work (New York: New American Library, 1981).

¹⁹Lynne R. Davidson and Lucile Duberman, "Friendship: Communication and Interactional Patterns in Same-Sex Dyads", Sex Roles 8 (1982):809-22 and Plato, Lysis.

²⁰Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and ed. Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), pp. 324-26.

²¹Davis, Intimate Relations, p. xxv.

²²C. Ann Stueve and Kathleen Gern, "Personal Relations Across the Life-Cycle" in Networks and Places, ed. Fischer, et. al. (New York: Free Press, 1977), pp. 74-98.

²³Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 324-30.

²⁴Peter L. Berger and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and ther Construction of Reality", Diogenes 45 (1964):1-25, repr. in Social Interactions, ed. Robboy, et. al. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), pp. 308-22.

²⁵See sources in footnote 17-18 in this chapter and Gerald D. Suttles, "Friendship as a Social Institution" in Social

Relationships (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), pp. 95-135.

²⁶Philip S. Bashor, "Plato and Aristotle on Friendship", Journal of Value Inquiry 2 (Winter 1968):269-80.

²⁷Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson, ed. Simpson (London: Routledge, 1952), pp. 168-220.

²⁸Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, p. 138.

²⁹Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America", Signs 1 (August 1975):1-29.

³⁰Nancy Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 173.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 193.

³²Wallach, Women's Work, pp. 272-358.

³³John Ford Noonan, "A Coupla White Chicks Sitting Around Talking", directed by Dorothy Lyman, performance at Ator Place Theatre, New York City, 5 August 1980.

³⁴Simmel, pp. 325-6.

³⁵*Ibid.* ³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 326.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 325. ³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 326.

³⁹Telephone interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 22 January 1981.

⁴⁰Bell, Worlds of Friendship, p. 21.

⁴¹Simmel, pp. 122-32.

⁴²Theodore M. Newcomb, "The Prediction of Interpersonal Attraction," The American Psychologist 11 (November 1956):575, 577 and Aristotle, The Nicomachean Ethics.

⁴³Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, "Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis" in Freedom and Control in Modern Society, ed. Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 18-66.

⁴⁴Dickens and Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-cycle", p. 92.

⁴⁵George Caspar Homans, The Human Group (New York:- Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950); G. C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, rev. ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,

1974); and Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

⁴⁶ Examples of the application of exchange theory to personal relationships include: Ted L. Huston and Robert L. Burgess, "Social Exchange in Developing Relationships: An Overview," in Social Exchange in Developing Relationships, ed. Ted L. Huston (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1979), pp. 3-28; John A. Edwards "Familial Behavior as Social Exchange," Journal of Marriage and Family (August 1969):518-26; Bernard I. Murstein, Mary Cerreto, and Marcia G. MacDonald, "A Theory and Investigation of the Effect of Exchange-Orientation on Marriage and Friendship," Journal Marriage and Family (August 1977):543-48; T. L. Huston and R. M. Cate, "Social Exchange in Intimate Relationships;" Ted L. Huston and George Levinger, "Interpersonal Attraction and Relationships" in Annual Review of Psychology, vol. 29, eds. M. R. Rosenzweig & L. W. Porter. (Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, 1978), pp. 115-56; and Ted L. Huston, Catherine A. Surra, Nancy Fitzgerald, and Rodney M. Cate, "From Courtship to Marriage: Mate Selection as an Interpersonal Process," in Personal Relationships 1: Developing Personal Relationships, eds. S. Duck and R. Gilmour (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1981), chap. 3, pp. 53-88.

⁴⁷ Citations appear throughout this chapter. Notable psychologists concentrating on friendship in infancy through adolescence are Hartup, Rubin, Sullivan, Douvan; sociologists concentrating on young adulthood through old age are Zena Blau, Rosow, Lopata, Lowenthal, Havens, Babchuk, Bates, and Hess. Exceptions are of course to be found, such as sociologists Eder and Hallinan who have studied the friendships of children.

⁴⁸ Complete citations are: Denise B. Kandel, "Similarity in Real-Life Adolescent Friendship Pairs", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 36 (March 1978):306-12; Philip G. Erwin, "Similarity of Attitudes and Constructs in Children's Friendships", Paper presented at the International Conference on Personal Relationships, University of Wisconsin at Madison, July 1982, 14-page typescript; and Carol Werner and Pat Parmelee, "Similarity of Activity Preferences Among Friends: Those Who Play Together Stay Together", Social Psychology Quarterly 42 (1979):62-6.

⁴⁹ C. Ann Stueve and Kathleen Gerson, "Personal Relations Across the Life-Cycle", p. 79.

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 79-98. See also: Zena Smith Blau, Old Age in a Changing Society (New York: Watts, 1973); Lopata, Women a Widows; Lowenthal and Haven, "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable"; Nicholas Babchuk, "Primary Friends and Kin: A Study of the Associations of Middle Class Couples", Social Forces 43(1965):483-93; and Nicholas Babchuk and Alan P. Bates, "Primary Relations of Middle Class Couples", American Sociological Review 28 (June 1963):377-84.

⁵¹ Sullivan, Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry, p. 245.

⁵²Dickens and Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-Cycle", pp. 95-96; Robert L. Selman and Anne P. Selman, "Children's Ideas About Friendship: A New Theory," Psychology Today, October 1979, pp. 71-2, 74, 79-80, 114; and Brian J. Bigelow, "Children's Friendship Expectations: A Cognitive-developmental Study", Child Development 48 (1977):247.

⁵³References include: Sigmund Freud, Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud (New York: Modern Library, 1938); J. Piaget and B. Inhelder, The Psychology of the Child (New York: Basic Books, 1969); J. Piaget and B. Inhelder, Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence (New York: Basic Books, 1958); L. Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization" in D. A. Goslin, ed., Handbook of Socialization Theory & Research (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969); L. Kohlberg and R. Mayer, "Development as the Aim of Education", Harvard Educational Review 42 (1972):449-96; and E. H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1963), pp. 247-74.

⁵⁴This chart was developed by this author based on the references cited in footnote 52.

⁵⁵Hess, "Friendship and Gender Roles over the Life Course", pp. 104-15.

⁵⁶Janet Lever, "Sex Differences in the Complexity of Children's Play and Games", American Sociological Review 43 (August 1978):471-83.

⁵⁷Fischer and Olikier, "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle", pp. 1-3.

⁵⁸Robert A. Lewis, "Emotional Intimacy Among Men", Journal of Social Issues 34 (1978), p. 108.

Other sources on the friendships of males include: Jack Balwick, "The Inexpressive Male: Functional-Conflict and Role Theory as Contrasting Explanations," Family Coordinator 28 (July 1979):331-336; Luciano L'Abate, "Inexpressive Males or Overexpressive Females? A Reply to Balwick," Family Relations 29 (April 1980):229-230; Jerome Tognoli, "Male Friendship and Intimacy Across the Life Span," Family Relations 29 (July 1980):273-79; Joel D. Block, "Male Friendships: The Importance, The Obstacles," Bottom Line Personal, August 30, 1982, p. 14; Peter J. Stein, "Men and Their Friendships," Paper presented at the Annual Groves Conference on Marriage and the Family, May 31-June 4, 1982 (13-page typescript); C. Ann Stueve and Kathleen Gerson, "Personal Relations Across the Life-Cycle" in Networks and Places, ed. Fischer et. al. (New York: Free Press, 1977), pp. 74-98; Joseph H. Pleck, "Man to Man: Is Brotherhood Possible?" in Old Family/New Family, ed. Nona Glazer-Malbin (New York: D. Van Nostrand Col., 1975), pp. 229-44; and Alan Booth, "Sex and Social Participation," American Sociological Review 37 (1972):183-92.

Additional sources on gender differences in friendship include:

Hans Seibald, Adolescence: A Social Psychological Analysis, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977, 1968); Caldwell and Peplau, "Sex Differences in Same-Sex Friendship", p. 1; Zick Rubin, Children's Friendships (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980); Donna Eder and Maureen Hallinan, "Sex Difference in Children's Friendships", American Sociological Review 43 (April 1978):237-50; Fischer and Oliker, "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle"; Elise Hart Green, "Friendships and Quarrels Among Preschool Children," Child Development 4(1933):237-52; Beth B. Hess, "Friendship and Gender Roles Over the Life Course," pp. 104-15 in Single Life, ed. Peter J. Stein (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981); Debra Renee Kaufman, "Associational Ties in Academe: Some Male and Female Differences", Sex Roles 4 (1978):9-21; Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson, The Adolescent Experience (New York: Wiley, 1966), pp. 174-228; Davidson and Duberman, "Friendship: Communication and Interactional Patterns in Same-Sex Dyads"; Robert C. Challman, "Factors Influencing Friendships Among Preschool Children," Child Development 3 (1932):146-58; and Carol Nagy Jacklin and Eleanor E. Maccoby, "Social Behavior at Thirty-Three Months in Same-Sex and Mixed-Sex Dyads," Child Development 49 (1978):557-69.

⁵⁹Booth, "Sex and Social Participation", p. 183.

⁶⁰Caldwell and Peplau, p. 1.

⁶¹Edward A. Powers & Gordon L. Bultana, "Sex Differences in Intimate Friendships of Old Age", Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):739.

⁶²Babchuk, "Primary Friends and Kin" and Babchuk and Bates, "Primary Relations of Middle Class Couples", pp. 377-84.

⁶³Simon, Crofts, and Mahan, "An Empirical Note About Married Women and Their Friends", pp. 520-25.

⁶⁴Gerald D. Suttles, "Friendship as a Social Institution" in Social Relationships (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), p. 95.

⁶⁵William J. Chambliss, "The Selection of Friends", Social Forces (1965):370.

⁶⁶Suttles, "Friendship as a Social Institution", p. 119.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 126-32.

⁶⁸Charles Horton Cooley, "Primary Groups", repr. in The Pleasures of Sociology, ed. Lewis A. Coser (New York: New American Library, 1980), p. 165.

⁶⁹Kaufman, "Associational Ties in Academe: Some Male and Female Differences", p. 9.

⁷⁰See, for example: Margaret Adams, "The Single Woman in Today's Society: A Reappraisal," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry

41 (October 1971), pp. 780-82 and Peter J. Stein, Single (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 85-90.

⁷¹For references to popular writings about single women see footnote 12 in Chapter 1.

⁷²Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, p. 138.

⁷³See above references to the works of Caldwell and Peplau, Arling, Lopata, Kaufman, Simon, Crotts and Mahan, Babchuk and Bates, Douvan, etc.

⁷⁴On the increase in singles, see: Allyson Sherman Grossman, Labor Force Patterns of Single Women, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1980); Roger W. Libby, "Creative Singlehood as a Sexual Life-Style: Beyond Marriage as a Rite of Passage," in Marriage and Alternatives, ed. R. W. Libby and Robert N. Whitehurst (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1977), pp. 37-61; and Roger W. Libby, Mary Pat Fisher, and Gilbert Nass, "Adult Sexual Careers" in Sexual Choices (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishers, 1981), chapter 9. (Also see footnote 12 in Chapter 1.)

⁷⁵U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Household Size Continues to Decline, Census Report Shows". Press release, November 19, 1982. See also: Linda Wolfe, "The Good News," New York, December 28, 1981-January 4, 1982, p. 33; U.S. Department of Commerce, "Commerce News: Median Age at First Marriage Continues Climb Begun in Mid-1950's, Census Bureau Report Shows," April 2, 1980 press release; Libby, "Creative Singlehood as a Sexual Life-Style," p. 37; and Libby, et. al., "Adult Sexual Careers," pp. 272-275.

⁷⁶Babchuk, "Primary Friends and Kin, p. 483-93."

⁷⁷Phone interview with Lucile Duberman, Ph.D., Department of Sociology, Rutgers University, New Jersey, 1 September 1982. Other references reflecting the growth of interest in peer relations include: Claude S. Fischer, et. al., Networks and Places (New York: Free Press, 1977); Jeremy Boissevain, Friends of Friends (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974); Jessica Lipnack and Jeffrey Stamps, Networking (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1982); S. Asher and J. Gottman, eds., The Development of Friendship (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); H. C. Foot, A. J. Chapman, and J. R. Smith, eds., Friendship and Social Relations in Children (London: Wiley, 1980); Michael Lewis and Leonard Rosenblum, eds., Friendship and Peer Relations (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1975); Mary Brown Parlee and Psychology Today eds., "The Friendship Bond: PT's Survey Report"; conferences on personal relationships (including friendship) held in Canada (June 1981), in Wisconsin (July 1982), and proposed additional international ones on a biennial basis (Form letter communication, Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour, University of Lancaster, England, received 20 August 1982, n.d.); and Duck and Gilmour, eds., Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships (New York: Academic Press, 1981).

⁷⁸Baker's 1968 comparative study of never-married and married women in the midwest, for example, tried to show that never-marrieds were as socially adjusted as the marrieds. He said nothing, however, about their friendship patterns. [Luther G. Baker, "The Personal and Social Adjustment of the Never-Married Woman," Journal of Marriage and the Family 30 (August 1968):473-9.] Spreitzer and Riley's 1974 journal article on singlehood is a secondary analysis of data collected on 2,454 persons who had applied for Social Security disability benefits; the median age of the sample was 55. These authors also had little to say about the friendship patterns of their sample. [Elmer Spreitzer and Lawrence E. Riley, "Factors Associated with Singlehood," Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1974):533-42.]

⁷⁹Adams, "The Single Woman in Today's Society: A Reappraisal," p. 780.

⁸⁰Ibid. ⁸¹Ibid., p. 782.

⁸²Peter J. Stein, Single (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 24.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 85-90.

⁸⁴See references cited in footnotes 78-82.

⁸⁵Beth Hess, "Friendship and Gender Roles Over the Life Course," p. 105.

⁸⁶Dickens and Perlman, p. 113.

⁸⁷Norman Shulman, "Life-Cycle Variations in Patterns of Close Relationships", p. 815.

⁸⁸Computer searches conducted through CUNY Graduate Center and the New York State Library included: Erika McCaffrey, Search Analyst, New York State Library Data Base Services, "Sociology of Friendship", Sociological Abstracts, 1963 - present, 29 October 1980; Dissertation Abstracts and Psychological Abstracts, 1935 - present, 30 October 1980; Social Sciences Citation Index, 1977 - present, 5 November 1980; Toni Risoli, Search Analyst, New York State Library Data Base Services, "Friendships Among Women", Sociological Abstracts, 1978 present, 22 April 1982; Risoli, "Sociology of Friendship," Sociological Abstracts, 1963 - date, 22 April 1982; Lynn Eggleston, Search Analyst, New York State Library Data Base Services, "Why Marriage Ends, Divorce, Causes of Divorce", Dissertation Abstracts 1861 - March 1981, 21 April 1981; Psychological Abstracts (PSYC), 1967 - February 1981, 17 April 1981; Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), 1965 - February 1981, 17 April 1981; and Sociological Abstracts (SA), 1965 - February 1981, 17 April 1981.

⁸⁹Glaser and Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (New

York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 4.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 10.

^{D91}Ibid., p. 45.

⁹²Ibid., p. 97.

⁹³According to Adams: "...relationships with married friends are also invested with hazards, although they offer the best hope for the single women to be herself, because she is not being measured solely for her sexual viability" and friendships with marrieds enables the single woman to "lose her poor relationship status and be welcomed as someone whose broader range of work experience and more varied social and cultural contacts can introduce a note of novelty into a family situation..." or to create the "dilemma of the 'friendly threesome.'" (Adams, "The Single Woman in Today's Society", pp. 780-81.).

⁹⁴Caldwell and Peplau, p. 1.

⁹⁵Stein, it may be recalled, selected for his older sample only singles who said that they were committed to singleness.

⁹⁶How would single women compare to the findings of Babchuk and Bates or Simon, Crotts, and Mahan (on the friendship patterns of married midwestern women)? (For references, see footnotes 13 and 50 in this chapter.)

CHAPTER 3

EXECUTION OF STUDY DESIGN

Setting the Scene for the Single Woman

During the 1950s, the suburban exodus affected American cities, and New York was no exception. Families flocked to the emerging suburbs, where individual home ownership, a lawn of one's own, and better school systems typified the dreams of the middle-class.¹ The entire city lost families, as indicated in Figure 2 that compares the citywide population trends for 1950 and 1980.

Figure 2

Domestic Arrangements in New York City

	1950	1980
Single persons living alone	735,285	912,345
Married couples	1,874,525	1,203,135 ²

During the 1970s, families, especially the middle-class, were continuing to flee New York City — to the suburbs and to other states, but singles (including those who were never-married, divorced, separated, widowed, and homosexual) were increasing.³ This was due to the overall increase in singleness, a growth caused by a rise in divorce, a postponement of first marriage (due to education and career considerations), and an increase in women who remained single and who fell into "the marriage gradient" [where

there are fewer men for the women "at the top" to marry since men tend to marry women who are slightly below them in education, occupation, and age].⁴ In 1978, it was estimated that 700,000 men and women in New York City were living alone; in April 1980, there were an estimated 900,000 New Yorkers living alone.⁵ According to the New York Department of City Planning, in Manhattan in 1979, there were 300,000 unmarried people between the ages of 20 and 40.⁶

Where do Manhattan singles live? Manhattan has five areas where singles predominate: the Upper East Side, the "New" West Side, Tudor City, the West Village, and Soho.⁷ To many, however, Manhattan's Upper East Side is the area that is synonymous with singleness.

Background of Sample: Manhattan's Upper East Side

"The Upper East Side," writes Evan Broadman, a journalist who has extensively surveyed the singles scene, "has been established through years of attrition and word of mouth as 'the' place for singles to live."⁸ The Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association (LHNA), which has serviced the Upper East Side since 1928, documents this growth of singles.⁹ In their 1981-82 annual report, LHNA notes: "In the last decade the youth population has declined; but the adult population, especially the singles between the ages of 21 and 35, has been the fastest growing segment of the residents of the area."¹⁰ In a listing of 92 singles bars in Manhattan, 23 listings are in the Lenox Hill area. Categorized by type of frequenters, singles bars in the Lenox Hill area are supposedly visited by "Wall Street," "Jocks," "Beautiful People,"

"Secretaries/Junior Execs.," and "Aspiring Actors."¹¹

Manhattan's Upper East Side is also known as Lenox Hill, an area extending between 57th street and 86th street, from Fifth Avenue to the East River.¹² Yorkville, which extends from 64th Street to 99th Street, east of Third Avenue, is part of the Upper East Side.¹³ The Upper East Side is labeled "the swinging East Side," meaning there is a noticeable young single population in that area.¹⁴

How, and when, did the Upper East Side develop its image as part of the "singles scene," or was it always like that? Lenox Hill is named for Robert Lenox, who privately owned land in that area. In 1818, for example, Lenox acquired additional lots of land; his new property reached 68th to 74th Streets and from Park to Fifth Avenues.¹⁵ In 1853, Central Park was created; then, as now, it covered 843 acres, between Fifth and Eighth Avenue, from 59th to 110th Streets.¹⁶ (Proximity to Central Park's greenery, open spaces, and sports facilities -- bike riding, jogging, boating -- is still one of the attractions of the Upper East Side.) A centennial guide to New York City, published in 1876, listed these two Lenox Hill landmarks: the Lenox Library, founded by James Lenox, on the east side of Fifth Avenue between 70th and 71st Streets and Normal College, on 69th Street, between Fourth [now known as Park] and Lexington Avenues.¹⁷

In the early 1900s, when thousands of immigrants flocked from Europe, Lenox Hill was a melting pot for them -- Germans, Austrians, Irish, Czechs, Italians -- Gentiles and Jews.¹⁸ Marie Jastrow, mother of Robert Jastrow, a well-known astrophysicist, wrote a

memoir about growing up in the Upper East Side before World War I. In 1907, when she was a child, Marie Jastrow arrived in New York City with her mother. They joined her father, who had come here two years before "to make his fortune."¹⁹ After living on Ninth Street and Avenue C, the area now known as the East Village, Jastrow's family moved to a "place" in the mid-70s. (They would soon move again to 81st street in the Yorkville area, and then to their fourth apartment during that first year.)²⁰ Jastrow wrote about that second home: "On the first of August we moved to Seventy-sixth Street and Second Avenue. That apartment wasn't much better [than their first one on Ninth Street], but the toilet was upstairs, a few feet from our door. We shared it with another family who lived across the hall. It was not the best of arrangements, but better than going down those dark cellar steps."²¹

An event that had a major impact on the increased appeal of the Upper East Side to singles was the tearing down of the Third Avenue L train, which had passed overhead for 77 years.²² Real estate value soared, and new apartment houses were constructed. By 1965, ten years after the L had been removed, a journalist for the New York World-Telegram and Sun wrote this description of Third Avenue: "There are more dogs than children along Third Avenue today.' And the dogs, naturally, are as well groomed as their mistresses."²³ (The more recent renovation of the Upper West Side has had a similar impact in bringing influxes of singles to that area.)

Today the Lenox Hill area is one filled with contrasts. There are still walk-up low-rise buildings and brownstones, dating back

fifty to one hundred years, but newer high-rise buildings, luxury ones with uniformed doormen, and more modest ones, appear as well. On the same block, rents may range from a low of \$175 a month for a one-room studio in an old but clean walk-up building to a \$58,000 purchase price (plus \$550 monthly maintenance fee) for a one-bedroom apartment in a luxury high-rise with a doorman, penthouses, and terraces. Indeed, newer high-rises, with their "L" or square-shaped efficiency apartments, are well-suited to those wishing clean and fashionable accommodations, but who are able to afford only space enough for one.

Fifty churches and ten synagogues service Manhattan's Lenox Hill area, along with dozens of sectarian, non-sectarian, and government agencies providing financial, recreational, emotional, and physical assistance. A citywide membership organization, offering monthly social events for college-educated singles, is located in the mid-70s in the Lenox Hill area. In addition to such citywide publications as the New York Times, New York Post, New York Daily News, Village Voice, and New York, there are several local newspapers and magazines, such as Our Town, Manhattan East, Park East, and Avenue.²⁴

Why are singles, especially single women, attracted to the Upper East Side? In addition to the status accorded an Upper East Side address, crime is lower than in other areas of Manhattan. Although the property crime rate in that area has risen in recent years, it is still one of the safest areas of New York in terms of violent crime.²⁵ Single women living alone in Manhattan would be attracted to an area known to be safe. As one Upper East Side

single woman, who works in a midtown advertising agency, said: "I feel safe there. I keep late hours. I can finish work late and walk home alone without worrying."²⁶ Another single woman living alone, who moved here from her native North Carolina, says that when she first arrived here for job interviews, and to look for an apartment, the Upper East Side was the only area she wanted to live in -- for safety considerations.²⁷ One former Upper East Side block association president has said: "I soon realized that a large part of our block population was single women."²⁸ She later added: "I was looking for a neighborhood [to live in] that would be easier to come and go from without being hassled. When I first came into Chelsea [on the lower West Side], on a sublet [five years ago], I felt I was in a war zone. I wanted a place where I could come and go on the subways at three in the morning."²⁹ Broadman suggests reasons other than safety for singles wanting to live on the Upper East Side: "Easy accessibilty to midtown offices, a proliferation of 'singles' bars, restaurants, boutiques, old but well-kept walk-ups, modern doorman buildings and, at one time, relatively inexpensive rents are the attractions."³⁰

Research Data Collection

When it was time to select a site for final data collection, the 1980 U. S. Census Data, providing marital status information for tracts in Manhattan, was unavailable. Because of population shifts, that information from the 1970 Census could not be used for obtaining the sample for this dissertation.³¹ Census Tract 134, a 10-block area between 74th and 79th Streets, Third and First Avenues, was then chosen from which one block would be randomly

selected. This tract, which has a population of 10,142, is known to have a proliferation of singles. Because of practical economic constraints, and the necessity of a reasonable proximity to the research sample (to facilitate the field work -- in-person canvassing of apartments and on-site interviewing), a census tract in a safe and accessible area was picked from which one block would be randomly selected. This procedure would permit contacting complete strangers, but at the same time it would minimize costs spent on transportation (such as cabs, since it was predicted that interviews would have to be done in the evenings, after the sample had finished work) and risks (introduced if interviewing had been done in an area known to have a lot of street crime). Furthermore, increasing the availability of the researcher to her respondents at all hours (e.g. early morning, late at night, weekends) would eliminate one predictable obstacle to participation in this study -- the very real time demands on single working women. Since apartments would be canvassed, if necessary, in person four or more times, the researcher had to design this study with those anticipated multiple field visits in mind. In addition, although the respondents would be unknown to the researcher, the general area of Manhattan in which they lived (the Upper East Side) would be somewhat familiar to her. In that way, the researcher could maximize rapport during interviews by having a frame of reference to the physical environment, and culture, of the community in which her respondents lived. (This did, indeed, occur on numerous occasions; reluctant respondents would agree to an interview after a familiar neighborhood "hang out" -- coffee shop or restaurant -- was named by

the interviewer as a possible place to meet. Similarly, prior to, and during, the interviews, having a shared frame of reference facilitated discussions about other places frequented by the respondents for leisure, social, and recreational reasons.) This procedure was also chosen as the best possible one to enable this researcher to avoid relying on a convenience or snowball sample reflective of her own social network, while at the same time avoiding the introduction of structural and practical obstacles that would adversely effect the basic goal of this dissertation, namely to gather original data on friendship from a sample population of urban single women. In a crime-conscious city like New York, even being able to say that you live in the same part of town, it was discovered, decreased the suspiciousness and discomfort of possible respondents who are reluctant to open their doors, let alone their lives, to complete strangers.³²

Keeping in mind the goal of obtaining a sample outside of the researcher's own social networks, and the practical considerations cited above, each block in Census Tract 134 was labeled from 1 to 10; one block was selected using a computer random selection. The block that had been numbered x was selected. (To further protect the anonymity of the respondents, the exact block will not be disclosed in this study. For the rest of this dissertation, that specific block will be referred to as the Block.)

Description of the Block

On March 25th, 1982, the Block was visited and a detailed drawing of its various buildings and apartment houses was completed. Four structures on the Block are non-residential -- a bank, two

churches (one with an off-off-Broadway theater), a playhouse, and a parking lot. There are also a few commercial store fronts on the Block, but the overall impression is that of two tree-lined and residential side streets. There are numerous commercial stores on First and Second Avenues, which the Block touches, such as a liquor store on one corner, and a shoe store on another. The service entrance to a building on the next uptown street takes up a significant portion of the uptown side of the Block. (It was later learned that that building is indeed excluded from the block association for the Block.)³³

A total of 16 residential buildings were identified. All but three of those residential structures are low-rise walk-ups of only three to seven stories (including one privately-owned structure). In those thirteen buildings, 140 residential units were identified. In building 4, a 12-story high-rise, building 12, a 36-story luxury high rise with 233 apartments, and building 11, an older six-story elevator building with 60 apartments, is the bulk of the Block's population.³⁴ Only two of the sixteen residential buildings (buildings 4 and 12) have doormen.

The Block is serviced by a nearby uptown Bus, which runs along First Avenue, as well as a downtown bus, which runs along Second Avenue. (I later learned that these buses do relate to the friendship patterns of the women that I interviewed. After repeated interactions in the morning, Respondent 19, Eve, befriended a woman who lives one block away. Eve's "busmate" later introduced Eve to the man she is currently dating.)³⁵

Nearby, on 77th Street and Lexington Avenues, is the station

for the local line of the IRT subway. There are express stops one stop up, at 86th Street, and two stops down, at 59th Street. A crosstown bus on 72nd street goes through Central Park and downtown on the West Side, a bus service used by some of the women sampled. Thus, in addition to the more costly taxis that cruise the avenues bordering the Block, there is inexpensive bus or subway service (75 cents per ride at the time of this study) available to the women of the Block.

Lenox Hill Hospital, formerly German Hospital, is next to the subway entrances.³⁶ The Webster Branch of the New York Public Library is located a few blocks over, on York Avenue and 78th Street, and the Yorkville Branch is on 79th Street between Second and Third Avenues. Each month, the Yorkville branch offers free movies and book discussion groups to the community.

On 71st Street, between Second and Third Avenues, is Marymount Manhattan College. For an annual fee of twenty-five dollars, anyone can obtain a library card. There is also a continuing education program offered by Marymount as well as evening classes for those working women seeking to complete their undergraduate degree. (Pat, Respondent 4, was finishing up her college degree at night at Marymount.)³⁷ Another subscription library, the New York Society Library, is on Fifth Avenue and 79th Street. Also within walking distance of the Block, on 72nd Street, are two movie theatres; further uptown, on 86th Street, there are half a dozen more theatres.

Food shopping is facilitated by nearby supermarkets on First, Second, and Third Avenues. There are numerous delicatessans and

pizza parlors on First and Second Avenues as well as restaurants in all price ranges. Lining the avenues touching the Block are candy, newspaper, and tobacco stores, clothing boutiques, and hardware, carpet, mirror, and kitchen redecorating stores. Within walking distance of the Block are several facilities for exercising indoors, such as the branch of a city-wide private health club, a squash club, and an exercise studio.

On the Block is a playhouse that has been offering live performances for the last thirteen years.³⁸ The two churches on the Block — a Presbyterian and a Greek Orthodox one — were built in the late 1800s, in 1881 and 1892, respectively.³⁹ The walk-ups date back fifty to one-hundred years. Building 4, the smaller and less luxurious of the two doormen high-rises, was built twenty years ago.⁴⁰ Building 12, the taller and most impressive high-rise, was built fourteen years ago. Half its apartments are co-ops; the rest are rentals.⁴¹

About two years ago, the Block formed a block association. Although there are 130 block residents who contribute to the block association, there are only eighty paid members with about ten members who are active. A monthly newsletter is issued. The first year, the association had a "street sweep"; block residents were also asked to make contributions to the newsletter. Last year, a Bake Out was held in which residents baked goods and sold them on the Block.⁴² The money raised was used for maintaining the five trees that the block association had previously purchased, and planted, as part of its Block beautification program.⁴³

Over a three-month period, the entire Block (528 units) was

canvassed. In-person interviews, lasting between two to three hours, with 27 single women living alone between the ages of twenty and forty were carried out. (For a detailed discussion of the canvassing of the block to obtain the sample of young urban single women, see Appendix II.)

Description of Respondents

A woman named Lee was the first respondent.⁴⁴ (All first names of respondents, and their friends, have been changed to further protect their anonymity.) I rang Lee's downstairs buzzer; she answered, and we spoke through her intercom. Lee said she had just returned from a one-month vacation in Europe; she had received my introductory letter, and was willing to do the interview "on the spot."

I soon entered Lee's first-floor one-bedroom apartment. We sat in Lee's living room, surrounded by her open, unpacked suitcases. Lee, 36, is a petite woman with short brown hair. She is an airline stewardess, and earns \$25,000. In her spare time, Lee is completing her B.A., majoring in computer programming. Currently not dating anyone, Lee dreams of becoming a dentist (her closest friend's husband is a dentist as well as her grandmother, her brother, her uncle, and cousin). Lee is very close with her sister, a widow with two small children, who lives in their native Holland.

Edda, the second respondent, called and left a message for me soon after she received my letter about this friendship study. I returned her call, and a few days later we met at the advertising company where she works as a copywriter. Edda is slightly

overweight but accentuates her attractive face with carefully-applied eyemakeup. (Her mother is a freelance cosmetician.) Edda, who is 24, is from Texas; she has been in New York, and in the same apartment, for the last two years. She is Greek Orthodox, and has a 22-year-old sister and a 20-year-old brother, both still in Texas. Edda is talkative and friendly. In contrast to Lee's friendships, which are all dyadic, Edda is involved in an extensive social network. The network is based largely on "Texas-New York transplants" about her age, friends she has met here through a male friend with whom she attended college in Texas. It also includes acquaintances that Edda had back home or in college; those relationships have been revived here, but at a friendship level.

Sue, the third respondent, was initially reluctant to open her door. (I later learned that my introductory letter had never arrived.) Once inside, she warmed up to me, and even called after the interview to share new friendship-related developments in her life. Sue lives in the same building as Lee, although they do not seem to know each other. Her apartment was a similar small one-bedroom, in which Sue has lived five of the seven years that she has been in Manhattan. Sue, 32, is Jewish, and was born and raised in Brooklyn. She is currently not dating anyone, although she goes out with platonic male friends. Sue works part-time as a physician's assistant, is also a part-time instructor in one of the trendy self-improvement movements. Her parents are still married, and living in Brooklyn. Sue has an older brother, a professor at a university in Manhattan, with whom she is not in contact.

Pat, the fourth respondent, is from Texas, but her friends here in New York are not. The interview took place at a restaurant near the Block since Pat was still painting and fixing up her studio apartment on the Block. (She spent her first four years in New York in a residence for women a few blocks away.) Pat, who completed two years at a junior college and one year at a Texas university, is completing her degree in the evenings at Marymount Manhattan College. She currently works as a secretary to an advertising executive, keeps a journal, and dreams of becoming a best-selling novelist. Pat speaks in a loud voice, is personable, and open.

Di, the fifth respondent, is 25 years old, about 5'1", plump, and has curly ear-length hair. She grew up in Brooklyn and Staten Island; when she was in the seventh grade, her family moved to New Jersey. Di has three brothers. She is a social worker with an MSW. For the last eight months, she has been dating someone who lives in Boston. Di's best friend is in medical school in Baltimore; Di also has numerous graduate school- and work-related friendships based in New York.

Lisa, 27, grew up in Philadelphia. She has been living in New York for over a year after living, and working, in California and Europe for the previous eight years. Lisa's family - parents, two sisters, and brother -- all live closeby in Manhattan. Lisa, who is talkative and friendly, is close with her two extremely attractive sisters. Her younger brother is a male model. Lisa works as a waitress in a nightclub; she sings and wants to have a professional singing career. Lisa has been separated for the last six months from her husband, to whom she was married for three months.

Gwen, mistaking this researcher for the air conditioner repairman, whom she was expecting, buzzed me into her building. She's lived in her modestly-furnished one-bedroom apartment for five of the fifteen years that she's been living in Manhattan. Gwen, 37, is Jewish, and grew up in Brooklyn. Her parents divorced when she was eighteen. A tall and overweight woman, she has a lovely face and striking auburn hair. Gwen works as a secretary; since 1962, she's been attending college part-time. Her sister, who is married, lives on Staten Island. Gwen is active in the Block Association and plays the piano.

Thirty-three-year-old Kate, the eighth respondent, is originally from St. Louis. Her black boyfriend has been living with her for a few months, but he'll be moving out of her apartment (and out of her life) as soon as he finds his own place. Kate, who is Roman Catholic, dropped out of college after two years. She has worked in the music and film industries as an administrator and an assistant producer; until she makes New York connections, she is working as a secretary. Kate's been living in New York, in her current apartment, for about a year. She is an attractive woman with prematurely grey hair. She's close with her siblings -- an older married sister and a younger married brother. Her parents have been married for 37 years; her family all still live in the Midwest.

Gail, the ninth respondent, earns \$33,000 a year as a senior editor at a major business magazine. Gail has a college degree and grew up in Connecticut. Her father died last winter; at that time, he was remarried (her parents divorced when she was in her late

teens). Her mother lives closeby in Manhattan. Following college graduation, Gail spent many years in Europe working as a journalist. She has been in New York, and in the same apartment, for six years. For the last two years Gail, who is 30, has had a boyfriend who is more than twenty-five years her senior. About 5'6", with mousy brown hair, Gail says, "My work is my best friend."

Deb, who dresses simply and was not wearing make-up either time that we met, is a Quaker. She was raised in a southern town with a population of 60,000. Deb, 30, has an M.F.A. in Writing. She earns \$13,000 working part-time in a public relations firm; the rest of the time, Deb devotes to writing a novel. Most of Deb's friendships in New York grew out of the job she had in the research department of a major magazine, her first job upon arriving in Manhattan five years ago.

Rose, the eleventh respondent, is 37 and a high school graduate. She grew up in Brooklyn, moved to Manhattan, and has lived in the same apartment for fifteen years. Rose, who earns \$30,000 a year working in an administrative job for an airline, has had her boyfriend living with her for a few months. As soon as he finds a place, he'll be moving out. Rose is close with her sister, who is divorced and has four children, and her brother, who married recently. Her father died last year and she is concerned with her mother's adjustment to widowhood. Rose is thin and works out daily.

Respondent twelve is Sara, 39, who grew up in Queens ("Archie Bunker territory") and moved to Manhattan, and her present apartment, fourteen years ago. Sara works as a secretary for an international organization. She earns about \$22,000 and loves her

job. Sara is more than 5'10" tall and plain looking. She is an only child, aids her parents financially, and enjoys her quiet evenings and weekends.

The thirteenth woman in the sample is 23-year-old Emma, a trainee at a bank who has a college degree and earns \$24,500 a year. Emma has a younger sister and brother; she says she's close to her mother. Her father works at the same bank. Emma is about 5'6" and 110 pounds; she is poised, well-dressed, and confident. Emma, who grew up on Long Island, hoped that by the following Spring she would be marrying her fiance, who is currently in Hong Kong.

The fourteenth respondent is Judy. She is 31 and recently finished her M.B.A., after six years of night school. Judy earns \$32,000 working as a marketing manager. She is very close with her sister, who is 33 and also single; they see each other a few nights during the week and on weekends. Judy hasn't had a date in quite a while; she wants to live with someone, or get married, within the next three years. Judy was by the far the most guarded interviewee; her reluctance to be interviewed (it took 13 written and telephone contacts to set up the meeting) was duplicated by her controlled answers.

Lucy, 40, is the oldest woman in the sample. Raised in the Bronx, since she graduated high school, Lucy has lived, and worked, on and off, in Los Angeles and New York. She's been in Manhattan this time for four years; Lucy lives next door to Rose. Lucy works as a secretary, and is into yoga. Lucy said that her closest friend is her ex-boyfriend, the man with whom she lived for five years some ten years ago.

Claire, the sixteenth respondent, had moved to her apartment just a few weeks before the interview. (She had been living two blocks away.) A petite woman of twenty-four, Claire has a half-brother from her mother's marriages. (Her mother has been married four times, twice to the same two men.) Claire, who is Roman Catholic, grew up in New York State. She earns about \$15,000 as a secretary and plays several musical instruments. At the time of the interview, Claire was depressed because her closest girlfriend and her boyfriend had cut her off within the last two months.

Eli, 26, grew up in New Jersey, and has lived in Manhattan, and the same apartment, for two years. A psychiatric social worker, with an M.S.W. degree, Eli earns about \$14,000. Her mother died of cancer five years ago; she is very close with her father, and stepmother, as well as her older brother. Eli recently began dating a man in her building whom she considered a close friend for the past year. Although slightly overweight, Eli is attractive; her makeup is carefully applied and she is very friendly. The interview took place in the nearby restaurant where she has her breakfast each morning.

Twenty-seven-year old Lil works as a production editor for a publishing company. Lil has blonde hair and was dressed in a sophisticated dress and high heels when we met. Her parents have been married for 41 years and she has a brother and a sister who are much older than she is (twelve and nine years, respectively). Born in South Africa, her family (except her brother, who was already 21), moved to a New Jersey suburb when she was nine. Lil's lived in

Manhattan, and the same studio apartment, for three years. She is currently preoccupied with salvaging her two year relationship with an older divorced man, who has custody of his son; it's the longest romantic relationship that she's ever had.

Eve, 28, a computer programmer, is the nineteenth respondent. Her younger sister has an apartment in the same building. Active in the block association, Eve is also very involved in art-related hobbies and participates in sports, like tennis and swimming. She earns \$24,000 a year and was very effected by her parents' divorce when she was an adolescent.

The twentieth respondent is Nora, a 26-year-old researcher who is from a rural area in New England. Nora, who earns \$24,000 a year, has tastefully furnished her studio apartment in a way that echoes permanence (and with far more flair and expense than other women in the same building who have lived there twice as long). Four years ago, her nine-year-relationship with her hometown boyfriend, with whom she had moved to Manhattan to live, ended when he moved out and married another woman within a week's time. After three years of being depressed about that disappointment, pleasant-looking and sociable Nora is committed to her friends and sister, with whom she is very close, as well as to her job.

Meg, 28, very much resembles Edda. Both are advertising copywriters, and both are committed to fun, friends, and networks based upon hometown ties. Meg, who grew up on Long Island, dates a lot, and is also into a new network, an outgrowth of the Long Island house she shared last summer with other successful women. Like Edda, Meg is well-dressed and seems to spend little time alone, or

in intellectual pursuits, preferring to party and to engage in sports activities (skiing, tennis, swimming). Her job has definite intense and free periods to it; the interview took place when not much was happening with her accounts for over a week.

Lois, 37, had an abortion in the third month of pregnancy just the week before our interview. Lois earns \$70,000 a year as a media saleswoman, spending fifty percent of her time on the road. Lois, who was married for six years in her early twenties and has no children, is currently not dating anyone. A former industrial psychologist, Lois is bright, articulate, and proud of her luxurious 30th floor apartment, with a breath-taking view of the city. Overweight but open and talkative, Lois is devoted to her friends, who mostly live on Manhattan's East Side, and she wonders if she is really suited for a long-term close heterosexual relationship.

Respondent 23 is Bev, a 31-year-old pediatric nurse from North Carolina. Bev, who earns \$23,000 a year, works at a hospital near the Block. She is attending a nearby college part-time for her second master's, this one in Public Health (her first master's is in French). Lately Bev has been cutting back on discretionary spending, like eating dinner out with friends, to pay for therapy, something she feels she needs to work out the anger she feels toward her father, a rage that Bev thinks interferes with her ability to find someone and "settle down."

Niki was born outside Philadelphia, went to college in Tennessee, and law school in Manhattan. Now with a prestigious New York firm, she earns \$51,000 and is 29 years old. Practically all her friends are from law school, or at the same law firm. Niki

bought her luxury one-bedroom apartment for \$58,000. She isn't home very much, nor has she entertained yet, since she puts in 10-12 hours at her midtown office, eating a late dinner with her office colleagues before heading home.

Respondent 25, Nan, has been divorced for 12 years. For the last ten years, she's lived in the same studio in the luxury high-rise where Niki owns her apartment. Nan has a master's in education, teaches second grade in Brooklyn, and is going to school part-time for a second master's, this one in social work. Overweight and with dark, kinky hair, Nan is 36 and wants very much to again live with a man. Her older sister, who has two children and lives on Long Island, is going through a divorce.

Agnes, 30, is the only respondent who was raised right in Manhattan; her wealthy parents lived on Park Avenue in the 60s. Her mother, with whom Agnes does not have a good relationship, still lives in that area. (She remarried after Agnes's father died three years ago.) An executive recruiter of creative talent for advertising agencies, Agnes earned \$48,000 last year. Self-conscious of her extra thirty pounds, Agnes is talkative, open, but unhappy with herself. Five years ago, she got into a summer house on Fire Island. Those six men and one other female have become a network for her, and they have all returned to the same house each year.

Vera is Respondent 27. She lives in one of the two luxury high-rise buildings on the Block. Reluctant to be interviewed, and apprehensive about letting a stranger into her apartment, on the day of the interview, Vera switched the meeting place to a nearby coffee

shop. Vera also made it clear that it had to be a short interview because she had made plans for right after our meeting. Despite all her initial misgivings, Vera turned out to be a pleasant, open, and thoughtful respondent. Vera, a shy woman, works as a stockbroker; before that she was a teacher to the learned disabled. Her parents divorced four years ago, when Vera was 23. Vera, who is Jewish, grew up in New Jersey. Her father, who is a lawyer, supplements her income, which she expects will be \$16,000 this year.

Presentation of Background and Friendship Data for Entire Sample

All respondents are white. All but three respondents have never been married; one is separated from her husband of a few months, and two are divorced (and have been single for the last twelve years). None have children. Four live with cats. All the other women usually live alone; temporarily, two are putting up boyfriends and two are providing lodging for a sister and a brother. All but two respondents were born in the United States; those two were born in other countries (Holland and South Africa). All the women are working full-time; one is working part-time (and working on a novel the rest of the time); two are full-time "temporaries" (secretaries); four are attending college or graduate school part-time in addition to their daytime jobs. One woman is engaged; three women have steady boyfriends; one is in the process of breaking off with her boyfriend; one is trying to restore a relationship with her boyfriend that had lasted two years; the others are dating alot, occasionally, going out with platonic male friends, just starting a serious relationship, just getting over one, or not going out at all. All have at least one "casual"

friend, although not all have "best" or "close" friends.

The youngest woman in the sample is 23 years old; the oldest is 40. Table 1 shows how the women in the sample fall into the age categories of 20 to 29 and 30 to 40.⁴⁵

Table 1 (In Percentages)

Age of Respondents

20-29 years old		48
20-24	11	
25-29	37	
30-40 years old		52
30-34	26	
35-40	26	
Total		100

(N = 27)

Median age = 30 years old

Table 2 summarizes where the respondents in this sample grew up.

Table 2 (In Percentages)
Places Respondents Grew Up

United States	96
N.Y.C. area	48
(Manhattan, Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn, Long Island)	
N.Y.S. area	33
(New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Vermont, New York State)	
Far away state	18.5
(North Carolina, Missouri, Texas)	
Another Country	7
(Belgium and South Africa)	
Total	103*

(N = 27)

*(Percentage greater than 100 because two respondents are entered twice; they were born in one place and grew up in another.)

Table 3 describes the religious background of the sample. Although there are two churches on the Block, none of the women of those faiths were members of those congregations, or attended services or social functions related to those churches. Indeed, except for Vera, who is Jewish and is a member of the 92nd Street Y for its cultural and athletic facilities, and who, along with Eli and Di, observe the Jewish High Holy days, none of the women in this sample actively participate in religious activities.

Table 3 (In Percentages)

Respondents' Religious Background

Christian	63
Catholic	26
Mixed Catholics	11
Protestant	11
Presbyterian	11
Lutheran	3.7 (1)
Greek Orthodox	3.7 (1)
Quaker	3.7 (1)
Jewish	37
Total	100

(N = 27)

Table 4 describes the respondent's marital status and the marital status of her parents. (If a parent is deceased, the marital status of the parents refers to the parents' marital status at the time of the parent's death.) Some of the respondents reported that the marital status of their parents has had an effect on their attitude about friendship. Pat, Claire, Eve, and Vera, whose parents divorced during their teen or young adult years, verbalized that they need friends as a kind of "divorce insurance" (so they would never be left all alone as one of their parents, so dependent on his/her spouse, had been right after the separation). Although 78% of the sample had parents who were still married, Sara, Bev, and Nan did not feel that their parents had a good marriage.

Table 4 (In Percentages)

Marital Status of Respondents and Her Parents

Respondents

Never-Married	89 (24)
Separated	4 (1)
Divorced	8 (2)
Total	100

Respondents' Parents

Still Married	78 (22)
Divorced	22 (5)
Total	100

(N = 27)

Most of the sample had one or two siblings; being an only child or having three or four siblings was less common. Table 5 presents information on this sample's siblings.

Table 5 (In Percentages)

Number of Siblings of Respondents

Only Child	7
1 Sibling	41
2 Siblings	37
3 Siblings	11
4 Siblings	4
Total	100

(N = 27)

Only one respondent had an advanced professional degree (Niki who is a lawyer). The rest of the sample is divided among those with a high school diploma, college, or master's degree. Of the 27 women, only 7% do not have at least some college education. As the next table indicates, two respondents are getting their second master's degree and one respondent already has two master's degrees.

Table 6 (In Percentages)

Highest Degree Earned By Respondents

High school diploma		37
Some college	15	
AD 2-year degree	4	
Attending college part-time	11	
College Degree		30
Master's Degree		30
Getting second master's	7	
Has two master's degree	4	
Professional degree (JD)		4
Total		101*
(N = 27)		

*Due to rounding

Table 7 details the range of occupations of the respondents. The occupation with the most respondents is that of secretary (7); only four other occupations have more than one respondent -- advertising copywriter (2), social worker (2), media sales (2), and editor (2). In terms of professional status, the lowest occupation of this sample is waitress; the highest is lawyer. Except for the blue-collar waitress, the majority of respondents are in white-collar jobs, executive positions, or the professions (teacher, social worker, lawyer). Except for the part-time public relations assistant, who is also a part-time fiction writer, none of the women work at home, although Lois, who is in media sales, is "on the road" half of her time, and Lee, who is a stewardess is, of course, is in flight and out of town a lot of the time).

Table 7

Respondents' Occupations (In Numbers)

Waitress		1
Secretary		7
Editor		2
Production Editor (Books)	(1)	
Senior Editor (Magazine)	(1)	
Advertising Copywriter		2
Health care		2
Pediatric Nurse	(1)	
OB-GYN Physician's assistant	(1)	
Airlines		2
Stewardess	(1)	
Administrative Asst.	(1)	
Public relations asst.		1
Computer programmer		1
Finance		3
Banker in Credit Training	(1)	
Marketing	(1)	
Stockbroker	(1)	
Media sales		2
For radio	(1)	
For television division	(1)	
Executive Recruiter		1
Elementary School Teacher		1
Social worker		2
Psychiatric	(1)	
Lawyer		1

 N = 27

Table 8 shows the salary range of the respondents. The lowest salary was \$12,000 (for Sue, the part-time physician's assistant); the highest salary was \$70,000 a year (for Lois, the media saleswoman). For this sample, the average income is \$25,222; the modal income is \$24,000, and the median income is \$23,000.

Table 8 (In Percentages)
Salary Range of Respondents

Under \$20,000	41
\$20,000-40,000	48
Over \$40,000	11
Total	100

(N = 27)

In Table 9, the length of time that respondents have been living in Manhattan and on the Block is summarized. Except for Eve, who moved within her building, length of the time on the Block is comparable to length of time in the current apartment.

Table 9 (In Percentages)

Length of Time in Manhattan and on the Block

Years in Manhattan

1-4 years	41
5-9 years	41
10-15 years	18

Years on the Block

Less than 1 year	7
1-4 years	48
5-9 years	30
10-15 years	15

Total	100

(N = 27)

For this sample, the least number of years in Manhattan is 1, the most is 15, and the median number of years in Manhattan is 6.

The least amount of time on the Block for this sample is 2 months, the most years is 15, and the median number of years is 5.

Table 10 provides the answers for this sample to the question,
 "Do you have any hobbies?"

Table 10 (In Percentages)

Hobbies	
No	4 (1)
Yes	96 (26)
Sports (including dance, yoga)	78
Fine Arts & Crafts	30
Music (Playing, Singing, Listening)	44
Cooking	7
Writing (Fiction, Poetry, Journal)	11
Reading	37
Other	15
Total	100

(N = 27)

(In yes category, average number of responses per case = 3)

The next presents the answers for this sample to the question, "Do you belong to any organizations or associations?" Although almost every woman had at least one hobby, not all women belonged to an organization or association. In a living alone population such as this, it might have been predicted that organizational membership would be higher than these answers indicate. Of particular interest is the fact that membership in social or special interest organizations is low. The majority of organizational memberships are tied to professional, sports, community, or cultural concerns. It seems that, for this sample, socializing is not the primary reason for joining organized groups. (Only two women gave "social" reasons for joining groups -- Eve for becoming involved in the block association for friendship reasons, and Deb for organizing, and participating in, an informal "woman's group" comprised of her closest girlfriends.)

Table 11 (In Percentages)
Organizational Memberships

No		30 (8)
Yes		70 (19)
Professional organizations	33	
Sports organizations/clubs	37	
Block association	11	
Environmental groups	11	
Cultural organizations	11	
Nonprofit health organization	4	
Social & special interest	15	
Total		100

(N = 27)

(In yes category, average number of responses per case = 2)

For this sample of 27 living alone single women on the Block on Manhattan's Upper East Side, the average number of best friends is 1, although 11 out of the 27 women do not have a "best" friend.⁴⁶ For those having best friends, the maximum number of best friends is 3, with most (48%) reporting that they have 1 or 2 best friends.⁴⁷

Table 12

Frequency Table of Best Friends

# Best Friends	Frequency	% Frequency
0	11	41
1	5	18
2	8	30
3	3	11
N = 27		100

Three of the 27 single women sampled do not have any close friends. The rest of the sample have from 1 to 8 close friends, with 4 the mean number of close friends for this sample.

Table 13

Frequency Table of Close Friends

# Close Friends	Frequency	% Frequency
0	3	11
1	1	4
2	2	7
3	3	11
4	4	15
5	7	26
6	3	11
7	2	7
8	2	7
N = 27		99*

*(Due to rounding)

All respondents have at least one casual friend, with the greatest number 35 (given by Edda, who has a network of some 20+ New Yorkers who are all originally from Texas), and the smallest number 1 (given by New York-born Gwen, who does have a network of 5 close friends, and by Emma, who is engaged and considers her co-workers to be acquaintances, not even casual friends.) The average number of casual friends for this sample is 9.

Table 14

Frequency Table of Casual Friends

# Casual Friends	Frequency	% Frequency
1-5	13	48
6-10	7	26
11-15	5	19
30-35	2	7
N = 27		100

For this sample of 27 single women, for all types of friends (best + close + casual), the mean is 14. (The total number of friends of all types is 376). No one failed to have at least one friend. Emma had the least number of all types of friends (only one casual friend) and Edda have the most (41) including 6 close friends and 35 casual friends, largely from her Texas-based network.

Table 15

Frequency Table of Total Friends of All Types

# All Friends	Frequency	% Frequency
Under 5	3	11
5-9	8	30
10-14	5	19
15-19	6	22
20-25	3	11
Over 30	2	7
N = 27		100

The most common type of friendship for the total sample is a dyadic one (25 out of the 27 women). Of the two women without dyadic friendships, one has triads and a network; the other has a triad. Six of the 27 respondents have all three kinds of friendships - dyadic, triadic, and a network.

Table 16

Frequency Table of Friendship Patterns

Type of Friendship	Frequency	% Frequency
Dyad	25	93
Triad	11	41
Network	13	48
Total	N = 27	182*

*Percent totals more than 100 because 15 women are entered in 2 or 3 categories.

Footnotes

¹Herbert J. Gans, "Why Exurbanites Won't Reurbanize Themselves," New York Times, 12 February 1977, Op-Ed page, p. 21. See also: Herbert J. Gans, "The White Exodus To Suburbia Steps Up," New York Times Magazine, 7 January 1968, pp. 24-5, 85, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96.

²Andrew Hacker, The New Yorkers: A Profile of an American Metropolis (New York: Mason/Charter, 1975), p. 29 and phone interview with Milton Lang, New York City Department of Planning, New York City, 15 December 1982. The figures for 1980 were cited by Lang for April 1, 1980. In a phone interview with Beverly Wright, U.S. Bureau of the Census, New York City, 15 December 1982, it was learned that the breakdown of the census figures for New York City by types of adults in the household (never-married, widowed, divorced, etc.) would not be available till mid-to-late 1983; till then, only the figure for one-person adult households and for married couples, cited in this table, were available.

³Ibid.

⁴J.L. Barkas, Single in America (New York: Atheneum, 1980) and Jessie Bernard, The Future of Marriage (New York: Bantam, 1973), p. 36.

⁵Delia Ephron, "Living Alone? Do It Right!," New York, March 20, 1978, p. 46.

⁶Barbara Lovenheim, "Singles: A Change of Scene," New York Times, March 15, 1978, p. C16.

⁷Evan Broadman, "Singles Places," Cue, June 20-23, 1978, p. 24.

⁸Ibid.

⁹LHNA 88th Annual Report: 1981-1982 (New York: Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, Inc., May 11, 1982), title page.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 4.

¹¹Evan Broadman, "Looking for Mr. Good Bar," Cue, thru August 17, 1979, p. 25.

¹²LHNA 88th Annual Report: 1981-1982, p. 4.

¹³Yorkville-Park Avenue Section (New York: Manhattan Communities Community Council of Greater New York, March 1955), title page. There seems to be some discrepancy about the boundaries of Yorkville and the Upper East Side. The Yorkville Civic Council, in their January 1982 directory, for example, defines the area that it services as between 59th and 96th Streets, from Fifth Avenue to the East River. See: A Directory of The Yorkville Community (New

York: The Yorkville Civil Council, January 1982), n.p.

¹⁴Interview with Dr. Charles Kadushin, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School and University Center, New York City, 1 February 1981. (Hereafter cited as CUNY Graduate Center.) For references on singles in Manhattan, including the Upper East Side, see: Hacker, The New Yorkers; Lovenheim, "Singles: A Change of Scene"; Broadman, "Singles Places"; Broadman, "Looking for Mr. Good Bar"; Ephron, "Living Alone? Do It Right!"; Mara Wolynski, "Personal: Alone is Best, But Are You Ever Really Alone in the Big City?" Vogue, November 1977, p. 183; New York-Women's Week, "Being Single" issue, July 17, 1978; Fabian Linden, "Singular," Across the Board, June 1979, pp. 25-27; Michael Goodwin, "A Tight Market in Apartments Changing the Way People Live," New York Times, July 3, 1979, pp. B1, 4; and Linda Wolfe, "The Good News: Single in the City," New York, December 28, 1981 - January 4, 1982, pp. 33-35.

¹⁵Clara Byrnes, Block Sketches of New York City (New York: Radbridge Company, 1918), n.p.

¹⁶Robert Macoy, The Centennial Guide to New York City and Its Environs, reprint of 1876 edition (New York: Nathan Cohen Books, 1975), pp. 26, 77.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁸Marie Jastrow, A Time to Remember: Growing Up in New York Before the Great War (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979), book jacket.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 43.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 62.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 63.

²²Muriel Fischer, "Out of the Shadow of the El," New York World-Telegram and Sun, Monday, May 24, 1965, 2nd section, p. 19.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴A Directory of The Yorkville Community, pp. 1-46.

²⁵For material on crime and the Upper East Side, see: Michael Sterne, "Crime Rate Growing on Once-Safe Upper East Side," New York Times, July 17, 1978, p. A1, B4; Martin King, "Upper East Side Battles Crime," Daily News, Sunday, July 9, 1978, "Living" section; "Runners vs. Muggers," New York Running News, April 1979, p. 8; Police Department City of New York, "Press Release," Thursday, January 24, 1974, no. 6; Richard Harris, "A Reporter at Large: Crime in New York," The New Yorker, September 26, 1977, beg. p. 56; and Lecture by Police Officer Mike Farrell, "Crime Prevention -- Citizen's Role and Overview of Criminal Justice System in New York City," Marymount Manhattan College, New York City, 14 February 1979.

²⁶Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City,

15 September 1982.

²⁷Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 22 September 1982.

²⁸Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 17 August 1982.

²⁹Phone interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 28 September 1982.

³⁰Broadman, "Singles Places", p. 24.

³¹Interview with Beverly Wright, U.S. Census Bureau Library, Department of Commerce, New York City, 27 November 1981 and interviews with Dr. Charles Kadushin, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, 1 February 1981 and 9 December 1981.

³²"Census of Population and Housing, 1980" (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, March 7, 1981), p. 1326. Observations of the Upper East Side, and background research, include LHNA 88th Annual Report: 1981-1982, visits to health clubs on the Upper East Side, walking down First, Second, and Third Avenues in the evenings and on weekends when the single's bars are filled to overflowing with single men and women, elevators of high-rise buildings filled with single women (and men). See also footnote 14 in this section.

³³Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 16 August 1982.

³⁴*Ibid.*, and interview with anonymous male tenant, New York City, 25 September 1982.

³⁵Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 7 September 1982.

³⁶Jastrow, p. 123.

³⁷Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 10 July 1982.

³⁸Interview with anonymous female box office employee, New York City, 7 September 1982.

³⁹Phone interviews with anonymous female telephone operators at respective churches, New York City, 20 September 1982.

⁴⁰Interview with anonymous male doorman, New York City, 7 September 1982.

⁴¹Interview with anonymous male tenant, New York City, 25 September 1982.

⁴²Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 7 September 1982 and phone interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 28 September 1982.

⁴³Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 16 August 1982.

⁴⁴The first interview was really on June 30th, 1982 with a single woman named Wanda. Wanda's interview later had to be discounted, however, because she was not "living alone," as she initially said, but had a three-month old child. Wanda, 29, is about 5'7", has long blonde hair and a fair complexion. Raised in Queens, she has been living in Manhattan, and in the same apartment, for the past three years. Wanda's parents have been separated since she was three years old. Her mother takes the baby on Saturday nights; she has no contact with her father. Wanda, who is Roman Catholic and an only child, has an administrative job at a publishing company, where she has been employed for the last few years. She has a high school education and earns about \$20,000 a year. The baby has had a definite effect on Wanda's friendship patterns. On the one hand, the baby has reduced the time that Wanda has for getting together with her friends (she used to go to single's bars after work and on weekends). On the other hand, the baby has also become a substitute for that companionship. At least at the time of the interview, Wanda was content to spend all but Saturday night with her baby. Her best friend came over about once a week, after work, to keep Wanda company. Otherwise, her socializing was only at work or Saturday nights with her boyfriend, the baby's father.

⁴⁵The style for these tables is based on the concepts and examples of Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen H. Barton in "Some General Principles of Questionnaire Classification" in The Language of Social Research, eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (New York: Free Press, 1955), pp. 83-93. The classifications in these tables proceeds in steps (articulation), as Lazarsfeld and Barton suggest, so that the information can be examined according to the broad category (such as "yes" or "no" for organizational membership) and the detailed categories (types of organizations within the "yes" category). In line with Lazarsfeld and Barton's fourth principle of classification, "Adaptation to the respondent's frame of reference," reading is included as a hobby, not because the researcher defined it as such, but because the respondents who gave reading as a hobby saw it that way. See also: Hans Zeisel, Say It With Figures, 5th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), "The Presentation of Per Cent Figures," pp. 15-39.

⁴⁶Other studies on friendship have found that the collection and analysis of the data was complicated by the seeming ambiguity of the term friend. [See, for example, Robin M. Williams, "Friendship and Social Values in a Suburban Community: An Exploratory Study" The Pacific Sociological Review (1959) 2:3-10 and Graham A. Allan, Sociology of Friendship and Kinship (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979.) Friend has often been treated if it was comparable to spouse, in a monogamous culture. However, not only is it possible to have more

than one friend, there may be different types of friends, based on the level of intimacy of that friendship (e.g. best, close, or casual).

It was necessary to operationalize the concept of friend to facilitate the analysis of the data elicited from the sample. As noted in Appendix I, this operationalization of friendship was completed during pre-test phases of the research. Thus, by the time interviews were conducted with the final sample, friend had been clarified from a broad term to a more narrow one, meaning best, close, or casual friends. Although numerical information was elicited from the sample on all types of friends, more detailed information was sought on Primary Friends (best and/or close) than on Secondary Friends (casual).

By dealing in advance with the question, "What do you mean by a friend?" specific types of friends could be discussed with respondents -- e.g. best, close, or casual. Practically all respondents could define a "best" friend -- e.g. "someone you tell everything to, like in high school" -- even if she did not have one. If a woman was confused about the difference between best, close, or casual friends, situations were suggested to her as a way of clarifying those terms. For instance, "You just learned you're pregnant. You've decided to have an abortion, and you want one friend to go with you. Who would that be?" (best) "You're getting married and you're having a very small wedding, so you can't invite more than a few friends. Who would they be?" (best and/or close). "You're having a big party and you have room for all your not-so-close friends. How many people would that be?" (casual) Lee, for example, who does not have a best friend, gave this definition of a close friend: "...Someone you can count on when you have problems that you can't solve, mental problems that you want to discuss." Rose gave this definition: "...Somebody you know is always there and takes you for what you are, and isn't trying to change you, or criticize you, or using you for anything."

Even if early in the interview respondents were unclear about how to categorize their friends, during the course of the interview they would continually scrutinize, and sometimes reclassify, their relationships. Other respondents asked to add individuals to their "lists", especially out-of-town friends.

⁴⁷ The number of best friends did not increase with he increase in age for this sample. Babchuk similarly found that the number of friendship units for a married couple remained constant over time. Babchuk hypothesized, since he did not get enough retrospective data, that who the friendship unit(s) were might change, but not the total number. See: Nicholas Babchuk, "Primary Friends and Kin: A Study of the Association of Middle Class Couples", Social Forces 43 (1965):483-93.

Chapter 4

ACQUAINTANCESHIPS

I met Paula about three years ago, but we really didn't become friendly until three months ago.

-- Bev

Although this dissertation is about the friendship patterns of young urban single women, it is necessary to begin the analysis and interpretation of the data with a discussion of acquaintanceships because all of the sample's friendships began in that way.

Acquaintanceship describes the relationship that develops when two persons meet and interact with each other; they are more than strangers, but less than friends. An acquaintanceship occurs because the opportunity for interaction has taken place. Few acquaintanceships become friendships: out of the thousand or so persons that a woman may know, the mean number of friends for this sample is fourteen (one best friend, four close friends, and nine casual friends).¹

For this sample's current closest friend it took, on the average, three years from meeting to becoming friends.² Within that average time frame, however, there were wide variations -- from "immediately" to "ten years". For example, five years ago at work, Vera met Bonnie, her current closest friend. "We just saw each other every day and started talking. Then I'd ask her if she wanted to go shopping, and she'd ask if I wanted to go out to dinner."

Within a year and a half, Vera and Bonnie had become friends. Eve, by contrast, was acquainted with Wendy throughout junior high school, high school, and college; they became friends four years ago. "We met on the street," Eve says, and, within a few months, a friendship had developed. Lucinda, Lois' current best friend, had been Lois's brother Ted's girlfriend ten years ago. Although their romance ended, Lucinda and Ted remained friends. Two years ago, Ted suggested that he and his sister have dinner with Lucinda, who had moved to Manhattan. Within a few weeks of that dinner, Lois and Lucinda had become friends. "Lucinda's long lasting friendship with my brother gave us a firm foundation," Lois explains. "It gave us a mutual base from which to go forth," Lois continues.

Thus, Vera and Bonnie were no longer just co-workers, Eve was no longer just a schoolmate, and Lois and Lucinda were no longer acquainted solely because of their connection to Lois' brother. These representative examples point out a difference between acquaintanceship and any type of friendship (e.g. best, close, or casual): a friendship is a particularistic relationship of varying intimacy; acquaintanceship is only a little more diffuse and particularistic than when two persons interact because of role performance obligations. Or, as Parsons put it, "Achievement-oriented roles are those which place the accent on the performance of the incumbent, ascribed roles, on his qualities or attributes independently of specific expected performances."³

Acquaintanceships tend to be situational and convenient; unless the relationship is based on something more than that, when the situation ends, so does the relationship. (Why an acquaintanceship

becomes a friendship will be discussed in Chapter 6, "Friendships: Initiation".) Thus, an acquaintanceship may be started, and continued, in school, work, organizational, neighborhood, and other formal role settings. In some formal role settings, such as school, where the opportunity for peer interaction is facilitated, acquaintanceships (and hence potential friendships) are aided. (For this sample, school was the most frequent source of future friendships -- 41% of the sample had met their current closest friend in that way.)⁴ As Gail says, "In eighth grade, you'd go home and call up [a friend] and talk for two hours." Bev lived with one of her current closest friends "on two separate occasions" when they were in college. As Lee says about Jean, her current closest friend whom Lee met some eighteen years ago when they were both college students: "You're more carefree at the age of eighteen than you are when you're close to forty. We were eighteen at the time. There is still a lot to discover and that's what makes it fun when you're friends, close friends". Niki describes how new acquaintanceships (and future friendships) were aided when she relocated to New York to begin law school:

I didn't know anyone when I came to New York and there's a couple of ways to do it, but going to school provides you with a ready base of people, particularly in law school. It's you against them. It was like nobody knew what they were doing, and you kind of had to hang together to survive. We were divided up into little writing groups, and Alice [one of Niki's two current best friends] was in one small study group....So we were all in there, the same things, that's kind of how we got to know each other.

Work, which has replaced school as the primary role setting for these women, is the second most frequent source of current closest friendships for this sample; 22% of the sample said that is how they

met their closest current friend. [The other ways the respondents met their current closest friend are: through someone else (19%), neighborhood-related (15%), or through an activity (4%)]. Even if "at work" is not how a woman met her current closest friend, past or current employment was a source of some kind of friendship (best, close, or casual) for 81% of the women. As Gail says: "I spend so much time working that a lot of relationships revolve around work. They are not my best friends per se, but you become very close to them." (Niki and Lisa are exceptions to this. Niki met Alice, one of her two best friends, at law school, and they have been working at the same law firm for the last four years. Six months ago, Lisa met Yoko and Tina, currently her two closest friends, at the restaurant where they are all work.)

Most acquaintanceships, like most romantic encounters, will never go beyond a surface relationship.⁵ Although there are no formal constraints on the number of acquaintanceships, or friends, as there are on permanent romantic unions, as Simmel noted, the value of any relationship declines the more common it is.⁶ Although the number of acquaintanceships was not asked as part of the research design of this study, it was obvious from the respondents' comments that respondents had more acquaintances than friends. (Similarly, based on the data, they had more casual friends than close friends and more close friends than best friends.)

Based on an analysis and interpretation of the data, the general observation may be made that acquaintanceships, whether or not they lead to friendships, are an important social relation for

these single women. Those relations are functional to the institutional settings in which they thrive and, in that way, acquaintanceships can be said to be utilitarian relationships. The manifest function of these acquaintanceships is to enhance the role setting with a friendly "team".⁷ The latent function is that these single women who live alone, while performing their formal work role, receive some emotional nourishment, reducing their overall social isolation.⁸

As will be noted in the chapter on friendship initiation, what is shared need not be equal for this sample population, but the wish to become friends must be shared. Thus, some acquaintanceships never develop into a friendship because the respondent, or acquaintance, wants it that way. Sara, for example, relates her ambivalence about encouraging a woman whom she had met at a party:

It's kind of an elitist way of looking at it, but I have friends that I have a lot in common with, and we understand each other very well, and they are the kind of friends you don't make often. In fact, last week I went to a dinner. A woman had an African night. Just women. And one of them called me up and wanted to go out for drinks. I wasn't that interested. I told her I was busy that week and I really didn't know about next week and she didn't get the hint. 'I'll call you up on Monday.' So maybe I'll end up having a drink with her. I didn't understand the phone call. It was quite a surprise to me.

While the shared situation is current, and convenient, it may suit certain women who lack, or do not want, friendships to depend on diffuse acquaintanceships. Di, whose best friend lives in Baltimore, and whose boyfriend lives in Boston, is aware of the immediate benefits of work-related relationships. They have become even more important to her lately since "a couple of times we went out to dinner." Emma, the banker who is engaged, mainly has

acquaintances, and is not bothered by that. Practically all of Emma's non-kin relationships are affectively neutral and relate to her current formal role; she does not place enough value on friendships to invest the time, energy, or money that would be necessary to maintain them. Besides, there are always new acquaintances to replace the old ones (which is not always true with close or best friendships that fade or end because of conflict or structural changes). Emma places her energy in her relationship with her fiancé, her job, and her close kin ties. Acquaintanceships have always been part of her life experiences -- childhood, school, work -- as the experiences change, so do her acquaintanceships. (Emma complained about the inconvenience in trying to see her one and only friend, and a casual one at that. Although a convenient friend when they were in classes together in college, Emma now considers her inconvenient since they now live in separate parts of Manhattan, although only six short subway stops away.)

Most women in this sample are capable of distinguishing between a utilitarian acquaintanceship and a best or close friendship; the line is "fuzzier" when it comes to casual friendships. Bev, for example, said: "There are people I call up to do things with, but they're casual friends". Meg also said: "I call them convenience friendships, the people I see from here [work] that I go out with for a drink, but I wouldn't confide in them". Some women corrected themselves throughout the interview when they realized that the person about whom they were speaking was, on second thought, really an acquaintance, and not even a casual friend.

For the others, it is only after the convenient situation ends,

or there is a "testing out" of the relationship, that they discover the depth, or shallowness, of the relationship. That is why there is often disappointment and surprise when the relationship flounders, or dissolves, after the situation ends. "I thought we were friends," is a common refrain to describe this post-acquaintanceship "discovery." Claire was shocked that moving only a few blocks uptown ended her one-year acquaintanceship with her neighbor. Claire's misreading of that situation is probably tied to the fact that, at the same time, Claire's boyfriend was ending their romance, and her only best or close friend was dissolving that relationship as well. Meg, who, by contrast, has lots of dates and friends -- going back to her high school days as well as new ones from the summer house that she shares -- was not surprised that after she broke up with her boyfriend, the relationships that she had had with his friends faded or ended as well. (Some women in this sample, like Nora and Eve, who found that they were on the receiving end of utilitarian acquaintanceships, used that revelation to develop diffuse friendships, rather than specific acquaintanceships because of formal roles (e.g. being someone's girlfriend).⁹

To an observer, there are, therefore, often clues that a relationship is specific, situational, and dependent on performance in a given situation (rather than particularistic, diffuse, and pseudo-ascribed).¹⁰ Claire, for example, says that neither she nor her former "friend" called each other to get together. Their relationship was based upon chance meetings in their apartment building, finding out that neither was busy that night, and deciding

then and there to visit with each other. (Claire's "friend" was really only her "neighbor".) Nan, when asked to name her most recent friend, replied, in all seriousness, "You," meaning the interviewer. Like Claire, Nan mistook a formal universalistic role relation (respondent/researcher) for an informal particularistic one (friends). By contrast, Lil, who is a close friend with the woman who, six years ago, was her first boss in publishing, says: "We worked together for three years. Now she's freelancing fulltime. We're good friends. We went to London together last Spring, that kind of thing. She lives in Brooklyn and we see each other every couple of weeks for lunch or something. We talk every couple of weeks, probably alternate weeks when we don't see each other."

Although most acquaintanceships are utilitarian relationships, in rare cases, for this sample, acquaintanceships are opportunistic.¹¹ An opportunistic acquaintanceship differs from a utilitarian one in that one or both actors does not wish to expand the relationship into a friendship, but "uses" the relationship for her professional or emotional purposes. Agnes, for example, will "use" acquaintanceships for getting invited to cocktail parties, socializing that Agnes feels is a necessary part of her executive recruiter job. Lee describes her opportunistic relationship with Freda, a co-worker:

We met on the airplane leaving Holland coming to the States for our job. We never talked to each other for the first two years because we were just not compatible. Are we more compatible now? I don't think so, but to me she has the function of a dog. It's just that I don't have to let her out for walks, and she can talk back to me, which a dog doesn't do, but it's sort of a social function. She's somebody to talk to. I'm not sure she likes me. I think for her too I fill some of the holes, some of the gaps. I'm someone to talk to. [If I had a boyfriend] it wouldn't effect most of my friendships, the

good friends, the people I can count on, but I would see Freda less, I would talk to her less; I wouldn't need her as often to talk to.

Although few women are as aware of the element of convenience to these acquaintanceships, it is typified in Lee's comment, "I'm sure if I got another job or moved out of New York we would lose contact completely." Since for this sample it takes about three years from meeting to becoming friends, by that time most acquaintanceships will no longer be convenient -- e.g. because of graduation, relocation, job changes, marriage, divorce, etc. By then, the relationship will have dissolved into "no contact", the decision will have been made -- because of "testing out", a lack of reciprocity, or other pushes or pulls -- to keep the relationship at an acquaintanceship level, or it will have become some kind of a tried-and-true diffuse and affective friendship (e.g. best, close, or casual). Deb, for example, met Margie, her best friend, when they worked together five years ago. Although they only worked together for a few months, the relationship persisted, and grew into a best friendship. Today, even though they live and work in different parts of Manhattan, they are emotionally closer than ever, seeing each other twice a week, and talking on the phone daily.

For this sample, acquaintanceships that become tried-and-true friendships -- even before the shared situation ends -- are those relationships where the convenient interaction is expanded (and "tested" out) in non-utilitarian ones, such as going on a trip together (if the relationship is work-related), playing squash (if the relationship is neighborhood-related), etc. In that way, these acquaintanceships are determined to be particularistic, rather than

universalistic, diffuse, rather than specific.¹²

It is because these non-utilitarian encounters can be so revealing -- and can help one or both participants decide if she does want to become a friend -- that there can be a reluctance to "test out" the relationship before the situation ends. It may be easier for Sara to work with an acquaintance who "might" become a friend than to continue to work with someone she's befriended and, hence, decides that she dislikes. (Some women, like Deb or Lee, intentionally have only acquaintances at their current jobs. In the past, if friendships developed from those work-related acquaintances, it was only after the shared job situation ended.)¹³

Acquaintanceships may be situationally-determined, as described above, or they may be the breeding ground for future friendships. Thus, structural changes are all "tests" on acquaintanceships. If the person is replaced -- or replaces -- the now inconvenient acquaintance with something or someone else, it was, in retrospect, a utilitarian relationship. If the relationship persists, albeit at a different level or on a varied frequency basis, it might become a tried-and-true friendship.

Proximity and the strength of the tie are operating in a complex way with situational relationships. Viewing acquaintanceships in Parsons' terms: is the relationship "a universalistically defined attachment, to all men without discrimination" -- e.g. being "friendly" with one's neighbor, fellow student, co-worker, committee co-member -- or is it a relationship extended between two particular individuals?¹⁴ Indeed, Parsons'

five pattern variables may be taken into account in discussing acquaintanceships, tried-and-true friendships, and friendly kin relations (see Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of friendly kin relations):

Figure 3

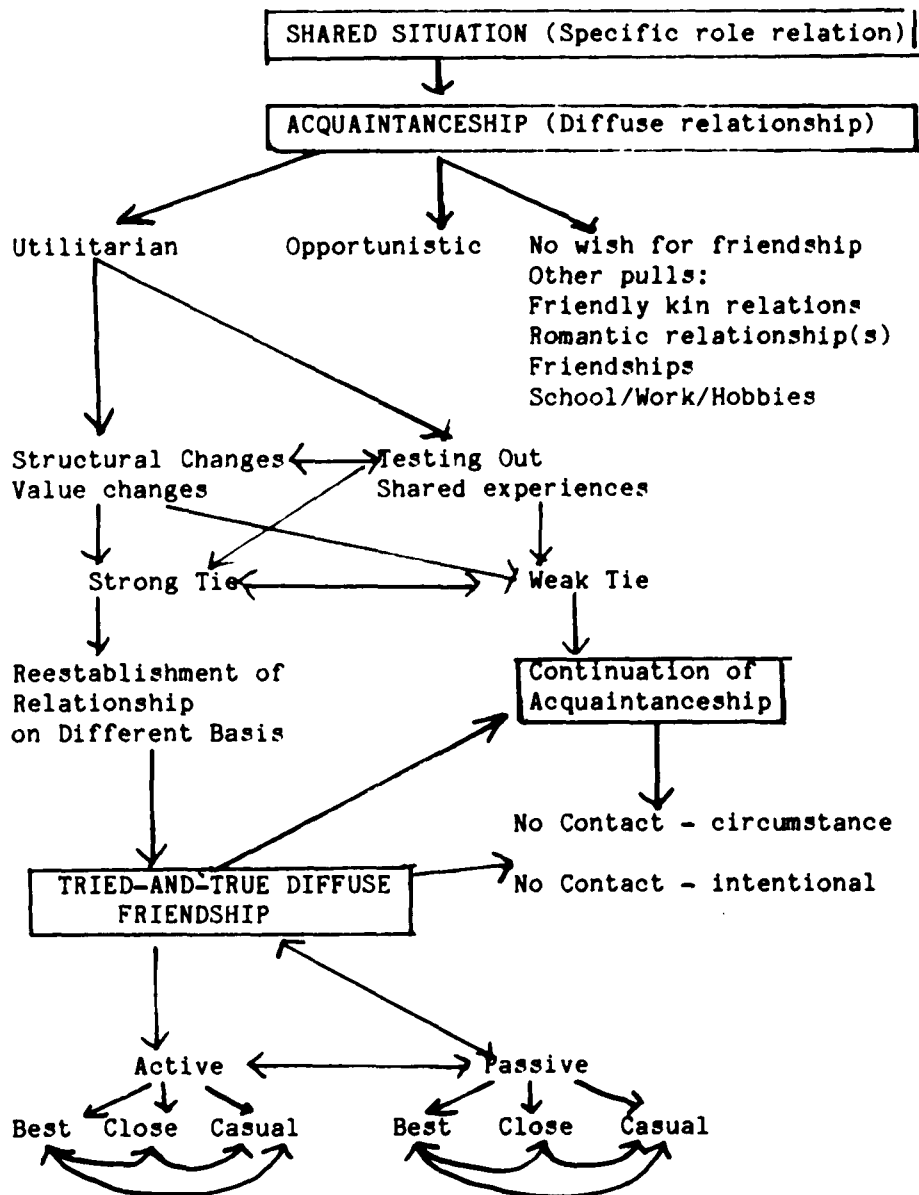
Parsons' Five Pattern Variables

affective	affective neutrality
diffuse	specific
particularistic	universalistic
ascription	achievement (performance)
collectivity	self ¹⁵

Figure 4 depicts how Parsons' concepts of universalism versus particularism operate for this sample. As the examples of Lois, Eve, and Deb have shown, there is not always an immediate or direct line from acquaintanceship to friendship. (Similarly, at any time, a friendship may revert back to the acquaintanceship level.) Figure 4 depicts the possible flow in these social relations, e.g. from acquaintance to no contact, from acquaintance to best friend, from best friend to casual friend, etc.

Figure 4

Model of Relationship From Shared Situation



Why are acquaintances so important to this sample population? Utilitarian acquaintanceships help these women to reduce role strain; tried-and-true friendships may add to it.¹⁶ Role strain is defined by Goode as the state when "...the individual's total role obligations are over-demanding."¹⁷ In the absence of a daily primary romantic tie, for this sample population, situational relationships are the most economical way for these women to fulfill their need for affective peer contact, while reserving their non-work energy for romantic liaisons, personal or professional goals, or selected tried-and-true friendships. Tried-and-true friends, whether those friends live in another part of the city, or out-or-town, take up a woman's optional time and energy; acquaintanceships in formal role settings allow contact in the performance of what she has to do. For example, Rose, who has a steady boyfriend, says, "I couldn't really handle too many more friends. [She has two best friends, four close friends, and seven casual friends]. I don't have the time. I don't have the time to see the ones that I have as often as I like to." Similarly, when asked if she wants any more friends, Deb answered, "About five months ago I declared a moratorium on friends. I said, 'I don't need anymore.'"

Rose's and Deb's comments illustrate that conflicting role relationships and role sets may make so many demands on these single working women that few cannot feel role strain in trying to fulfill all roles.¹⁸ Therefore, acquaintanceship is a social relation with changing value; as the woman's role set changes, acquaintanceships take on greater or lesser importance. Some single

women living alone find the role of an acquaintance preferable to that of friend. This may be because, as self-supporting workers, they, first and foremost, "...want to do what they are supposed to do....," as Goode puts it.¹⁹ Or, like Emma, they want to place their non-work energy in a heterosexual relationship and/or kin relations. Interestingly, Deb, who is not currently dating, like Emma, purposely avoids work-related friendships, but for a different reason -- Deb is writing a novel and does not want anyone associated with her job to know that is why she refuses to work more often. As an indication of the importance of these work-related acquaintanceships to these women, Deb, who intentionally avoids them, compensates by having a structured friendship network ("ladies' auxiliary") consisting of pre-arranged bi-weekly meetings with four of her close female friends.

Being acquaintances simply describes that the opportunity now exists for a friendship. Not only would it be impossible to befriend all acquaintances, having too many friends would be dysfunctional. As Goode states: "...The individual is thus likely to face a wide, distracting, and sometimes conflicting array of role obligations. If he conforms fully or adequately in one direction, fulfillment will be difficult in another. Even if he feels lonely, and would like to engage in additional role relationships, it is likely that he cannot fully discharge all the obligations he already faces."²⁰

As Chapter 2 noted, psychologists have extensively studied, and written about, the general factors that attract friends to each other (e.g. proximity, similarity in age, socioeconomic level, sex,

values, etc.).²¹ Unfortunately, the bulk of sociological writing on this phase of the friendship process has been based on unsystematic observations, such as Naegele and Kurth's work.²² In conducting the field work for this dissertation, this researcher learned, however, that if a woman and her acquaintance both want to become friends, whether or not they become friends is far more complex than "like attracts like". Why this sample population of young single urban working women living alone initiated, and maintain, their current closest friendship will be explored in Chapters 6 and 7; Chapter 8 will explore why another friendship, that was once important to the respondent, has ended. Those chapters are intended to shed light on how friendship aids, or inhibits, the social integration of this sample population; they are also intended to explore how the processes of friendship initiation, maintenance, and dissolution operate for this sample population.²³ In the next chapter, an overview of the friendship patterns of this sample population (dyads, triads, networks, and friendly kin relations) will be presented; those findings will serve as a backdrop to the discussions of specific closest friendships that will follow.

Footnotes

¹Pool and Kochen note how hard it is to collect statistics on acquaintanceship volume. Although varying estimates are offered throughout their article, "Contacts and Influence", in one section the authors settle on an estimate of 1,000 acquaintances. See: Ithiel de Sola Pool and Manfred Kochen, "Contacts and Influence", Social Networks 1 (1978/9):15. The figure of a thousand acquaintances is also used by Barnes in his reference that "Lee asserts that in the United States a typical individual 'knows' about a thousand people." (N.H. Lee, The Search for an Abortionist, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969 as cited in J. A. Barnes, Social Networks, Reading: Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology, 1972, p. 24). The estimate of "hundreds" of acquaintances is given in McCallister and Fischer's research on personal networks. See: Lynne McCallister and Claude S. Fischer, "A Procedure for Surveying Personal Networks", Sociological Methods & Research 7 (November 1978):134.

That all friendships began as acquaintanceships, however brief or lengthy, may seem like a simple truth, but most respondents were unable, or unwilling, to see their current friends in that way. To most, friendship is a relationship that they wish to view as one with as much reason or logic as love. This reluctance of individuals to describe their current friends as former acquaintances is perplexing. It is as if acquaintance is a derogatory term. (That the researcher herself did not even think in these terms is intriguing; separated during the development of the accounting schemes, this relationship became clear only during the data analysis.) Upon analyzing the data, and seeing the relationship of acquaintanceship to friendship, the researcher asked a young man, whose two best friends date back to his adolescent years, if one of those friends, Benny, was first an acquaintance. "No," he answered, vehemently. "Wasn't there a time that you knew him before you became friends?" I continued. "Yes." "So how well did you know him?" "Vaguely," he answered. "Doesn't that mean that he was an acquaintance?" He didn't wish to continue the discussion.

²This figure of three years from meeting refers to the data elicited for the current closest friendship described in detail by the sample population. (See Chapter 6.)

³Talcott Parsons, The Social System. (New York: Free Press, 1951), p. 64.

⁴Although numerical and demographic data was gathered on as many friends as possible in all categories -- best, close, casual -- respondents were asked to pick one current (and one failed) friend that they wanted to talk about in greatest detail. In all cases, the respondents chose their current closest friend, and the failed

friend that had been their closest friendship to end. It is this closest current (or important failed) friend on which the statistics in this chapter (and Chapters 6, 7, and 8) are based. Additional information on other friends, however, was informally revealed by all respondents through anecdotal material. During the last ten interviews, when demographic information was more rigorously sought on each and every best and close friend, the interviews, although more specific on certain levels about those additional friends, were less satisfactory in terms of anecdotal material.

⁵See the literature on courtship for a discussion of the sorting out process that occurs from meeting to dating to marriage (and failed marriage). References include: Robert A. Lewis, "A Developmental Framework for the Analysis of Premarital Dyadic Formation", Family Process 11 (March 1972):17-48; Catherine A. Surra, "From Courtship to Marriage: Patterns of Interaction between Partners and their Social Networks", paper presented at the International Conference on Personal Relationships, Madison, Wisconsin, July 18-23, 1982, 65-page typescript; Charles T. Hill, Zick Rubin, and Letitia Anne Peplau, "Breakups Before Marriage: The End of 103 Affairs", Journal of Social Issues 32 (1976):147-68; George Levinger, David J. Senn and Bruce W. Jorgensen, "Progress Toward Permanence in Courtship: A Test of the Kerckhoff-Davis Hypotheses", Sociometry 33 (1970):427-43; Murray S. Davis, Intimate Relations (New York: Free Press, 1973); Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: Wiley, 1964); William J. Goode, After Divorce (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956); William J. Goode, "The Theoretical Importance of Love", American Sociological Review 24 (1959):38-47; Robert S. Weiss, "The Emotional Impact of Marital Separation", Journal of Social Issues 32 (1976):135-45; Ted L. Huston, Catherine A. Surra, Nancy Fitzgerald, and Rodney M. Cate, "From Courtship to Marriage: Mate Selection as an Interpersonal Process," chap. 3, pp. 53-88 in Personal Relationships 1: Developing Personal Relationships, eds. S. Duck and R. Gilmour. New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1981; Mark Krain, "Communication Among Premarital Couples at Three Stages of Dating", Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1975):609-618; and Mark Krain, "Effects of Love and Liking in Premarital Dyads", Sociological Focus 10 (August 1977):249-262.

⁶Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, translated, edited, with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), p. 125. Simmel wrote: "We have hardly paid sufficient attention to the way in which relationships of like content take on a different color, according to whether their members think that there are many, or only very few, similar ones."

⁷Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, 1968 enlarged ed. (New York: Free Press, 1949, 1968), p. 105.

⁸Ibid. In her study of friendships of older people in Kips Bay in New York City and Elmira, Zena Smith Blau, stresses how often adult friendships (which Blau says are usually really acquaintanceships) are tied to the work or marital role. See Blau,

Old Age in a Changing Society (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973), pp. 60-65.

⁹Parsons, The Social System, p. 106.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 64.

¹¹This failure to describe more acquaintanceships as opportunistic ones may be related to the stigmatizing of opportunism, as noted later on in regard to the bases of friendships. See: Erving Goffman, Stigma (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), Preface.

¹²Parsons, The Social System, p. 106.

¹³An article in the popular magazine Glamour even cautions ambitious working women against office friendships. One expert is quoted as saying that forming a close friendship with another women at work "...can be as dangerous as having an affair with a male colleague." See: Marilyn Mercer, "Office Friendships: How They Really Affect Your Career", Glamour, April 1979, p. 152. See also: Suzanne Gordon, "The New Corporate Feminism", The Nation, February 5, 1983, pp. 1, 143, 146-7. In criticizing the growth of an anti-work friendships for women movement, Gordon quotes one writer's article on office politics that advises: "...you were hired to get the job done, not to win friends..."

These recent writings, as well as the interviews with this sample of working single women, seems to indicate that some women are adapting more "male" attitudes about friendship and business not mixing. See: Beth B. Hess, "Friendship and Gender Roles Over the Life Course" in Peter J. Stein, ed., Single Life (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 106.

¹⁴Parsons, The Social System, p. 83.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 67 and discussion with Professor Charles Kadushin, CUNY Graduate Center, 1 February 1983. See also: Talcott Parsons, "Pattern Variables Revisited: A Response to Robert Dubin" in Sociological Theory and Modern Society (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 192-219; Robert Dubin, "Parsons' Actor: Continuities in Social Theory" in Sociological Theory and Modern Society, pp. 521-36; and Robin M. Williams, "Friendship and Social Values in a Suburban Community: An Exploratory Study", The Pacific Sociological Review 2 (1959):3.

¹⁶William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain", American Sociological Review 25 (1960):483-96.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 485.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹On theories about why people become friends, see, for example: Theodore M. Newcomb, "The Prediction of Interpersonal

Attraction", American Psychologist 11 (November 1956):575-86 and Steve Duck, Personal Relationships and Personal Constructs: A Study of Friendship Formation (London: Wiley, 1973). For additional psychological studies, including those involved with the "Like Attracts Like" theory, see text and references in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

²²Naegele's article on acquaintanceship versus friendship is based on his discussions with twenty high school boys and girls in Boston. See: Kaspar D. Naegele, "Friendship and Acquaintances: an Exploration of Some Social Distinctions", Harvard Educational Review 28 (1958):232-52. Kurth's article on acquaintanceship is an essay out of the symbolic interactionist school and is not even based on as much fieldwork as Naegele's. See: Suzanne B. Kurth, "Friendships and Friendly Relations" in Social Relationships, ed. by George J. McCall, et. al. (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), pp. 136-70. The most ambitious work by a sociologist in the area of acquaintanceship thus far is Granovetter's work on the strength of weak ties. See: Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties", American Journal of Sociology 78 (May 1973):1360-80 and Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties: a Network Theory Revisited", to appear in Sociological Theory, 1982 (typescript).

²³Some of the myths about female friendship that this dissertation hoped to reevaluate, in the light of the data on this sample population of urban working living alone women, are that female friendships are based on talking rather than on doing (activities) and that overt or covert competition for each other's boyfriends is prevalent. How the "like attracts like" theory of friendship applies to the current closest friendships, and important failed friendships, of one sample population was intended to provide insights on the friendship initiation, maintenance, and dissolution processes. See text and footnotes in Chapter 2, including: Mayta A. Caldwell and Letitia Anne Peplau, "Sex Difference in Same-Sex Friendship", manuscript for article to appear in Sex Roles (December 1979 typescript), p. 1; Anne M. Seiden and Pauline B. Bart, "Woman to Woman: Is Sisterhood Powerful?" in Old Family/New Family, ed. Nona Glazer-Malbin (New York: Van Nostrand, 1975), pp. 189-228; Newcomb, "The Prediction of Interpersonal Attraction", pp. 575-77, and Wenda J. Dickens and Daniel Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-cycle" in Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships, ed. Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 91-122.

CHAPTER 5

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

In their article on mortality rates for persons in different living arrangements, Kobrin and Hendershot wrote: "Marriage, after all, ordinarily indicates the presence of only one social tie, important as it is....Living alone, on the other hand, means that socially integrating possibilities only exist outside the household.¹ Based on an analysis and interpretation of the elicited data, this chapter will show what "socially integrating possibilities" do exist for this sample population of young urban working women who live alone.

In the last chapter it was noted that acquaintanceships serve a dual function as sources for future friendships, as well as social relations while performing formal role obligations. This chapter will explore how the friendship patterns -- dyads, triads, and networks -- of this sample of urban single women contribute to their social integration. Their kinship networks will also be explored. For example, one type of kinship network that is lacking for these women is a network based on a romantic partner. Furthermore, it will be shown how, for this sample, being close to a nuclear or extended kin member relates to having, or lacking, friendship networks or best friendships.

Three of the themes, therefore, that run throughout this, and subsequent chapters, are: the concerted effort that single women in an urban environment must make in order to initiate, and maintain, friendships;² how romantic relationships, theoretically a subcategory of kinship, effect their friendships; and how kin relations effect the friendship patterns of these urban single women who live alone.³

Dyads

The most common friendship pattern for this sample is a dyadic one; 25 of the 27 women say that they have one or more dyadic friendships. However, for the current closest friend of the respondents, discussed in detail in the next two chapters, 11 of those friendships (41%) are isolated dyads, 6 (22%) are part of a triad, and 10 (37%) are part of a network of four or more persons.⁴

What characterizes the dyad that might account for these findings for this sample of urban single women? Simmel noted that the dyad is the most unstable of all relationships, but it also has a unique form of intimacy attached to it:

This dependence of the dyad upon its two individual members causes the thought of its existence to be accompanied by the thought of its termination much more closely and impressively than in any other group, where every member knows that even after his retirement or death, the group can continue to exist...A dyad, however, depends on each of its two elements alone -- in its death, though not in its life; for its life, it needs both, but for its death, only one. This fact is bound to influence the inner attitude of the individual toward the dyad, even though not always consciously nor in the same way. It makes the dyad into a group that feels itself both endangered and irreplaceable....It is a relationship within which either of the two feels and behaves only with respect to the other.⁵

Whether dyadic friendships are best, close, or casual ones are reflective of the personalities of the friendship unit, and their ability to have, and their desire for, a certain level of intimacy. Within this sample there are, of course, personality differences, ranging from women who are self-confident, happy, and optimistic to those who are depressed, bitter, or unattractive. These personality differences will of course have an effect on their friendship patterns. There are also background traits that, this chapter will show, effect their friendship patterns. However, as Thompson and Walker note in their article about the dyad as a unit of analysis, there are also "relationship dimensions" of the dyad that all dyads are subject to: "People have values, opinions, and needs; while relationships have properties such as norms, rules, and power".⁶

For this sample, as Simmel noted about the dyad in general, best, close, and casual dyadic friendships have a decided advantage over a triad or larger groups in terms of the secrecy of the information that is shared: "...this minimum of two," Simmel wrote, "with which the secret ceases to be the property of the one individual, is at the same time the maximum at which its preservation is relatively secure".⁷ Thus, the dyad can be a more intimate, and potentially, more rewarding relationship; it can also be a more demanding one since responsibility for its maintenance rests with the friendship pair alone. For example, since they do not have friends in common, if Sara and her close friend Henry do not call, or visit, each other, they will lose touch completely.

Lee has a casual dyadic friendship with Evelyn, whom Lee befriended two years ago when they took the same class at New York

University. Now that they attend classes on different days, their only contact is a once a month phone call. Lee's attempts to involve Evelyn with her other New York friends have failed, as Lee explains:

Evelyn doesn't know any of my other friends. I would like her to meet some of my friends. 'The friends of my friends are my friends,' that's a saying in Europe. She's met one of my friends that I speak to regularly in New York, but I don't think they will ever be friends.

The possibility of greater intimacy that the dyad offers will only occur if both actors are able to share at that level. As Lee explains it:

I consider Evelyn a friend although I would not want to burden her with any problems, any serious problems, I might have, not that I have any serious problems. I think it might be too much for her. She seems a bit cool and distant. She's from New Zealand, and maybe that's her upbringing, which is English, very reticent, quiet.

The "secrecy" that Simmel commented on in his famous essay on the dyad referred to a literal secret; for this sample, the dyadic relationship itself is a "secret". As Lee noted about Evelyn, their friendship involves only the two of them. Similarly, no one else was involved when, after a year, Vera and Judy ended their close dyadic friendship.

Nan and Liz, whom Nan befriended at a singing event in 1979, have a best friend dyad. They see each other two to three times a week (Liz lives in Manhattan). At the time that Nan befriended Liz, Nan was "going through a crisis" with her best friend Jane, whom Nan befriended twelve years ago. It was "the most strained part" of their relationship, caused by Jane's disapproval of a trendy movement that Nan had gotten involved in. Although Nan and Jane patched up their differences, and Nan still considers Jane her

"best" friend, Liz has replaced Jane as Nan's "best" best friend.

How exclusive a dyad is will effect each one. Thus, once Liz became Nan's best friend, Nan's longstanding best friend dyad with Jane would have to be effected. As Simmel observed:

"...relationships of like content take on a different color, according to whether their members think that there are many, or only a few, similar ones."⁸ For instance, Pat found that her new friendship with Dale adversely affected her established best friendship with Claudia. Pat's efforts to maintain the two dyads failed, as Pat explains:

Claudia was around all the time and I think that [my friendship with Dale] caused a lot of our problems. Dale was like a conflict all the time. Dale was tremendously possessive and jealous...We'd be in this dorm. Everyone kind of hangs out together, the whole house. When people would come to visit in a room, Dale would say [to me], 'Let's go take a drive' or 'Let's go take a walk' and I'd feel like, 'What's the point? Why can't we just stay here. Why do you want to go single off and be with me?'

Nora talks about her one best friend, Marlene (who lives in California), a second not-quite-as-best friend, who lives in Manhattan, her "very very close" relationship with her sister, as well two other close friends -- all separate, and competing, dyads. As the number of dyads in each category (best, close, casual) increases, the value of each dyad diminishes, as well as its members' dependence on it.

Because of its private and intimate nature, the friendship dyad is potentially the best opportunity to express affectivity, based on the specific relationship, rather than neutrality, based on a "disciplined action".⁹ Sue says that it was the ability to express affect that, two years ago, turned her casual friendship

with Marilyn, whom Sue had known for twelve years, into a best "once a week" friendship:

We talked about it [our problems with each other]. We had the openness to talk about it, and that was important to me. She used to say 'That's ridiculous,' and it cut me right off. I don't like that. Ideally I would like in her [even] more emotion.

Sara describes how appealing she finds openness in a friend, such as her casual friend Celia, a British woman in her forties who is divorced and whom Sara befriended at the cafeteria at work:

Celia's a very independent thinker. She says exactly what's on her mind. She's refreshing. I don't agree with her at all on most things, but she'll listen to you. She might even change her mind.

Edda and Meg are the only two women in this sample who do not have any strictly dyadic friendships. (All their friends are also friends with at least one, usually several, of Edda and Meg's other friends). Edda is from Texas and Meg grew up on Long Island, although her family now lives in Florida. Edda's father owns a car wrecking service; Meg's father is an engineer. Edda's mother teaches piano and cosmetic application; Meg's mother is a volunteer librarian. Neither woman is close to a family member. Both women have a large number of friends of all types (best, close, and casual) -- 41 and 24, respectively -- compared to the average of 14 for the entire sample. Neither currently has a steady boyfriend, but both women are popular and date a lot. Edda and Meg are both attractive college graduates who work as advertising copywriters. More than any of the other women in this sample, both women typify the "swinging single" -- lots of partying, dating, and traveling. Indeed, both value being "fun" and having self-confidence, in

themselves and in their friends. Neither woman belongs to an organization although both have at least one network, a network that seems closer to an adolescent clique. (See discussion of their respective networks in that section of this chapter.) Edda claims to have never had an important friendship that failed, and Meg says that her only two failed friendships were with women who were the girlfriends of her ex-boyfriend's friends. (As the chapter on friendship dissolution will show, the failure to have an important failed friendship is as telling as a surplus of ended friendships.)

What about the eleven women whose current closest friendship is a dyadic one? Their average age is 32, compared to 30 for the entire sample. They have only a medium activity level, compared to the high activity level of those women whose current closest friendship is part of a triad. Their need for friends is medium, and their need for a permanent romantic relationship is high. (See Appendix III for examples of how respondents were coded on these and other attributes.) It is interesting to this researcher that only five of these closest friend dyads were described in terms that echoed the "great friend" concepts, detailed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. [Other "great friend" relations were described by respondents, but those friendships were part of a triad (6) or a network (7)].

The insecurity of the friendship dyad is supported by the fact that of the important failed friendships discussed by the respondents (N = 24), at the time of dissolution, 22 were dyadic (92%) and two were triadic. (Three that had been triads and six that had been part of a network ended only after the triad or

network, of which the dyadic friendship had been a part, had been dissolved).

Triads

Forming a triad is a possible solution for this sample to the difficulties of trying to maintain too many unique, and competing, dyads. Exclusivity, and secrecy, are lost but diversity, and an easier time at maintaining the friendships, such as through hearsay information, are gained. Ideally, as Simmel noted, "...the existence of the impartial third element serves the perpetuation of the group."¹⁰

In contrast to the isolated dyad, just the addition of a third person increases the number of potential relationships among them to six.¹¹ A triad also increases the "side bets constraining behavior", a concept Becker wrote about in his article on commitment.¹² The marital dyad has legal and kin network side bets to deter its dissolution.¹³ The friendship dyad lacks those side bets, is an optional role, and is generally isolated from other relationships. By including a third friend, the side bets for that friendship increase; the friendship is no longer a private matter. There are social pressures to maintain intimate relationships, even friendships.¹⁴

Because of the special qualities of the triad, and the possibility of "a majority or minority and a coalition",¹⁵ it is not surprising that the current working triads for this sample are those friendships where all three participants met at the same time, or the relationships are "unequal" but that is acceptable, e.g. two

close friends and one best, one casual friend and two bests, etc. For instance, Lois has a best friend dyad with Lucinda and a triad with Lucinda's friend, whom Lois considers only a close friend, not a best relation. Lisa has a three-way close friendship with Yoko and Tina. They all met at the same time, work together, and their involvement with each other is equal. In that way, Lisa and her friends avoid one of the pitfalls of a triad that Simmel noted:

No matter how close a triad may be, there is always the occasion on which two of the three members regard the third as an intruder. The reason may be the mere fact that he shares in certain moods which can unfold in all their intensity and tenderness only when two can meet without distraction: the sensitive union of two is always irritated by the spectator....¹⁶

Although Di's friendships are mostly "twosomes," as Di calls them, Di does have one working triad with her best friend Susan, who lives in Baltimore, and their not so close friend Leslie, who lives in New Jersey. Di is more intimate with Susan, but she sees Leslie more often since Leslie lives closer. (Geography does play a part in the friendships of all these women, as this and the next chapters will show.) Di points out a personality difference among the friends, and how having Leslie "in common" aids Di's friendship with Susan:

Leslie is not as ready to share with us. It's her personality... You have to pull teeth to get Leslie to say anything! But that's a joke all the time between Susan and I about her.

As previously noted, 11 of the 27 women sampled currently have triadic friendships of varying levels of closeness -- best, close, casual. (Twelve other women with dyads have a type of triad since they have some kind of relationship, although not always a friendship, with their friend's romantic partner or spouse.) Six

women -- Di, Lisa, Gail, Vera, Niki, and Lois -- say that their current closest friend is part of a triad (with a third friend). These women -- "the triads" -- all grew up in an Eastern state (compared to only 81% of the total sample who did). All but two of the triads are Jewish (66%), compared to only 37% of the total sample. These triadic women have an average income of \$34,000 (versus \$23,000 for the entire sample). They are about the same age as the average for the sample (29 versus 30). This group does, however, include two of the three women in the sample who are separated or divorced. These triadic women have, on average, a high (3) activity level. Four of these six women (67%) also say that they are close to a family member (versus 48% of the entire sample). None of these women are involved in romantic relationships that the women hope will lead to marriage; three are not even dating. These triadic women therefore seem to be a predominantly Jewish, better-than-average income earning, active group who have a more frequent occurrence of friendly kin relations and who all live no more than an hour or two by car or train from their parents. Their non-existent or inappropriate romantic relationships, as well as their closest friendship being a triadic one, may indicate they these women use friendship as a way of recreating the family triangle. These women seem unable to let go of their family ties, and unable to make exclusive platonic or romantic dyadic commitments.

In general, connecting two dyads into a triad is not without its dangers: of those 25 respondents with dyadic relationships, eight have had failed triads. The most common type of failed triad

(5 out of the 8 cases) is where a preexisting dyad became a triad and the respondent then rejected the first friend in favor of the newer friend (with whom she then formed a dyad, a new triad, or a network). Gwen, whose current best friend is Maxine, originally met Maxine eighteen years ago through Maxine's twin sister, Nancy, who was then Gwen's friend. Gwen and Maxine became, and have remained, best friends; Nancy became Gwen's acquaintance -- "Hello, how are you?".

A dramatic example of this kind of failed triad are Rose, Peggy, and Erika. Rose was eighteen when she befriended Peggy, and twenty-five when she befriended Erika. For ten years, Rose maintained two separate close dyadic friendships. Within a year or two of Peggy's attempts to form a triad with Rose and Erika, Rose ended her friendship with Peggy. In Rose's account of what happened, the faults that Rose saw in Peggy became intolerable once Erika became involved:

Peggy was a really good friend in a lot of ways....But Peggy's one of these people who's very jealous and very insecure and would be real pleased to tell me, or anybody else, all their faults.

Erika met Peggy and she and Erika became friends. That was one of the things that precipitated it. That really infuriated me.... Peggy really liked Erika. Here was another person who was more fashionable, had more money.... It infuriated Erika because Peggy would see Erika in an outfit and she would go out and buy the same outfit!

Peggy pulled this thing where she would call Erika all the time and ask her to go out and Erika would say, 'Well what about Rose?' and Peggy would say, 'You know, Rose's working, she can't make it.' Meanwhile, she never asked me...

And then she went on a vacation with Erika.... Peggy would start ripping Erika apart to me, and me apart to Erika. She also went out to Erika's home, and pulled the same kind of thing, knocking Erika to Tony [her husband]: 'I don't know how you can stand to live with her. My God, if you flick an ash in the ash tray she's cleaning it.'

A distinct type of dyad-turned-triad that all these single women have to cope with is when their friend's spouse (or live-in romantic partner) is added to their friendship dyad. As the chapters on friendship maintenance and dissolution will show, the introduction of a romantic partner can create a strong new triad, or it can be the demise of the friendship dyad. Pat relates how the introduction of Claudia's live-in boyfriend has changed their longstanding best friendship:

The hardest time for Claudia and me -- it wasn't a matter of him -- I had trouble accepting the fact that she wasn't going to come [visit] by herself, and if she was my friend, and I had to know that if he was part of her life all the time, it was my adjustment to make, not hers..

From his actions, however, Claudia's live-in boyfriend seems to want to help perpetuate the friendship:

They were in upstate New York and they drove six or seven hours just to see me [instead of going right back to Maryland]. He's developing a real respect for our friendship, and he had to go through his up and down thing with it. Now it's the three of us.

In summary, effective friendship triads can provide these single women with a type of bonding, and commonality, that Simmel noted a child ideally provides for the marital dyad, who "often has the function of holding the whole together".¹⁷

Networks

Thirteen of the 27 single women in this sample (48%) have a total of 21 friendship networks; ten of the women (37%) say that their current closest friend is in one of these networks. This is an interesting finding because prior friendship studies on gender differences found that "girls report preferring the company of a

single best friend to a group of four or more".¹⁸ For this sample, the difference in their adult socialization -- as single working women who live alone -- may account for the "team"¹⁹ aspect of their friendship patterns (in contrast to the friendship patterns of housewives, as reported by Rubin, Fischer, and others.)²⁰

The networks of this sample population are all high density or maximal networks of four or more friends who all know each other.²¹ For this sample population, a network is distinct from a group that exists because of a formal role, such as co-workers, sorority sisters, block association members, etc. Although the network may have developed from those associations, the network is now based on friendship.

Based on the elicited data, the twenty-one friendship networks of thirteen of the women in this sample range in size from four to fourteen persons (including the respondent), with four (5) or five (6) person networks the two most common sizes. (See Appendix III for a table representing the numerical distribution of members in these twenty-one networks). None of the thirteen women have more than three networks; the average number of networks is one. All but one of the networks (Pat's Texas boarding school network) are based in Manhattan or in the New York area.²² Eleven of the twenty-one networks are same- and opposite-sex; the remainder are only women. Two women (Edda and Agnes) have been romantically involved with two or more men in their networks; for the rest, all the friendships are platonic ones.

The ways in which these twenty-one networks originated are, in order of descending frequency: school; neighborhood; through friends; work; through an activity. There is of course some overlap in the sources of these friendship networks since sharing a summer group house can be viewed as both neighborhood-related (in which it is scored) and as activity-related (in which it is not).²³ (See Appendix III for a table of the numerical distribution of the circumstances for friendship network formation). Some of the women, like Sue and Eve, have casual friend networks related to their interests -- nurse practitioner and a human potential movement, and computers, respectively. For most of the women, however, special interests, so far, have only led to acquaintances, such as Lucy's involvement over the last year or two with other yoga enthusiasts or Sara's with fellow birdwatchers. (Both women, however, hope those relationships become friendships.)

It is suggested that the poor showing of work as a source of friendship networks for these women is because these women, for whom work is a primary role, need more control over what information is disclosed than a friendship network would allow. As Edda, who has a network of more than fourteen men and women, comments, somewhat arrogantly -- perhaps drawing strength from numbers: "There are some forty people we all know in New York that we can gossip about pretty good. Whoever it is who's gossip-worthy is inside the network, somehow." Nor does the work setting generally encourage the extensive interactions that is characteristic of networks.²⁴ Although the introduction of a third friend to a dyad increased the number of possible relationships to six, Table 17 illustrates the

hundreds of relationships that are possible as the size of the group increases to seven.

Table 17
Increase in Potential Relationships
With an Increase in Group Size*

Size of Group	Number of Relationships
4	25
5	90
6	301
7	966

*Source: Adapted from A. Paul Hare, Handbook of Small Group Research (Glencoe: Free Press, 1962, p. 229), reprinted in Donald Light Jr. and Suzanne Keller Sociology, 2nd ed. (New York: Knopf, 1979), p. 185.

This sample's high density networks are of two distinct types, namely closed cliques and open snowballs. Cliques are the kinds of networks most commonly associated with high school; networks that exclude others as much as they include members. Examples of cliques are: Lil's college network of seven women and Agnes's five-year-old Fire Island network of nine men and women. The clique is static; romantic partners or friends of friends are not added to it.

By contrast, snowballs are open fluid networks, adding other friends, friends of those friends, or romantic partners to the original network. For example, two years ago, Sue and her best friend Marilyn became a triad with Marilyn's boyfriend Steve; soon the triad expanded to include Marilyn's close friend Brenda as well as Sue's close friend Alan, who is gay. Vera's casual friend

network from New Jersey included one man and two women, with whom Vera grew up; it did, however, expand to include the man's wife.

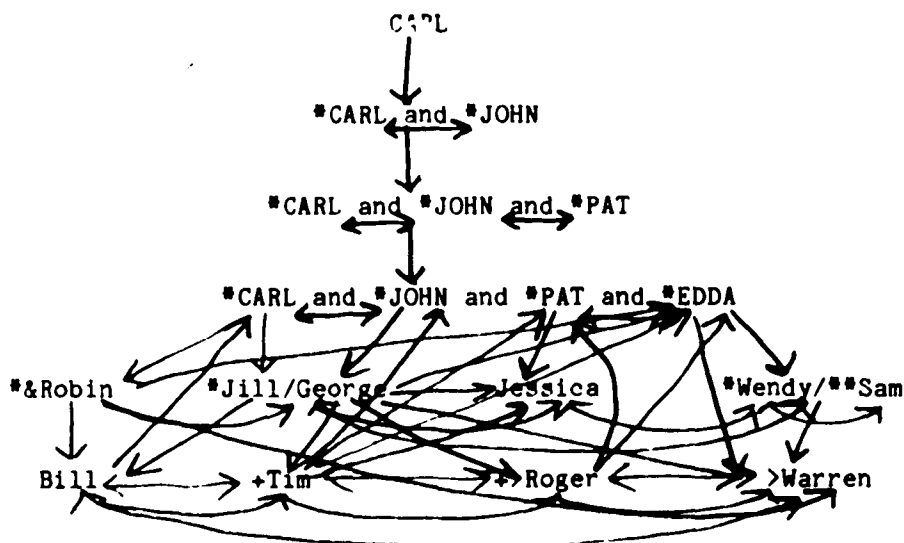
Edda's snowball network is the most extreme example for this sample of an open network. Edda comments on how the network expanded from Carl and John, who started the snowball:

When I came here [from Texas] I knew two people, John and Carl....Through them, I got introduced to Pat, who they had met when they got up here. I became friends with Pat, who was in a class of mine [in Texas] and I recognized her. Through Pat I met Jill and George, that I had met before, two acquaintances...Then a few other people came [from Texas] that knew each other. It's like people I didn't really know, we all knew who we were, but didn't really know each other well. It's like it was a reference, 'Oh this is Roger, he's a friend of ---. You remember him, he's the one who wrecked Melanie's car'....Robin was also in a class of mine. Turns out she was best friends with one of my best friends' sister. Jill turns out to be the cousin of a cousin of Carl's. Wendy is going to marry Sam, whose parents just moved to Houston in the same neighborhood as John's parents...

All the friends in Edda's network, a snowball of about forty men and women between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-seven at the time of the interview, know each other (100% density). From Edda's descriptions, it seems to be a network of "rich kids" -- the core of fourteen all have a "Texas connection" -- who drink and party together. Figure 5 diagrams how the core of the network developed.

Figure 5

Core of Edda's Snowball Friendship Network



Key: & - Grew up together in Dallas
 * - Went to University of Texas
 > - Originally from Austin, Texas
 ** - Parents just moved to Houston, Texas
 + - Edda has been romantically involved with
 / - indicates romantic pair

Gwen and her best friend Maxine developed a snowball of female friends, but froze it about ten years ago into a clique of five. All the women are in their late thirties. Maxine married last year, another woman is divorced, another is living with someone, and Gwen and the last woman are single and not currently dating.

Bev has a New York clique of best and close friends that includes Jeff and Rita, with whom Bev went to college, and Rita's friend Paula, whom Bev now considers a close friend. Although Rita and Jeff attended the same college in North Carolina, they did not know each other until they both moved to Manhattan, and Bev introduced them; now they are good friends. Bev would like to

expand their network to include two more of Bev's close friends, and Bev introduced them to Rita, but "that hasn't really taken".

Although Bev and Rita saw each other "everyday the first two or three months" after Rita arrived in New York, since Rita has a new boyfriend and has gotten "involved in other things" their contact is less frequent. Bev is grateful that she has her network to lean on:

It's very handy because we all go out together. Or if one of them can't do something with the other, maybe we call the other, and we all call each other to get together. We do have a good network. A jolly little foursome.

Meg has a clique of the twelve single working women with whom Meg shared a summer house in 1982. Meg comments on her new network, noting how her desire to form new female friendships seems to have been the reason that all the women joined the summer house:

I joined the [summer] house really more to meet women than anything else because it seems that when you're somewhat successful, and doing well, and interested in your career, and live in New York, as the years go by, the women drop off. They leave, they get married. There just aren't that many. I was real interested in meeting more single women friends in the city and that was my main goal. And the funny thing is, that's what all the other women in the house said as well.

It is apparent from the interviews that those women who have friendship networks invest time and energy in initiating, and maintaining, those friendship groups. The women with current networks, like Edda, Gwen, and Meg, also have a history of friendship groups. In addition to her new summer house network, Meg has an active clique of five women with whom she attended high school. Edda has a longstanding triad with Melanie and June, her close friends back in Texas. Bev, who has a New York network, also belonged to a sorority in college. Eli, who had networks in junior high school, high school, and college, still has a New Jersey

network of four women who all grew up together. Gwen used to belong to a clique in high school.

Kin relations also play a role in the current networks of this sample population. Of the 13 women who have one to three networks, only four women say that they are close to a kin member. Of the 14 women without any networks, 8 of those women are close to a kin member. (The rest of those women have best, close, or casual friendship dyads or triads). In this way, for this sample, friendship networks may substitute for a close kin relationship, or they may be an additional form of intimacy. Thus, those who are close to kin may not feel the need to invest the time, and energy, in developing, and maintaining, friendship networks.

This sample population may therefore be divided into four distinct types according to friendship network participation: those with only one network (Type 1 - Edda, Gwen, Deb, Eli, Bev, Niki, Agnes, and Vera); those with two or three networks (Type 2 - Sue, Pat, Lil, Eve, and Meg); those who used to have networks, but do not now have any (Type 3 - Lee, Lisa, Kate, Emma, and Nora); and those who do not, and never have had, any networks (Type 4 - Di, Rose, Sara, Judy, Lucy, Lois, Gail, Nan, and Claire).

Type I women with one friendship network are 29 years old, earn \$25,000 a year, and have a total of 17 friends (1 best, 5 close, and 11 casual). As might be predicted from their network involvement, their need for friends is high, and their need for alone time is medium. None of these women were involved in serious romantic relationships at the time of the interview. Although Eli and Vera say that they are close to a family member, their families

have been dramatically altered in the last five years due to a parents' death or divorce. For Type I women, therefore, their friendship network may be a substitute for the kinship network that they miss by not being close to, or having an intact, family of their own.

Type II women who have two or three friendship networks have the high activity level to match the energy demands that maintaining those networks would require. Their need for friends is also high, and their need for alone time is medium. Type II women are 28 years old and they earn \$21,000. Like Type I women, none of these women were involved in a serious romantic relationship at the time of the interview; none of these women report being close to a family member, which may account for their involvement in multiple friendship networks. (Sue is not even on speaking terms with her brother, a professor who lives in Manhattan.) Type II have the same number of friends as Type I, four more than Type 3, and seven more than Type 4.

Eve, whose two best friends live out-of-town (in California and in upstate New York), is typical of these Type 2 women with multiple friendship networks. Eve has casual friend networks based on school (2) and her involvement with the block association (1). "The block association has made me comfortable in this community," Eve explains. But three networks are not enough for Eve, who compares herself to her younger sister: "My sister has a hundred friends. I've always been jealous of people who've had big big crowds." Eve, who still maintains her best-friend triad from high school days, complains that she has not been able to find intimacy within her

networks (a complaint that Lil echoes).

What this researcher found particularly interesting is that ten of the Type 1 and 2 women have created a "solution" for themselves to the potential problems of an unstable dyad, an unequal triad, or a superficial group by having their closest friend, with whom they have a strong dyadic friendship, within a network of four to fourteen friends, albeit often "not-as-close" friends. In that way, these women achieve the intimacy of the dyad, avoid the complications of the triad, have the strength of numbers to provide them with a sense of community, and a multiplicity of interrelationships.

Type 3 women used to have networks but now only have dyadic or triadic friendships. As support for the interpretation that friendship networks substitute for kin-related ones, 100% of Type 3 women report very close friendly kin relations. Type 3 women are 29 years old, earn \$22,000, and are Christian. Their activity level, and need for alone time and friends, is medium. They have fewer friends than Type 1 or 2, but more friends than Type 4.

Emma, who had a high school network, is now engaged and devoted to her banking career and getting married. Emma does fantasize about having a network again, but, as Emma says, "When I've met the friends, I didn't want to be part of it." Lee, who is 37, belonged to a sorority in college, but now has only dyadic friendships, and work-related acquaintanceships. Lee explains why she did not want to become part of a clique of fellow stewardesses:

In the beginning, when we were in another city -- Rome or Paris or anywhere else -- I would go out to dinner with the others. But there were smokers in the group, and I can't stand smoke. Or they talk always about the same things, and that got

kind of boring. And also since I'm studying [for my degree] I find that I like to keep to myself more because I need the quiet.

Type 4 are the oldest (33 years old), and have the highest income (\$29,000). They have a high need for alone time, a medium activity level, and a medium need for friends. Type 4 have only 10 friends, but they do have one best friend, compared to no best friends for Type 3. Type 4 includes the three women with borderline depressed personalities, and the two divorced women. Only one of these nine women report having friendly kin relations with a nuclear kin member. Two of these nine women were involved in serious romantic relationships at the time of the interview.

As noted before, a friendship network does require time and energy to keep those optional role relations going. It also requires additional effort to find intimacy within the group, or in alternative, dyadic friendships, since, as Table 17 showed, with each additional friend, the number of possible relationships multiplies so that a close friendship with any one network member may become more difficult. The women who have networks, or who are close to a kin member (Types 1, 2, and 3), are, by their own accounts, and this researcher's interpretation of the data, more socially integrated than those in Type 4, who never had and do not now have any friendship networks.

Friendship networks are important for this sample population since they lack the sense of community that they might achieve with a family of procreation. As the next section will show, romantic relationships have usually inhibited, rather than contributed to, this sample's social integration.²⁵

Absence of Romantic-Based Networks

He had his friends, and they were my friends, and that was it.
He didn't really like me to have friends.

—Agnes

One kind of network that is noticeably lacking for these women are networks based on their romantic relationships. Even more damaging for their longterm social integration, it has been typical for some respondents to "drop" their own friends for the duration of a romance, or to interact with the romantic partner's friends (but not vice versa) as they tried to maintain their separate friendships. Eve, a reformed friend dropper, says about the man for whom she ignored her own friends during their two-year romance: "He insisted that we do things with his friends in his way."²⁶ Babchuk and Bates found it common for women to have friendships initiated by their spouses, however, they studied intact relationships so that whatever the woman lost in terms of her friends she gained in terms of her marriage.²⁷

For most of this sample, it was only after the romance ended that they reevaluated their tendency to drop their friends (and to vow not to do that if there was a "next time" with a man). An obvious reason for their reformation is that for those women, the demise of their romantic relationship had the double-edged consequence of leaving them alone on a romantic and platonic level. Niki describes how, and why, she became a reformed "friend dropper":

A few years ago, I was very involved with someone [for a year and a half] and I cut myself off from my friends. My whole life was his friends, which was really, looking back, not good. It became a problem that we were seeing this friend of his and that friend of his, and his mother [and not my friends]. It just became a problem, and I didn't like that,

and he didn't do anything to change it. You have to work to get them [your friends] back, and I was really lonely there for a while. So I decided that that is not what I want to do -- to work to get these people back. But I'm also glad that I learned that lesson.

There are three issues involved in this absence of romantic-based networks. The first, that Niki pointed to, is the so-called chameleon effect, whereby women "give up" their friends for a man, and (temporarily) take on his instead.²⁸ The second issue is that resenting that their romances had any impact on their own friendships indicates a naivete about one of the consequences -- "dyadic withdrawal" -- of any serious relationship.²⁹ The third issue, and one that Lil points to in the extract that follows, is what this failure to create a network of "his" friends and "her" friends says about that romantic relationship:

The few times we did try to mix with my friends it didn't work out for various reasons....I think much more than that [a 7-year age difference] is that he felt that it was somehow confirming or establishing the relationship beyond the point that he wanted it to be. [Becoming friends with my friends] it was like taking me home to meet his parents, and somehow being friendly with my friends, getting to know my friends, was like saying, 'We're a couple and we have a future together and it is therefore worthwhile to get to know these people because they are people who I will probably have contact with the rest of my life' and he couldn't deal with that....

We have now seen how the dyadic, triadic, and network friendships operate for this sample of urban living alone single women. It has also been shown that this sample lacks a network based on a current romantic partner (and that most of the women lacked such networks in the past). It has also been noted that friendly kin relations are a substitute for friendship networks for some of the women (Type 3). In what other ways do their kin relationships impact on their friendship patterns?

Kin relations

I'm very close to my mother. I've always considered her,
pretty much, my best friend.

-- Emma

Friendly kin relations have been described in this dissertation as close relationships with a nuclear or extended family member (e.g. mother, sister, brother, cousin) that a woman considers to be more than kin; they are like close or best friends.³⁰ The prevalence of friendly kin relations, as discussed in this section, is a notable finding since Shulman's frequently cited article, "Life-Cycle Variations in Patterns of Close Relationships" found, for his sample, that of the three kinds of relationships in a personal network -- kin, friends, and neighbors -- "singles are most likely not to name any kin" (emphasis added).³¹

The findings of this dissertation on kin relations are closer to Jong-Gierveld's more recent study, whereby 54% of those who were living alone named a kin member as their most "confidant relationship" (compared to a kin member being named by only 5% of those who were living with a romantic partner).³²

For this sample, two interesting relationships emerged in regard to friendly kin relations: the first is between closeness to kin and the absence, or presence, of a current friendship network; the second is between the presence, or absence of best friends, and closeness to kin.

The first point about friendly kin relations was already noted in the section on networks. To reiterate those findings, only four of the 13 women who have one to three friendship networks say that they are close to a kin member. By contrast, eight of the 14 women

who do not have any friendship networks, have friendly kin relations. For this sample, therefore, friendship networks may substitute for close kin relations.

Now let's look at the second finding about friendly kin relations -- "My mother is my best friend". As reflected in Table 18, those respondents who say they are close to a kin relation -- parent, sibling, or cousin -- often do not have a best friend(s). Table 18 is a four-cell representation of the presence or absence of a best friend(s) by having or lacking friendly kin relations.

Table 18 (In Numbers)
 Presence of Best Friend(s)
 Versus Close Relationship to Kin Member(s)

	B E S T F R I E N D (S)	
	Has Best Friend(s)	No Best Friend(s)
KIN AS FRIEND(S)		
Close to Kin	4	9
Not Close to Kin	12	2

(N = 27)

For this sample, these "kin-related friendships" include the following relations, in order of decreasing frequency: sister, cousin, mother, brother, father, and stepmother. The strongest relationship between a kin friendship and the lack of a best friend is when the kin friendship is with a mother or stepmother; the weakest relationship is when the kin friendship is with a cousin.)

(See Appendix III for a tabular representation of these relationships.)

Thus, based on the elicited data, friendly kin relations are inhibitors to having a best friend, but they usually do not inhibit having close or casual friends, or opposite-sex romantic relationships. What matters is the degree of involvement with the kin member, and whether or not it is just another form of intimacy, or a substitute for it. Lee, who is very close with her widowed sister, has several close and casual friends; Eli, who considers her cousin her oldest and best friend, has one non-relative best friend, six close friends, ten casual friends, and a new boyfriend. For Judy, her friendly kin relationship with her sister is a substitute for friendship. Even Judy admits that seeing too much of her single sister, who lives only a few blocks away, interferes with her need for, and pursuit of, friends or a romantic partner. Judy, who is 31, discusses her friendly kin relation with her sister:

My sister is my best friend. That's depressing. Not that my sister's depressing.... I see my sister most often. I spend a lot of time with my sister, which is not always so good...I see her both days during the weekend [she sleeps over], maybe one night during the week. But I'm trying to see other people since I finished [night] school....

Lil, whose best friendship with Irene has faded since Irene's marriage, now considers her mother her best friend. When Lil's two-year romantic relationship was ending, Lil ultimately turned to her mother:

When this [romantic] relationship first got into trouble, I immediately felt that I had to turn to my friends....I wanted them to drop everything, run to me, and to say, "It's all right, and I'll stay with you, and I'll take care of you until you feel better". They didn't.

But I wanted a very strong response. I wanted, I think, almost what my mother did for me, which was, eventually, when I

couldn't deal with it all, she literally got in the car, drove in here [from New Jersey], picked me up, took me back to New Jersey, and said, "Sit down and shut up for a few days".

I wanted my friends to do that for me, and they didn't. 'They're not there, they're not my friends anymore'. That wasn't true either, but at the time I just felt that I needed that much support from them.

By contrast, when Lois, who is not close to her family members, was pregnant, and deciding whether or not to have the baby, and raise it alone, it was to her friends that she turned to find out if she could have their "support". Although Lois finally decided on an abortion, it was the positive feedback from her friends -- that those friendship dyads or triads would be her substitute nuclear or extended kinship network -- that Lois says helped her to decide that "within the next year or so I'll probably have a child on my own".

There are also women in this sample who are not emotionally close to their kin members, but who say they visit or call out of duty. For example, Sara, age 39, financially aids her parents, and visits them in Queens every other weekend, sleeping over on Saturday night. If she's not dating anyone, 29-year-old Niki will spend the weekend with her parents in Philadelphia once a month. Agnes, whose wealthy father died and left all his money to her mother, is friendly with her, even though Agnes dislikes her, because Agnes does not want to be cut out of her will. Pat feels obligated to her divorced mother and wonders if she will move back to Texas because of that:

I'm an only child and when my mother's parents are gone, she's going to be all alone. And someday, will I have to move back to Dallas and take care of my mother? I'm thinking more in terms of what my position as a family member is going to mean, and I think in the long run, it's probably going to have a big influence on my decision [about remaining in New York].

The dutiful kin relations of Sara and Pat are the ones traditionally associated with the single woman, as expressed in the popular novel Final Payments.³³ The friendly kin relations of the other women, like Nora, Judy, and Lee, who, among others, consider their sisters to be best friends, or Emma, Lil, Vera, and Eli, who, among others, are close to their mothers or stepmothers, are less stereotypical. During the interviews, those friendly kin relations -- based on sincere caring rather than duty -- were, after failed romantic relationships, the relationships discussed by the respondents with the most pathos. As Lisa says: "We've been friends more than mother and daughter. We haven't spoken in about seven months. She's gained forty pounds since we don't talk."

As will be discussed more completely in the remaining chapters, only fourteen friendships that this sample has might be called "great friend" relations (and even that number must be qualified since only four of those friendships are strictly dyadic and non-kin).³⁴ Most of the friendships of this sample are "modern man" differentiated types, and conflict-free.³⁵ By contrast, these friendly kin relations, as typified by Lisa's description of her mother's weight gain in response to their fight, resound with the ups and downs, compromises and strains, that usually characterize intimate relationships.³⁶ Di, for example, even commented on the differences between her close relationship with her cousin and her friends:

There's times I think I put up more with her out of that bond. There are things that I would not accept from my close friends, or that I would have a harder time dealing with from friends, that I deal with from her -- because she's my cousin, and where we go back from.

Summary

Although few women in this sample have "great friend" friendships, this sample of urban single working women who live alone does have a multiplicity of friendship patterns — dyads, triads, and network — to aid their social integration. It has been shown that ten of these women have developed a unique friendship pattern — that seems to avoid the insecurity of the dyad, the competition of a triad, or the distance of a group — by having a high density network that also includes the friend with whom the respondent is closest.

It has also been noted that, thus far, romantic attachments have hindered, rather than aided, the social integration of this sample. Those romantic attachments have failed to provide these women with a new friendship (or kinship) network. The "friend dropping" that some of the women reported to have experienced during romantic liaisons that later ended certainly did not aid the woman's friendships.³⁷ This chapter also pointed out that friendly and dutiful kin relations, despite prior research studies to the contrary, must be considered in understanding the friendship patterns of this sample.³⁸

If friendly kin relations, and acquaintanceships, are included as patterns, these single women who live alone, whether or not they currently have one or more romantic partners, have these social ties available to them "outside the household":³⁹

(1) work-related acquaintanceships

(2) dyadic friendships of varying levels of intimacy (best,

close, or casual)

(3) triadic friendships of varying levels of intimacy (best, close, or casual)

(3) one or more friendship networks

(4) friendly kin relations

This chapter has also tried to show that, based on an analysis and interpretation of the elicited data, the friendship patterns of this sample of young urban single women who live alone contradicts some of the generalizations about gender differences in friendship, namely that females only have dyadic friendships.⁴⁰ The next chapters will challenge the generalization that female friendships are based on only talking and sharing confidences (compared to the activities upon which male friendships are based), as well as the cliché that women end friendships because of rivalry over men.⁴¹ Those chapters will look at why, for this sample population, the current closest friendship was initiated, and maintained, and why one important friendship has ended (as well as why it was initiated and maintained and how failed friendships compare to current ones).

Footnotes

¹Frances E. Kobrin and Gerry E. Hendershot, "Do Family Ties Reduce Mortality? Evidence from the United States, 1966-1968", Journal of Marriage and the Family (November 1977):742.

²Effort is necessary to maintain friendships, especially non-geographic networks (communities). As the next chapters will further demonstrate, although generally in proximity at the time of initiation, structural changes create distance between the friends (and among the triad or network). On how the unique structure of the city effects friendship patterns, see: Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and edited by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), pp. 409-24; Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), pp. 161-207; Robert E. Park, "Migration and the Marginal Man", American Journal of Sociology 33 (May 1928):200-06, repr. The Pleasures of Sociology, ed. Lewis A. Coser (New York: New American Library, 1980), pp. 241-47; and Eugene Litwak and Ivan Szelenzi, "Primary Group Structures and Their Functions: Kin, Neighbors, and Friends", American Sociological Review 34 (August 1969):465-81. Unfortunately, few of the studies thus far on singles looked at singles in an urban setting. Cargan and Melko's study of singles is based on singles in Dayton, Ohio. See: Leonard Cargan and Matthew Melko, Singles: Myths and Realities (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982). There are a few exceptions to this, but those studies relied on convenience or snowball samples, and friendship patterns are not a major focus. See: Joyce R. Starr and Donald E. Carns, "Singles in the City", Society 9 (February 1972):43-8; Peter J. Stein, Single (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976); Margaret Adams, Single Blessedness (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), and Margaret Adams, "The Single Woman in Today's Society: A Reappraisal", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 41 (October 1971):776-86.

³Although the literature on the friendship patterns of the married often stresses whether it is the husband or wife's friends with whom the couple socializes, if a wife does not drop her friends, marriage represents a gain in social relations of potential intimacy, e.g. his friends and his kinship network. (It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to theorize about how those new relationships are supportive or destructive to the married woman.) Thus, the married woman's pool of intimate relationships is generally larger simply by taking on the status of wife. See: Marjorie Fisk Lowenthal and Clayton Haven, "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable", American Sociological Review, 33 (1968):20-30; Genevieve Knupfer, M.D.; Walter Clark, M.A.; and Robin Room, M.A., "The Mental Health of the Unmarried," American Journal of Psychiatry (February 1966):841-51; Talcott

Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States", American Anthropologist 45 (January-March 1943):22-38; Beth Hess, "Friendship" in Aging and Society: Volume 3 (A Sociology of Age Stratification), edited by Matilda White Riley, Marilyn Johnson, and Anne Foner (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), pp. 357-93; Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929); James H. Williams, "Close Friendship Relations of Housewives Residing in an Urban Community", Social Forces 36 (May 1958):358-62; Nicholas Babchuk and Alan P. Bates, "The Primary Relations of Middle-Class Couples: A Study in Male Dominance", American Sociological Review 28 (June 1963):377-84; Rita James Simon; Gail Crotts; and Linda Mahan, "An Empirical Note About Married Women and Their Friends", Social Forces 48 (June 1970):520-525; Nicholas Babchuk, "Primary Friends and Kin: A Study of the Associations of Middle Class Couples", Social Forces 43 (1965):483-93; and D. M. Toomey, "Conjugal Roles and Social Networks in an Urban Working Class Sample", Human Relations 24 (1971):417-31.

⁴The logic and approach to the data is as if this is a quantitative study, but with a smaller n. The statistical procedures that are followed are based on Zeisel and others' techniques for reason analysis. (See: Hans Zeisel, Say It With Figures, 5th ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1968, pp. 153-99). The numbers that appear throughout the data analysis and interpretation chapters are included to provide the reader with the numerical data on which this researcher based her hypotheses. My goal was to have the findings of this study, even though the n is small, presented in a format closer to a quantitative study, like Cargan and Melko's Singles based on an n of 400, than such qualitative studies as Liebow's Tally's Corner, Murray S. Davis' Intimate Relations (New York: Free Press, 1973) or Lillian Breslow Rubin's Worlds of Pain (New York: Basic Books, 1976). Although Gaudet's action analysis study on the role of radio relied on 1,000 interviews, Herzog's study of why people believed the Welles' broadcast about the invasion of Mars was based on only thirty interviews. See: Hazel Gaudet, "A Model for Assessing Changing in Voting Intention", pp. 428-38 and Herta Herzog, "Why Did People Believe in the 'Invasion from Mars'?", pp. 420-28 in The Language of Social Research, ed. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (New York: Free Press, 1955). (See further discussion of these studies in Appendix I, "Accounting Schemes and Study Design".)

⁵Simmel, Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 134-4, 127-9.

⁶Linda Thompson and Alexis J. Walker, "The Dyad as the Unit of Analysis: Conceptual and Methodological Issues", Journal of Marriage and the Family 44 (November 1982):891. Also see: Ted L. Huston and Elliot Robins, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Studying Close Relationships", Journal of Marriage and the Family 44 (November 1982):901-925 and Howard S. Becker and Ruth Useem, "Sociological Analysis of the Dyad", American Sociological Review 7 (1942):13.

⁷Simmel, Sociology of Georg Simmel, p. 123.

⁸Ibid., p. 125.

⁹Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: Free Press, 1951), p. 103. On friendship and affectivity, also see: Litwak and Szelenzi, "Primary Group Structures and Their Functions: Kin, Neighbors, and Friends", pp. 465-81.

¹⁰Simmel, Sociology of Georg Simmel, p. 152.

¹¹A. Paul Hare, Handbook of Small Group Research (Glencoe: Free Press, 1962), p. 229 repr. in Donald Light Jr. and Suzanne Keller, Sociology, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 185.

¹²Howard S. Becker, "Notes on the Concept of Commitment", American Journal of Sociology 66 (1960):37.

¹³On the side bets of marriage, see the references on marital dissolution in the previous chapters as well as: F. Ivan Nye, "Family Mini Theories as Special Instance of Choice and Exchange Theory", Journal of Marriage and the Family 42 (August 1980):483, Richard J. Udry, "Marital Alternatives and Marital Disruption", Journal of Marriage and the Family 43 (November 1981), pp. 896-7; and Robert S. Weiss, "The Emotional Impact of Marital Separation", Journal of Social Issues 32 (1976):135-45.

¹⁴Interviews with this sample substantiated how socially acceptable the maintenance of intimate relationships, including friendship, is in that the women were proud of their current friendships, embarrassed by their failed friendships and, except for the few "swinging singles", angry (or at best resigned) to their history of failed romantic relationships. See: Erving Goffman, Stigma (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963) and Simmel, Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 324-29.

¹⁵Light Jr. and Keller, Sociology, p. 185.

¹⁶Simmel, Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 135-6.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 146.

¹⁸Janet Lever, "Sex Differences in the Complexity of Children's Play", American Sociological Review 43 (August 1978):481. Also see: Donna Eder and Maureen T. Hallinan, "Sex Differences in Children's Friendships", American Sociological Review 43 (April 1978):237-50 and Alan Booth, "Sex and Social Participation", American Sociological Review 37 (April 1972):191.

¹⁹Lever, "Sex Differences in the Complexity of Children's Play", pp. 481-2.

²⁰References include: Rubin, Worlds of Pain and Claude S. Fischer and Stacey J. Oliner, "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle",

unpublished working paper. (Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, March 1980), pp. 1-20. See also: Mayta A. Caldwell and Letitia Anne Peplau, "Sex Differences in Same-Sex Friendship", manuscript of article to appear in Sex Roles (December 1979), pp. 1-22. In a nutshell, Caldwell and Peplau found, "Women showed a greater interest in emotional sharing. Men preferred activities to talking". Their sample were 49 female and 49 male undergraduates enrolled in an introductory psychology course at the University of California. Unfortunately not enough retrospective data was obtained from the sample for this dissertation to draw definitive conclusions, but from the interviews it seemed that the friendships of these women now living alone in an urban environment are quite different from what their friendships were like in suburban, town, or campus settings, such as the one from which Caldwell and Peplau drew their sample. The single urban women sample for this dissertation, with only a few exceptions, related the activities that they and their friends engage in, e.g. going to museums or to movies, playing squash, eating out, etc. (See the next chapter for a precise account of how many women in this sample do base their current closest friendship on talking on sharing confidences versus other reasons.)

²¹Sources on networks include: Charles Kadushin, "Frontiers of Research in Network Theory and Method", paper delivered at the AAAS Meetings in Houston, Texas, 5 January 1979, pp. 1-24; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On Social Structure", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 70 (1940):1-12 cited and quoted in J. A. Barnes, Social Networks (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1972), Module in Anthropology, No. 26, p. 1. (pp. 1-29); Interview with Charles Kadushin, CUNY Graduate Center, New York City, 21 March 1983; Lynne McCallister and Claude S. Fischer, "A Procedure for Surveying Personal Networks", Sociological Methods & Research 7 (November 1978):142; and Georg Simmel, Conflict & The Web of Group-Affiliations, trans. Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix (New York: Free Press, 1955), pp. 125-95.

²²Two respondents had networks when they lived out of town: Kate had a network of St. Louis transplants when she lived in Los Angeles, and Lisa had a network of high school friends with whom she had grown up in Philadelphia. Both women disassociated themselves with those networks since relocating to Manhattan.

²³In regard to the overlap of categories in terms of how the women met the friends that are in their networks, Deb, who has a "ladies' auxiliary" of her friends (two close and one best) met her current best friend, Margie, five years ago when they briefly worked together. Deb met her two other close friends -- the other members of the "ladies' auxiliary", through Margie: one friend went to journalism school with Margie and the other friend is Margie's husband's best friend's wife. (This friendship network was tallied under "through friends"). Furthermore, those who attend school together usually live near each other, although school-related networks were scored in school. Although Edda's New York network is based primarily on transplants from her native Texas,

("neighborhood"), the source of the network, which has grown from just two men (John and Carl), is really "through friends" (in which it was tallied).

²⁴By separating close or best friendships, or networks, from work, these women do not have to worry about the intimacy and openness necessary for friendship that might jeopardize their worker role. See: Peter K. Manning, "Social Groups and Social Structure" in Sociology: The Basic Concepts, edited by Edward Sagarin (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), pp. 188-209. (Also see the text and footnotes in the previous chapter on why the work setting encourages acquaintanceships, but discourages friendships, for this sample population.)

It's interesting that Niki the lawyer, who has a best friend triad with two other female lawyers with whom she works, even points out that the seriousness of the male lawyers, and their unwillingness to share confidences, makes them unappealing to her as friends. Niki says that she hopes to someday get married and does not take her job as seriously as the men seem to. Lisa, the waitress -- the only other woman in the sample with a close or best friend at work -- also does not take her job seriously.

²⁵See footnote 3 in this chapter for comments and references on marital status and friendship.

²⁶There are two exceptions to this friend dropping: Di, who has two friends in common with her Boston boyfriend, but it was through those mutual friends that the romantic pair met; and Agnes who says that she and her ex-boyfriend, who is still one of Agnes' close friends, created a network of their friends while they were dating.

²⁷See: Nicholas Babchuk and Alan P. Bates, "The Primary Relations of Middle-Class Couples: A Study in Male Dominance", American Sociological Review 28 (June 1963):377-84 and Nicholas Babchuk, "Primary Friends and Kin: A Study of the Association of Middle Class Couples", Social Forces 43 (1965):483-93.

²⁸See: Bernard C. Rosen and Carol S. Aneshensel, "The Chameleon Syndrom: A Social Psychological Dimension of the Female Sex Role", Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):605-17.

²⁹References on dyadic withdrawal include: Catherine A. Surra, "From Courtship to Marriage: Patterns of Interaction between Partners and their Social Networks", paper presented at the International Conference on Personal Relationships, Wisconsin, July 1982; Robert A. Lewis, "A Developmental Framework for the Analysis of Premarital Dyadic Formation", Family Process 11 (March 1972):17-48; and Mark Krain, "A Definition of Dyadic Boundaries and an Empirical Study of Boundary Establishment in Courtship", International Journal of Sociology 7 (Jan.-June 1977):107-23.

³⁰It should be noted that questions about kin relations

(other than background information) were not in the original interview schedule for this study. The realization that kin relations were far more important than prior research on singles had indicated was an outgrowth of the actual interviews. Beginning with the very first respondent, information about a kin relation who was like a friend was volunteered.

³¹Norman Shulman, "Life-Cycle Variations in Patterns of Close Relationships", Journal of Marriage and the Family 37 (November 1975):815.

³²Jenny de Jong-Gierveld, "Loneliness and the Degree of Intimacy in Personal Relationships", paper presented at the First International Conference on Personal Relationships, Madison, Wisconsin, July 1982, p. 5.

³³Mary Gordon, Final Payments (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978).

³⁴The fourteen closest friends that might be at all like the "great friend" relations discussed in Chapter 2 fail to conform to the "great friend" type because they are: (1) rarely idealized and romanticized, (2) for all but two women, non-exclusive, and for the remaining two, those dyads are casual, not close or best, friendships, (3) not all between members of the same sex -- for three of the women, the dyad is with a male, (4) not based on an appreciation of their friend's 'essence', except in five cases, (5) reciprocal in the desire to be friends, but exactly what is exchanged may not be; (6) not in competition with marriage and the family since all of these closest friend dyads are living with someone or married; and (7) in one case the closest "friend" dyad is a cousin.

³⁵The friendships of this sample are generally closer to the "modern man" approach to friendship than they are to the "great friend" approach because: (1) they are viewed realistically; (2) they are not necessarily an equal exchange; (3) more than 50% are not dyadic; (4) they need not be between members of the same sex; and (5) they are not necessarily threatening to other romantic relationships. As this chapter has noted, some of the women have cultivated a pseudo-"great friend" relation within a triad or a network -- e.g. Di and Susan are best friends in a triad that includes their close friend Leslie.

³⁶On conflict in all intimate relationships, see: Simmel, Conflict & The Web of Group-Affiliations, pp. 13-123. As Simmel notes: "...The strongest love can stand a blow most easily, and hence it does not even occur to it, as is characteristic of a weaker one, to fear that the consequences of such a blow cannot be faced, and must therefore be avoided by all means". (p. 47)

³⁷On the chameleon effect, see footnote 28 in this chapter.

³⁸Barnes cites Phil Mayer's work on urban migration that,

Barnes says, "shows how relations with rural kinsmen may be perceived as so morally binding that they remain valid despite infrequent communication". (J. A. Barnes, Social Networks, p. 17.) This chapter has tried to show what relationships might account for the social integration that, as Chapter 1 noted, Durkheim perceived to be high for unmarried women (compared to their unmarried male counterparts). See: Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1952), pp. 180-95, 257-60, 269.

³⁹Kobrin and Hendershot, "Do Family Ties Reduce Mortality? Evidence from the United States, 1966-1968", p. 742.

⁴⁰Lever, "Sex Differences in the Complexity of Children's Play", p. 481. See also: Fischer and Oliner, "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle" and Caldwell and Peplau, "Sex Differences in Same-Sex Friendship", pp. 1-22.

⁴¹On gender differences in friendship patterns, see text and footnotes in Chapter 2 as well as footnotes 18 and 40 in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6

FRIENDSHIPS: INITIATION

Weber observed: "The subjective meaning need not necessarily be the same for all the parties who are mutually oriented in a given social relationship, there need not in this sense be 'reciprocity.' 'Friendship',...on one side, may well be faced with an entirely different attitude on the other."¹ As noted in Chapters 4 and 5, Weber's insight is true for this sample, to a point; what is shared may be unequal, but, for this sample as a whole (100%), the wish to become (and remain) friends must be shared. As will be shown in this and later chapters, these single women do have married friends, and those friendships have a different subjective meaning for those friends according to marital/dating status. In other instances as well, what is shared may be unequal, as when there are two best friends and one close friend all participating in a friendship triad of varying levels of intimacy, or as Kate says, "All my friends leave it up to me to be the one to pick up the phone." Still, the wish to become, and remain, friends is shared by Kate and her friends, as it has to be for the rest of the sample. This shared wish to initiate, and maintain, a friendship should be kept in mind in this and the next chapters; thus, the first reason for initiating (and maintaining) a friendship is the shared desired to do so. (The

wish to end a friendship, for this sample, was never mutual; that either the respondent or the former friend wished to end the friendship, and did, reinforces Simmel's insight that it takes two to form a friendship dyad, but only one to end it.)²

With that overall orientation in mind, based on the accounting schemes devised for this dissertation (see Appendix I for discussion of schemes), reason analysis was applied to the elicited data to determine the second major reason each of the respondents initiated their current closest friendship.³ Examples throughout this chapter will show that, for the majority of this sample (85%), the respondent's socialized expectations about friendship was the most frequent reason for initiating her current closest friendship. For the others, the reasons for initiating a friendship were the future friend's attributes (7%), or the situational context of the meeting (7%). (The chapter on friendship dissolution will show that a friendship may dissolve if the respondent's socialized expectations about friendship change, and the choice of the friend is reevaluated in a negative light.)

In general, the development of an acquaintanceship into a friendship means that a relationship has become particularistic, rather than universalistic, diffuse, rather than specific, or, as Agnes put it, "... it goes beyond social function down to one on one." For these specific single women, lacking a family of procreation and living away from their family of orientation,⁴ friendship represents a chance at community, in the broad of the term, as Nisbet states:

...The word [community] encompasses all forms of relationship which are characterized by a high degree of

personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion, and continuity in time. Community is founded on man conceived in his wholeness rather than in one or another of the roles, taken separately, that he may hold in a social order.⁵

Figure 6

Reasons for Initiating Current Closest Friendship

(in numbers)

Primary Reason

- I. Shared desire for friendship (27)

Secondary Reason

- I. Respondent's orientation (23)

- A.*Friendship expectations (23)

- 1. Companionship (11)

- a. Do things with (6)

- b. Talk to (5)

- 2. Shared interests (7)

- 3. Emotional support (5)

- II.Future Friend's Attributes (2)

- A. Attributes that are different from respondent (2)

- III.Situational context of meeting (2)

- A. Proximity (2)

*Friendship expectations is also dependent on the attributes of the friend, i.e. the friend has the attributes which meet the respondent's expectations.

Friendship Expectations

For most of this sample (85%) the major reason for the initiation of their current closest friendship was the respondent's orientation, specifically her friendship expectations (which the current closest friend fulfilled).⁶ Within the general category of friendship expectations, there were three major reasons for initiating the friendship --

1. companionship (40%)
2. shared interests (26%)
3. emotional support (19%)

Companionship

This reason has the most number of cases for initiating the current closest friendship -- 11 or 40%. There are two distinct subcategories within companionship, namely:

Do things together (22%)

Talk to (18%)

The women for whom the reason for initiating their current closest friendship was "do things together" versus those for whom it was "someone to talk to" are distinct types of women; those reasons will, therefore, be discussed separately.

Someone to Do Things With

Those women whose closest current friendship was initiated because of their friendship expectation that a friend is someone to do things with -- Edda, Judy, Eve, Bev, Lois, and Agnes -- are "doers". All these women have medium to very high activity levels (2 to 4).⁷ That they initiated their current closest friendship

on the basis of doing things together is consistent with the "doing" jobs and lifestyles that these women have. Lois' media sales job necessitates being on the road in a five-state area for about half of her time; Agnes has an active "doing" job as an executive recruiter, and she also parties a great deal for work and social reasons; Edda is in advertising and is out practically every night of the week; Bev goes out almost every night, is a pediatric nurse, and attends night school for her second master's degree. Judy has only a medium activity level, although it was high enough for her to get her MBA at night for 5 years while still holding down a high-level full-time job (although not high enough, by her own admission, to keep up her friendships or her social life during the period).

The average income for this group of "doers" is \$36,000 -- \$11,000 higher than the average income for the sample as a whole. The average age for these women is 30, which is the same as for the entire sample. The educational level of this group is high in that all these women have at least a college degree, and three of the six women have a master's degree. Four of the six women were born in New York City or on Long Island; the other two are from far away states (Texas and North Carolina).

Being accessible, and having enough discretionary income to do things together, are important for these friendships initiated because of having someone to do things with. Agnes and Lois, who earn \$58,000 and \$70,000, respectively, point out that they could not have a closest friend whose income was too low to spend \$100 on a dinner and a show, or to fly off to the Caribbean for a weekend.

In describing why she initiated her friendship with Cindy, Agnes notes some of the activities that they initially did, and do, together:

She's someone to party with....We usually go out looking for guys....We go to a bar down on Van Dam Street...We go to places where we know we're going to see people that we know anyway.

Except for Judy, who gets together most often with her sister, all of these women have one or more triadic or network relationships, within which most (75%) of these closest current friendships are included. Those types of friendship patterns would increase their chances of always having a friend with whom they can do things with. Edda has the largest network, in which her closest friend Bill participates, which includes a base of fourteen men and women; Eve has numerous triads and networks stemming from her various school, neighborhood, and sports activities; Bev has a New York network of four which does not include Joan, although Bev has a triadic friendship with Joan and Joan's husband; Lois has one or more triads, including one that has her best friend Lucinda in it; and Agnes has her Fire Island network, which includes her current best friend Cindy.

For all these women except Bev -- whose girlfriend Joan was already married when they became friends -- these friends are all single (since, it would be predicted, single friends would be more available for them to do things). Five of the six respondents in the "do things together" category had not had a date for six months prior to the interview, although Eve says she's had occasional dates with someone that she doubts she will see much longer.

The following quotes from the interview with Bev show how being

able to do things with Joan elevated their acquaintanceship to a friendship. Bev explains:

We met in 1969 when I was a sophomore. We were in the same sorority house and I got to know her in that way. In college I thought she was the most naive and the most aggravating person. Talkative. Joan wasn't 'cool.'

Bev graduated and lost contact with Joan for the next five years. Then, in 1974, Bev "followed" the man she had been dating to a town in North Carolina. By sheer coincidence, Bev's boyfriend turned out to be the best friend of Joan's husband. Bev explains what happened as doing things with Joan helped turn an acquaintance she disliked into a friend that "gives me a lift every time I see her":

We were living in different circumstances [in 1974]... and life just was not as frivolous as it had been in college. I had discovered that I'm not as concerned about what people's status is as I was in college... Because my boyfriend and Joan's husband were good friends, Joan and I started seeing more and more of each other, and I realized that she had some wonderful qualities that I had overlooked. I discovered that she's a very genuine person, very sensitive, very emphathetic, and now I have almost more respect for her than for any of my other friends.

Figure 7 takes the general model of a relationship (see Figure 4 in Chapter 4) and depicts how Bev's specific close friendship with Joan began, and developed, from an acquaintanceship.

Figure 7

Model of a Close Friendship from a Shared Situation

SHARED SITUATION

(1969 - college sorority sisters)

ACQUAINTANCESHIP (based on formal role relation)

Bev has no wish for friendship

No contact - intentional

CHANGES

Bev's values change

Joan marries

Bev gets boyfriend

SHARED SITUATION

(1974 - Bev moves to new town where Joan now lives)

(Bev's boyfriend is Joan's husband's best friend)

ACQUAINTANCESHIP (Utilitarian)

REESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONSHIP ON DIFFERENT BASIS

FRIENDSHIP BASED ON DOING THINGS TOGETHER

Strong tie

Active/Close (While still in North Carolina)

Passive/Close (Since Bev moved to New York in 1978)

(Bev sees Joan when Bev visits her parents)

For this group of "do things together" friendships, unless the friend is still accessible to the respondent, the friendship tends to decline in frequency of contact. Although still considered important friends, more accessible friends (or kin) become necessary to supplement those distant ties. The closest friends of Agnes, Lois, and Edda live in Manhattan, and are able to do things with them. The closest friendships of Eve, Judy, and Bev were initiated more than ten years ago; they are still important to the respondents, although they have more frequency of contact with new friends (or kin) in proximity, with whom they can now more easily do things. Eve has casual friends that she has met through the block association and her computer programming classes; Judy has her sister; Bev has a New York network of former college friends who have also relocated from North Carolina.

Someone to Talk to

For five respondents -- Kate, Rose, Sara, Nora, and Niki -- having someone to talk to was the key reason within the general category of respondent's orientation (friendship expectations) that accounts for the initiation of their current closest friendship. Rose describes how her current closest friendship with Erika began twelve years ago, at the office where they were both working, because Erika was someone to talk to:

I got this secretarial job for a four thousand dollar cut at a real estate firm. You have never seen such a bunch of tacky lower class women in your life. I didn't have a single friend in the place except Erika. We [Erika and I] were both very aloof and we stayed away from all of it. Finally we were getting very friendly. That was twelve years ago, and we've been good friends ever since.

Sara describes how important it is for her to have someone she can talk to. Sara's current closest friend is Henry, her boyfriend of ten years with whom she has had a platonic friendship for the last two: "We usually talk about things that are on my mind, and on their mind, while we do the activities". Kate has known her current closest friend from back home in St. Louis since 1973; they only became close when they both found themselves in New York for the past year. Kate describes the frequency of their conversations: "In the last year, we've become inseparable. We talk everyday on the phone at least once, or twice, or sometimes three times."

Compared to the women who initiated their closest friendship because it was someone to do things with -- the "doers" -- these women, who initiated their closest friendship because it was someone to talk to -- the "talkers" -- have a lower educational level. Although the "talkers" include one woman with a law degree and one with a college degree, the three other "talkers" have only a high school diploma. Two of these five "talkers" say that they feel a family member is like a friend, although those two women are from out-of-town (Missouri and Vermont) and since they left home, those close family members are less available to them. The others do not report close family interaction, even though those family members live in or near New York City. It is possible that having someone to talk to, and for all but Nora that someone is in proximity, substitutes for having a close family member with whom they can talk. The average age of the "talkers" is 33, three years older than the average age for the "doers", or the sample as a whole; their average income is \$30,000, \$6,000 less than the "doers".

Shared Interests

Those women -- Lee, Gwen, Gail, Deb, Eli, Meg, and Vera -- for whom shared interests was the major reason for initiating their current closest friendship (26% of the sample) are also women who spoke about more recent, albeit less intimate, friendships more reflective of how their interests have changed. Thus Lee, who is 37, says that Jean, whom she befriended in her late teens when they were both college students in Holland, is her oldest and closest friend. Lee also has her more recent, but less intimate friends, whom Lee has met since 1980, when she started taking computer programming classes at NYU. Lee describes what interests she shared with Jean at the time they initiated their friendship:

Jean studied a language. She studied spanish. I studied a language, french. We were in the same sorority....We'd go to concerts together or we'd usually get drinks. When I dropped out of university in Holland and moved to another city in Holand, she moved too, and she also dropped out of university.

Meg's closest friend is April, whom Meg met in high school and with whom Meg shared interests at that time. Meg explains:

She was just part of the network. There were about ten of us and I guess it was just a question of April and I always were more inclined to get into the car and drive into the city [from Long Island]. We'd talk about the day we moved into the city and the jobs we'd get...When we went away to college, April and I, when I came home on vacations, we'd go into the city to concerts and stuff.

At the time Vera met her current closest friend Bonnie they were both teaching the learning disabled. In the one-and-a-half years till they became friends, Vera and Bonnie went shopping, out to dinner, and to ballgames. (Now they go jogging before work, even though Vera has become a stockbroker.)

It may be recalled that five out of the six friendships of the "doers" are with other singles; in the shared interest group, the marital status of the friends is the reverse -- 6 of these 7 closest friends are married (5) or living with someone (1); only one is single. It may be interpreted that friendships initiated because of shared interests can withstand the status change of marriage since in five of these six cases of shared interest friendships, the romantic attachment occurred well after the friendship had been initiated. The specific shared interests are usually unrelated to being attached or unattached; a romantic partner might, however, reduce the need for someone to "do things with".

For the "sharers", the average age is 30; the average income is \$22,000. Two women have a high school diploma, four have a college degree, and one has an MSW. Except for Gwen, who is a secretary, this group has a high concentration of creative occupations with three of the seven women in writing-related jobs. Gwen grew up in Brooklyn and Meg is from Long Island; the others are from nearby states (New Jersey and Connecticut - 3), North Carolina (1), and Holland (1).

Emotional Support

For Sue, Pat, Di, Lisa, and Lil, the major reason they initiated their current closest friendship was because their friend fulfilled their friendship expectation for emotional support. Di says that her friendship with her closest friend Susan began the year after they were randomly-chosen college roommates "when we really realized how close we were and how much we could share together". Lisa says that her current closest friendship with Yoko,

whom she has worked with for six months, began three months after their meeting, when Lisa beared her "entire soul" to Yoko and Yoko responded by telling Lisa about her failing marriage. As Lisa says: "Misery loves company...You think it [marital problems] only happens to you, and it's kind of nice to know that you're not alone."

Lil and Lisa are the only women in this group -- the "emotional supporters" -- for whom a nuclear family member (Lil's mother, Lisa's sister and mother) is like a friend. (It is interesting that, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, Lisa and her mother had not been on speaking terms for seven months prior to the interview. It was within that time period that Lisa befriended Yoko, Lisa's first close friend since she disassociated herself with her high school network some five years before.) It is possible that for this group, therefore, these friendships were initiated because the future friend was seen as someone who would provide what they were lacking from their family, or, in Lil and Lisa's cases, provide more of the same. Pat, for example, strongly believes that being an only child has caused her to look to friends for emotional support:

I think being an only child has had a big influence. I have very strong friendships. I think I've adopted people as family members, and my friends are closer, because I don't have sisters and brothers.

The average age of the "emotional supporters" group is 27 (compared to the average age of 30, for the sample as a whole, for the "doers", for the "shared interests", and 33 for the "talkers"). The only other group that has as young an age is the group that based its friendship on proximity, for which the average age is 24. The average income for the "emotional supporters" is \$17,200,

compared to \$36,000 for the "doers" and \$25,000 for the entire sample. The fathers of these "emotional supporters" were white-collar workers (3), working class (1), or a manufacturer (1). Three of the five women have been touched by divorce: Pat's parents are divorce; Lisa is separated from her husband of a few months; and Di's aunt is divorced, a "scandal" to her family, as Di put it. Sue is not on speaking terms with her only sibling and Lil's brother, who is twelve years older, stayed behind in South Africa when Lil and the rest of her family moved to New Jersey when Lil was nine.

These friendships initiated because of emotional support are more frequently described as uneven in their course than are the other friendships based on doing things together, talking, shared interests (as well as the future friend's attributes or proximity). Five of the six women say these friendships based on emotional support have been uneven; Pat says she and Claudia have even come to physical blows. For the entire sample, only seven women described their current closest friendship as uneven, for the others it was even or very even, and five of those seven women are in this "emotional support" group.

The friendships in this group are closer to the "great friend" friendships described by Cicero, Bacon, and Ralph Waldo Emerson,⁸ and least like the differentiated friendships that Simmel predicted all that were possible for modern man.⁹ Except for Lisa, who says she has severed ties with all her high school friends because they hadn't grown up to her satisfaction, and whose current closest friend was befriended within the last six months, these friendships based on emotional support, although stormy, have long histories:

Lil's dates back to the age of nine, Pat's dates back to sixth grade, Sue has known her current closest friend since she was nineteen, and Di's dates back to college.

As "great friend" as these friendships based on emotional support seem to be, none are completely dyadic. Pat's best friend Claudia is also part of a network of some twelve women that Pat has kept up with from their boarding school days together in Texas; Sue's best friendship with Marilyn has expanded to include some four other friends of Sue's, Marilyn's, and Marilyn's live-in romantic partner; Di's best friendship with Susan includes their close friend Leslie; Lisa's close friendship with Yoko includes a close friend triad with Tina, another co-worker; and Lil's close friendship with Irene includes a network of other women with whom they both attended college.

Because these friendships were based on emotional support, a change in dating or marital status is seen as competition with the friendship (since the boyfriend or spouse reduces that woman's need for emotional support from her friend). Successful resolution of that change in the friendship, marked by an ability to talk about those situations shared by all the "emotional supporters", is also the longterm strength of these friendships. Lil, who has been unattached for most of her twenty-eight years, says about Irene, who is still her best friend although Irene's marriage in their senior year of college changed their friendship:

After she met her husband, the friendship was sort of pushed aside. She was no longer there, we were no longer as close. We no longer had as much in common as we once had. I think although I never admitted it to myself, I think that was very traumatic to me to lose that, to suddenly not have Irene there....She will always be there on a certain level. She will

not always be there in the closest terms in terms of needing someone if you were just falling apart and just needed someone to come and help pull things back together.

As noted before, friendships based on "shared interests" are less threatened by changes in marital status than friendships based on emotional support. The strength of these emotional support friendships, however, has thus far enabled them to survive those temporary or permanent changes. As Di, who now has a boyfriend, says about her current closest friend Susan, who does not:

We've talked about my relationship with Rich [her boyfriend]. She'll say sometimes it's hard to hear. She's not jealous of me but for that kind of a relationship. I think that's what's so good about this friendship, that we can share. She can tell me right out. [Since I've been going to Boston to visit Rich] I've been feel more guilty about Susan [because I don't have as much time to call or go to visit her].

Future Friend's Attributes

Only 7% of the sample -- Nan and Lucy -- initiated their current closest friendship because of the attributes of their future friend (rather than fulfillment of their own friendship expectations). Four months after Nan met her future friend Liz at a singing event, Nan called Liz to "do a gig"; then Nan really "pushed for it [the friendship]". Nan's reason was that Liz, whom Nan, three years later, considers to be one of her two best friends, was someone that Nan wanted to be like -- "extremely out of the mainstream." As Nan explains:

About a month after I met Liz, I said to myself, 'I want to be her best friend.' She sang just the way I wanted to sing. She was very vivacious. She reminded me of something I always wanted to look like myself...

Lucy's reason was that Wayne, with whom Lucy lived for five years from the ages of twenty-five to thirty, and with whom she has had no romantic involvement for ten years, has money, which he gives to Lucy when she's needs it for clothing or for fixing her car. Lucy says: "The closest I have to a best friend is Wayne, because I trust him with my life...I don't want to see him anymore [romantically], but every time I'm totally up the creek, he's the one I call. I came back to New York this winter. I didn't have a winter coat. I didn't have any money. He spent five hundred dollars on me. He bought me a purse, he bought me a coat."

Nan and Lucy are in the older age range of the sample -- 36 and 40, respectively (with an average age of 38). Nan was married for a few years and divorced ten years ago, about the same time that Lucy's five year live-in relationship with Wayne ended. Nan is an elementary school teacher with a master's degree who earns \$28,000 a year; Lucy is a high school graduate who works as a temporary fulltime secretary, and earns \$13,000 a year. Both live in studio apartments, although Lucy's is on the basement level in a decaying walk-up; Nan's is in one of the luxury high rise.

What is striking about these two women, whose major reason for initiating their current closest friendship was the attributes of their future friend, is that they both have very poor self-images. They both express a strong dislike for their physical appearances; Lucy, because she feels she looks old at forty and has lost her sex appeal; Nan because she is overweight and unattractive. Lucy's reclusive behavior is more than just a high need for alone time; she seems to be "housebound" and chronically depressed. Lucy explains

that she decided she should never have children because of what happened to her dog:

I decided I didn't want a kid when I was fifteen until I got my own head straightened out. I had a dog. I was treating my dog the way my mother treated me and I decided that if I had a child, I would do the same thing to a child that I was doing to that dog. I took the dog out for a walk and let it off the leash. It got hit by a car. I was hysterical for the first time in my life then. I was heartbroken. It didn't matter what I did to that dog. He'd come home, he loved me.

Nan's self-esteem is also low and she is convinced that she and her current best friend Liz have shared a "past life". Nan also believes in astrology, tarot cards, as well as several of the trendy cult movement philosophies.

Both of these women express their frustration at the passage of time and that they do not have a man, although Lucy seems convinced that she never wanted children anyway. Nan is soured on relationships because of her parents' bad marriage -- her father also abused her -- her sister's current divorce, and her own divorce ten years ago. Neither woman is currently dating; Lucy describes her need for a romantic relationship as medium and Nan describes her need as very high. Neither wants to marry, but both would like to be living with someone in an ideal romantic relationship.

Lucy has become involved with yoga enthusiasts in the past year, going away to weekend retreats; Nan has been involved in various eastern philosophy movements, such as one she calls her "New Age" phase. Although they are not her best friends, Nan also has numerous ex-boyfriends who are current close or casual friends.

In both cases it is the respondent who was the "mover" in the friendship or, as Nan says, "I really pushed for it". Listening to their descriptions of these current closest friendships, one has the

distinct feeling that the relationship may be more on the respondent's side. Although Nan says, "If I needed one friend in the world, it would be Liz", one wonders if Liz would say the same thing. Similarly, one wonders how Wayne, Lucy's ex-boyfriend, feels about Lucy's phone calls and her demands for attention and money even though the romantic part of their relationship ended ten years ago. (Lucy talks about her fantasy that she will get Wayne's money when he dies, even though he is not her lover anymore, he is only about forty, and in good health.) Although Lucy says Wayne is her closest friend, she does not describe an understanding between them or shared interests, just the past romance that supposedly justifies the financial demands that Wayne meets.

Situational Context of Meeting: Proximity

The two women for whom the situational context of the meeting (proximity) was the primary reason for initiating the friendship -- Emma and Claire -- represent 7% of the sample. What is distinctive about these two women is that: a) they are also the only women who express a general preference for male friends, although neither currently has any; b) they both express a distrust of women; c) they both have the least number of friends (0 best friends; 0 close friends; 2 casual friends compared to the mean for the sample of 1 best friend, 4 close friends, and 9 casual friends); d) they both have a low need for friends e) they both think of their mothers as a close friend; f) the closest friend they both currently have of all types (best, close, casual) is a casual friend; g) because this casual friendship was initially based on proximity, now that the friend is no longer in proximity -- Emma is no longer attending the

college classes with her casual friend Louise, and Claire moved four blocks away from the apartment building in which she and her casual friend Carol had lived -- the friendships have diminished in frequency of contact; g) they are both in their early twenties; h) they are both Catholic; i) they have both been living in Manhattan for 4-5 years; j) Emma is from Long Island and Claire is from upstate New York; k) neither maintains friendships from high school although both have casual friends or acquaintances based on hometown proximity whom they call up and/or see when they go home to visit their parents; l) both women would like to have more friends; and m) they both blame their inability to have a greater number of friends, or past failed friendships, on the friends, rather than on themselves.

There are also differences between Claire and Emma. Although both women would like more friends, Emma is far more dependent on work-related acquaintances (going out to dinner with them after work) than is Claire. Emma also feels that because she invests her free time in her fiance, whom she was planning the following Spring, when she would join him in Hong Kong, she does not have the time, or interest, to cultivate friendships. Emma earns \$24,500, graduated from college, does not belong to any organizations, her only "hobby" is working out at a gym to stay fit, knew she wanted a career in banking while still in college, and is satisfied with herself and her career. Emma has never really been without a boyfriend, Claire's only romantic relationship so far was the a six-month affair that she had with someone who lived in her last apartment, and who ended their romance only a few weeks before the interview

took place. Claire dropped out of college after two years; she earns \$13,000 as a secretary and doesn't have any longterm career plans, although she may go back to college. Claire belongs to three organizations, and she plays several musical instruments. Claire has had two best friendships that ended; Emma has had one casual friendship with a former roommate that ended. Emma's parents are happily married; Claire's mother was divorced four times (including a remarriage to Claire's father that ended in a second divorce).

Some of Emma's comments that indicate her preference for men as friends are:

I've found men to be better friends. More openness and more honesty among men than there is among women. There's no competition. I just found men easier to talk to. Women are more reserved. They're brought up so that there are certain things that you're not supposed to say or do. Men haven't been brought up that way. I was brought up more liberally than any of my friends. I feel more comfortable relating to men.

Claire expressed her preferences in this way:

There was a time when I wasn't getting along with my boyfriend and she [Claire's former best friend] seemed happy about it, and then we worked things out, and I said, 'Well, we're talking again,' and she was almost disappointed. It seems to happen more with women [being jealous of a friend's happiness] than with men. I don't know if it's true or not, but that's the way I look at it....

Because their current closest friendships were initiated because of proximity, the friendships are divided into two clear stages, with the second stage corresponding to the loss of proximity. Interestingly, the difference in proximity is not a move from New York to California but instead, in Emma's case, the difference between being in classes together and living some thirty blocks away. In Claire's case, as noted before, the proximity shift was from the same apartment building to another building a mere four

blocks away.

Of all the reasons for initiating a friendship, for this sample, proximity is the weakest one in terms of maintaining that friendship. Compared to the length of time friendships that were based on such reasons as shared interests or having someone to do things with have endured for the rest of the sample, the duration of these proximity friendships is relatively short, only four or two years, and the intensity is weak, only casual (not close or best) friendships.

Summary for Entire Sample

At this point, I want to recall the Selman/Jacquette developmental model of friendship, presented in Chapter 2, that showed how friendship changed as the child/adolescent matured.¹¹ I want to add to that model the concept of the reasons for initiating a friendship viewed developmentally with proximity at the low end of the developmental spectrum, followed by emotional support, with companionship and shared interests at the higher end. (Emotional support may be interpreted as a reason for initiating a friendship more typical of the adolescent, who sees the future friend as a surrogate parent.)¹² The future friend's attributes, although chronologically at the other end, really complete the circle in that those women for whom that is the key reason for initiating their current closest friendship are opportunistic, reflecting a "feed me" attitude toward friendship more in keeping with a three-year-old who wants to play with the friend who has nice toys.¹³

For this sample of young working single women, the reasons for initiating a friendship are in keeping with the chronology of the

Selman/Jacquette model with the youngest women basing their friendships on proximity, the second youngest group basing it on emotional support, the next chronological group basing it on shared interests or doing things together, the next group basing it on talking, and the oldest, but emotionally most immature group, basing it on the future friend's attributes. (The older age for the "talkers" may reflect the more traditional view of female friendships as "talking", not "doing", relationships.)¹⁴

Figure 8

Reordering of Reasons by Age
for Initiating Current Closest Friendship

CATEGORY	AVERAGE AGE
Proximity	24
Emotional support	27
Shared interests	30
Doing things together	30
Talking	33
*Friend's attributes	38

*As noted before, these women have an arrested development and describe behavior patterns that are outside the range of acceptable, even neurotic, behavior. Both are borderline personalities in that 40-year-old Lucy is chronically depressed and unable to support herself. Nan says that she and Liz have known each other in a "past life".

Figure 9

DECISION TREE MODEL I

Major Reasons for Initiating Current Closest Friendship

PRIMARY REASON

Shared wish for friendship

S E C O N D A R Y R E A S O N

Respondent's orientation/
Friendship expectations (85%)

Friend's attributes/
Different from respondent (7%)

Situational context of meeting/
Proximity (7%)

Figure 10

DECISION TREE MODEL II

Secondary Reason for Initiating Current Close Friendship

Within Friendship Expectations (85%)

COMPANIONSHIP (40%)

Do things together (22%)

Someone to talk to (18%)

SHARED INTERESTS (26%)

EMOTIONAL SUPPORT (18%)

As was noted in Chapter 2, the "Like Attracts Like" theory assumes that friendships are between those who: (1) like each other; (2) share similar values; (3) have similar personalities; (4) live near each other; (5) are the same age; and (6) are the same sex.¹⁵ This chapter on why the respondents initiated their current closest friendship began by stating that, for the entire sample (100%), the first maxim of the "Like Attracts Like" theory -- a shared wish to be friends, or that the friends like each other -- is true.

Based on this sample, the fourth maxim of the "Like Attracts Like" theory is also true -- at the time of initiation, all the friends (100%) were in proximity. As noted in the previous chapter,

the ways that the respondents in this sample first met their current closest friend are: school (41%), work (22%), through someone else (19%), neighborhood (15%), or an activity (4%).¹⁶ Not only were 100% of the women in proximity with their friend at the time the friendship was initiated, but 11% were college roommates or living together in other (short-term) settings; an additional 15% had lived together before the friendship was initiated; and another 11% later lived together. Therefore, for 37% of this sample, the current closest friendship included prior or future living-together proximity.

It is interesting that only two current closest friendships were initiated in work settings (7%). As noted in Chapters 4 and 5, this might be explained by the fact that the intimacy of a closest friend might threaten the respondent's need to save "face", as Goffman called it, in work settings.¹⁷ Acquaintanceships begun at school, or at a summer home, may become friendships less threatening to a woman's "face" than those initiated at work, or on the Block, situations which are considered longterm, or even permanent, by this single, self-supporting, working population.

The fifth maxim of the "Like Attracts Like" theory -- that friends are the same age -- is also true for this sample. Although for only 48% of the current closest friendships are the friends the exact same age, the age range for all these current closest friendships is within ten years, with 26% younger and 26% older than the respondent. None of the current closest friends are more than 6 years younger (the range of younger friends is from 1 to 6 years younger, or a mean of 3 years younger) or 9 years older (the range

of older friends is from 1 to 9 years older, or a mean of 4 years older).¹⁸

There is, therefore, a confirmation of maxims 1, 4, and 5 of the "Like Attracts Like" Theory. However, the elicited data for this sample points to a reevaluation of the generalized views about friendship that are expressed in maxims 2, 3, and 6. Based on the elicited data for this sample, the second maxim of the "Like Attracts Like" theory -- that friends share similar values -- is only true for 40% of the women. For the remaining 60%, at the time the friendship was initiated, there were disparities in values between the respondent and her current closest friend.¹⁹

For maxim 3 -- have similar personalities -- for this sample, although all the women mentioned traits that they shared with their friend, at the time of initiation, 70% of the women also cited distinct personality differences.²⁰ Pat, Lisa, and Sue's comments are typical of this blend of personality similarities and differences. Pat describes how she and Claudia, her current closest friend whom she met while in boarding school in Texas and who now lives in Washington, D.C., are similar and dissimilar:

We're very different in certain ways...Physically [Claudia was] incredibly beautiful. [Pat is not.] I still always feel that. She's intelligent... fascinating ... always entertaining.. sweet and wonderful...very compassionate, very open-minded. She's interested in a lot of different things. She's really stubborn and I'm really stubborn...She was raised in the same church.

Claudia always loved horses. She likes sports.... plays tennis. She's outdoorsey. I painted a lot when I was in school, and I was locked up in the art studio; she would be playing tennis and jogging. She's much more physical than I am. I'm more mental I guess.... she comes from a much more affluent family....

Lisa also talks about how it is the differences, and similarities, in their personalities that motivated Lisa to initiate her friendship with Yoko:

Yoko has a problem talking to people. [Lisa does not]. She's real quiet. We sat up until about six o'clock with me talking nonstop about my entire life. At ten to six, I turned around and I said, 'I have had diarrhea of the mouth and you haven't said a f--- word. I don't know who you are or where you come from and I've beared my entire soul. Can you give me just a little something?'

And she quietly started to say, 'I'm married and my husband' and all this stuff...

[Lisa is American; Yoko is Japanese.] They [the Japanese] have something that the Americans of my generation don't have. They are honest, they have integrity, when they make a promise, they keep it.

Sue says about her current closest friend Marilyn, whom Sue has known for eighteen years but whom she has considered a best friend only in the last two:

Marilyn's more intelligent than a feeling person, and I'm more a feeling person than an intelligent person.

Maxim 6 of the "Like Attracts Like" theory -- are the same sex -- is true for 89% of the sample; for three women (Edda, Sara, and Lucy), however, their current closest friendship is with someone of the opposite sex.

This chapter, therefore, "tested" the maxims about background variables of the "Like Attracts Like" theory for a sample of young urban working women who live alone. It also sought to go beyond that "theory" by providing specific categories of reasons why the current closest friendship was initiated, as well as the distribution of cases for those reasons.

The next chapter will look at the reasons that these women have maintained these current closest friendships. Friendship

maintenance is an area of friendship research that lacks even a theory such as "Like Attracts Like" against which those findings could be pitted.²¹

Footnotes

¹Max Weber, Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology, vol. 1, edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, translated by Ephraim Fischhoff, et. al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 27.

²Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, translated, edited, and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), pp. 123-4.

³The method used to determine the reasons for the initiation, maintenance, or dissolution of the current closest or most important failed friendships of the respondents follows the guidelines for reason analysis provided by David L. Sills in "A Sociologist Looks at Motivation" in The Citizen Volunteer, edited by Nathan E. Cohen (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), pp. 70-93; Charles Kadushin, "Reason Analysis" in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan Company & Free Press, 1968), pp. 338-43; and Hans Zeisel in Say It With Figures, 5th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 177-99. As Zeisel notes: "The assessment of such relative importance [of a reason] may come from the actor-respondent himself, or from an observer, or from the analyst.... Sometimes the very sequence of the interview will reveal something about the relevance of reasons. On issues which are discussed without embarrassment, the first reason given may be the most important one. On touchy issues the reverse might be true. An observer or the analyst (who is something like a hearsay observer) may often do better in evaluating the relative importance of reasons than the actor himself." (pp. 177-8)

Thus, for this study, an assessment for reasons was made in each and every case based on: the elicited data, in response to specific questions, such as "Why did you initiate your friendship with x"; the sequence in which statements were made; other information provided by the respondent during the interview, about the specific friendship and/or her needs and wants; an analysis and interpretation of the interviewee, and the data, that took into account the researcher's review of the literature, pilot study interviews and questionnaires, and practical and theoretical knowledge.

A few examples of how reason analysis was employed are:

(1) When Lee was asked about her closest current friend Jean, a married woman who now lives in Los Angeles but whom Lee met when they were both university students in Holland -- "Why do you like her?" -- Lee replied (why she initiated the friendship): "We did have similar interests..." (The rest of that quotation appears in the text of this chapter.) This information was coded as "Shared interests" as the reason for initiating this friendship.

(2) Edda's primary reason for maintaining her friendship with Bill, one of her two current closest friends, was determined from specific statements about Bill as well as a long discussion, after

the formal interview had ended, about the importance Edda's mother had always placed on people, and fun, rather than on being serious or having relationships out of duty. Previously Edda had related numerous practical jokes that Bill had played on her. In general, what "goes throughout" her friendships is "humor" and "shrewd wit". Based on Edda's comments about what she values in a friend in general, as well as her descriptions of Bill and their friendship, the reason she maintains their friendship was determined to be because of "fulfillment of her friendship expectations" in that he is "fun".

(3) Pat talks about what qualities her current closest friend Claudia had, and has, that caused Pat to select her for a close friend out of the others with whom they attended boarding school. Throughout the interview, Pat mentioned how being an only child has made friendship that much more important to her, and that Claudia is like a sister to her. The reason she initiated the friendship was "emotional support"; it is maintained because Claudia is "close" to Pat.

(4) Lucy never says anything positive about her friendship with Wayne, her ex-boyfriend. Throughout the interview the point that Lucy makes is that it is Wayne's money that keeps her in a friendship that she should probably end. For this friendship, the reason for initiating it was assessed to be the future friend's attributes, e.g. his money.

(For further discussion of reason analysis, see Appendix I, "Accounting Schemes and Study Design".)

It is acknowledged that these determinations about the initiation, maintenance, and/or dissolution of the friendships of this sample are based upon the comments, and observations, of only one member of a friendship dyad, triad, or network. For practical and ethical reasons, as discussed in Chapter 3 and the Appendices, more than one friend could be not interviewed. Whether or not interviewing only one friend (or member of any intimate dyad) is disadvantageous is one of the considerations of the November 1982 issue of Journal of Marriage and the Family, which is devoted to these methodological issues. See: "Methodology: The Other Side of Caring", guest editors Lynne Harrington Brown and Jeannie S. Kidwell, Journal of Marriage and the Family, 44 (November 1982):827-1072.

⁴Informal in-person interviews in New York City in October 1982 with two single working women in their early thirties reveal how different the situation is for those women who are still living with their family of orientation. These Catholic women, who are cousins, were both born in Italy, moved with their families to North America during their early teens; both their families now live in Brooklyn. One woman had just returned to her parents' home after a lonely five-month period living in her own apartment in Tennessee where she had relocated for job-related reasons. She missed New York and decided to come back East. "You can move out if you move to Tennessee," she told me her father said to her, "but if you want to live in Manhattan or New Jersey, we wash our hands of you." The other cousin confirmed that view. For these foreign-born women, the

only way to move out without being "disowned" is by getting married, or moving far away.

⁵Robert A. Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), p. 47.

⁶To avoid confusion, major or key will be used for the secondary reason for initiating the friendship (rather than secondary) although it has been noted that for all the women the primary reason for initiating these friendships is that the friends like each other (there is a shared wish to do so).

⁷For examples of the way that respondents were coded for such attributes as need for alone time, need for friends, need for romantic partner, activity level, etc., see Appendix III.

⁸See Chapter 2 for a discussion of, and references on, the "great friend" view of friendship.

⁹Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 325-6.

¹⁰The idea that paired couples withdraw from friendship relations, or, at the very least, reevaluate those friendships, is the thesis of a number of sociologists, such as: Peter L. Berger and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality", Diogenes, 45 (1964):1-25; Mark Krain, "A Definition of Dyadic Boundaries and an Empirical Study of Boundary Establishment in Courtship", International Journal of Sociology of the Family 7 (Jan-June 1977):107-23; and Catherine Surra, "From Courtship to Marriage: Patterns of Interaction between Partners and their Social Networks", paper presented at the International Conference on Personal Relationships, Madison, Wisconsin, July 18-23, 1982 (65-page typescript).

¹¹See Chapter 2, Figure 1, for the Selman/Jacquette models of the developmental view of friendship stages. See also; Robert L. Selman and Anne P. Selman, "Children's ideas About Friendship: A New Theory", Psychology Today, October 1979, pp. 71-2, 74, 79-80, 114 and Wenda J. Dickens and Daniel Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-cycle" in Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships, ed. Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 95-6.

¹²On the concept of the surrogate parent function that friendships can serve during adolescence, see: Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson, The Adolescent Experience (New York: Wiley), pp. 174-228 and Harry Stack Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (New York: Norton, 1953).

¹³On the friendships of children, see text and footnotes in Chapter 2 including these references: Willard W. Hartup, "Children and their friends", pp. 130-70 in Issues in Childhood Development, ed. H. McGurk (London: Methuen, 1978); Edward Mueller and Jeffrey Brenner, "The Origins of Social Skills and Interaction among

Playgroup Toddlers", Child Development 48 (1977):854-61; Glenn Collins, "Friendship: A Fact of Life for Toddlers, Too", New York Times, December 15, 1980, p. B16; Edward Mueller and Adrienne Rich, "Clustering and Socially-Directed Behaviors in a Playgroup of 1-Yr-Old Boys", J. Child Psychol. Psychiat. 17 (1976):316-22; Carol O. Eckerman and Judith L. Whatley, "Toys and Social Interaction between Infant Peers", Child Development 48 (1977):1645-56; and Jeffrey Brenner and Edward Mueller, "Shared Meaning in Boy Toddlers' Peer Relations", Child Development 53 (1982):380-91.

¹⁴See Chapters 1 and 2 for text, and references, about the traditional view about female friendships, namely that women were incapable of friendship and (once considered capable) those friendships they did have were more talk than activities. Because this dissertation sampled urban single working women it is not possible to make definitive statements about the friendships of other groups. Pilot and additional informal interviews with older married persons, however, did point to a more differentiated, rather than a great friend, approach to friendship. One man in his late sixties, for example, whose best friend since childhood lived closeby until a few years ago when he and his wife moved to California, does not wish to cultivate a more convenient new best friendship. Like a married journalist in his fifties whom I also interviewed, work- and activity-related acquaintanceships seem to be enough for them. (Spouse and parenting responsibilities provide all the intimacy that these men seem to want.) Thus, these two older single women in this sample, whose current closest friendship was formed because of what the future friend could do for them, might reflect an "older" view about friendship, despite their lack of a spouse or parenting obligations. This issue, of course, would need data from across the life cycle to reach any formidable findings.

¹⁵On "Like Attracts Like" theory see text and footnotes in Chapter 2, as well as: Ellen Berscheid and Elaine Hatfield Walster, Interpersonal Attraction (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969) and Steven W. Duck, Personal Relationships and Personal Constructs (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973).

¹⁶Percentages total 101% due to rounding.

¹⁷Erving Goffman, Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1967), p. 25.

¹⁸John La Gaipa notes one study, conducted with Brian Bigelow, that found ten year olds were more likely to name as their best friend someone who was one level beyond their own than were eight year olds. The researchers offer a few possible explanations, such as "the Piagetian notion of equilibration", but none of those explanations seem to fit this single population under study as possible reasons for the older and younger friendships of this sample. See: John J. La Gaipa, "Children's Friendships" in Developing Personal Relationships, edited by Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour (New York: Academic Press, 1981), p. 167.

¹⁹The values that 56% of the respondents perceived their friends to have had at the time of the initiation of their friendship that differed from the respondents' included:

- selfishness
- stealing
- no career goals (2)
- dependent on a man
- indecisiveness
- motivated by money
- not motivated by money
- boycraziness
- supersensible
- scientific orientation
- need to be in the limelight
- negative feelings about singleness
- likes to go shopping all day
- work before people
- EST disciple

²⁰At the time of initiation, the personality traits that 70% of the sample said their friend had (that differed from them) included:
their friends:

- more outgoing
- more flamboyant
- naive
- "180 degrees from me"
- more self-centered
- science-oriented
- more dependent (2)
- more organized
- not as feeling
- shy
- more success-oriented
- night worker without a structure
- chronic lateness
- complainer

²¹A review of the literature reveals that social scientists, until recently, concentrated on friendship initiation; more recently, there has been a focus on friendship dissolution. The literature on friendship maintenance, however, is scant. There have been numerous popular and literary studies of longstanding friendships, such as Pound/Ford: The Story of a Literary Friendship, edited by Brita Lindberg-Seyersted (New York: New Directions, 1982), but not a wealth of literature in the social sciences. An exception to this is Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Friendship and Social Values in a Suburban Community: An Exploratory Study", The Pacific Sociological Review 2 (Spring 1959):3-10. (A parallel situation exists in the marriage literature in that dating and courtship and divorce have, until recently, received more scholarly attention than the maintenance of marriages.) The emphasis on friendship dissolution and divorce is perhaps explained by the prior "social

problems" orientation of sociology. (Professor Michael E. Brown, "A History of American Sociology", Lecture, City University of New York Graduate School and University Center, 9 March 1983). The emphasis on friendship initiation, and dating and courtship, may be that both processes are in the interest of forming a relation considered beneficial to society and its members, e.g. friendship and marriage. In addition, the time span for initiation is generally shorter than for maintenance, and more dramatic. For additional references on friendship (and marriage) initiation and dissolution, see text and footnotes in Chapters 1-4.

CHAPTER 7

FRIENDSHIPS: MAINTENANCE

In comparing the structures and functions of kin, neighbors, and friends, Litwak and Szelenyi point out how friendships are unique and why they are difficult to maintain:

In some ways, these [friendship peer groups] are structurally the weakest ties of all. They do not have the permanence of the kinship link or the face-to-face contact characterizing the neighborhood. Nevertheless, they are confronted with the very same pressure that both of these groups are faced with -- differential mobility....Unlike the other two groups, the individual has more options in choosing his friends. We suggest that because of this greater choice, friendship ties have affectivity as their major base of strength. The question arises as to how much affectivity can survive breaks in face-to-face relationships. To some extent, the answer would be the same as for the kinship group, e.g. modern modes of communication. However, friendship ties may be much more vulnerable to breaks in face-to-face contact than kin groups, because there are no institutional pressures for permanence.¹

This chapter will show why, and how, this sample of young urban working women who live alone maintain their current closest friendship which, for 93% of the sample, lacks the proximity that was true when the friendship was initiated and, for 89% of the sample, is their most enduring non-kin intimate relationship.

Chapter 6 showed that for 100% of this sample, the primary reason for initiating their current closest friendship was a mutual

desire to be friends. For most of the sample (85%), the secondary reason that they initiated their current closest friendship was the respondent's orientation (friendship expectations). Those inside factors related to the respondent's belief that the future friend would provide her with companionship (someone to do things with, or to talk to), shared interests, or emotional support. Only two respondents initiated their current closest friendship because of an attribute of the future friend; only two respondents because of the situational context of the meeting (proximity).

An analysis of the data reveals that for 100% of the sample, the primary reason for maintaining their current closest friendship is the same reason it was initiated,² namely, a shared desire to continue being friends.³ As was pointed out in Chapters 4 and 5, this does not mean that what is exchanged is equal. (Sue says, "I used to overgive very often." Meg says, "April's always leaning on me.")

For the secondary reason [hereafter referred to as the "key" or "major" reason], the respondent's orientation, or fulfillment of her friendship expectations, is important for only two of the respondents. Furthermore, only two respondents maintain their current closest friendship because of the situational context of the friendship (proximity).

For the majority of the respondents (85%), the major reason that they maintain their current closest friendship is an attribute of the current closest friend. This is an important shift from the self (respondent's orientation), and the inside factors accounting

for friendship initiation, to the other (friend's attributes), and outside factors accounting for friendship maintenance. (Why this shift is so important will be emphasized in the next chapter on friendship dissolution. In that chapter, it will be shown that this shift in reasons -- from the respondent's friendship expectations for initiating the friendship to the friend's attributes, such as sharing confidences, or a shared history, for maintaining it -- did not always occur. Without that shift in reasons, structural or status changes, a loss of proximity, or precipitating [conflictual] incidents will cause the respondent or her friend to permanently rupture their optional relation.)

The friendships that are maintained because of the respondent's orientation, or the situational context of the friendship (proximity), are differentiated friendships; three out of four of those friendships have been maintained for only two to four years.⁴ It is in the second category of reasons for friendship maintenance, based on the friend's attributes, that the few "great friend" idealized and close friendships within this sample are found.⁵ As Pat says about Claudia, "We are like sisters", as Nora says about her best friend, "Marlene is a top friend", and as Rose says about her closest friend Erika, "She's like another sister". It is also in this category of reasons, the friend's attributes, that the friendships have been maintained longer. Fifteen of the 23 relationships (65%) date back to childhood (22%), high school or college (30%), or more than ten years, (13%), although 4 (17%) did not become friendships until the last two years.

Figure 11

Reasons for Maintaining Current Closest Friendship

(in numbers)

Primary Reason

- I. Shared desire to continue friendship (27)

Secondary Reason

- I. Respondent's orientation (2)

- A. Fulfillment of friendship expectations (2)

- II. Friend's attributes (23)

- A. Characteristics of friend (10)

- 1. Close (3)
 - 2. Shared interests (1)
 - 3. Someone to be like (5)
 - 4. Monetary assets (1)
 - 5. Shared history (6)

- B. Nature of exchange (7)

- 1. Activities (3)
 - 2. Confidences (4)

- III. Situational context of friendship (2)

- A. Proximity (2)

Fulfillment of friendship expectations (7%)

Edda and Gail are the two respondents who maintain their current closest friendship for this reason. Neither woman has a "best" friend; the friend that they spoke about in greatest detail is the closest of their five or six close friends. Both women have a high need for friends, and, when not working or dating, both spend their time with friends (rather than alone or on hobbies, as some of the women do). (See Appendix III for examples of how the sample was coded on need for friends and related attributes.)

Neither woman's current closest friendship is exclusively dyadic. Edda's friend Bill is part of Edda's New York City network (described in detail in Chapter 5). The reason Edda maintains her friendship with Bill is that Bill is fun, witty, and has a sense of humor. Gail's friend Stephanie is currently part of a triad that includes Stephanie's husband. Gail maintains her friendship with Stephanie because Stephanie is "ambitious and driven".

Both Edda and Gail are from out-of-town (Texas and Connecticut, respectively), both women are Christian (Greek Orthodox and Presbyterian, respectively), and both are college graduates working in creative fields (advertising and magazine publishing, respectively). Both women have a high activity level, and a low need for time alone. Edda is actively dating and Gail has a steady boyfriend. Neither woman is particularly close to a nuclear kin member. Both women have positive outlooks on life, extremely strong personalities, and they seem to be enjoying their single years. (Edda is twenty-four; Gail is thirty.) Neither woman belongs to any professional or social organizations, although they are both very

active at sports activities.

Both women volunteered information about their formative years that led them to value the expectations for a friend that their closest friend fulfills. For Edda, it was her mother's stress on having fun; for Gail, it was her father's workaholism.

There is a business-like quality to the current closest friendships discussed by Edda and Gail. Edda seems to "work at" having fun. Gail describes Stephanie, and Stephanie's new husband, as if they have applied for the job of "friend". Unlike the friendships maintained because of the sharing of confidences, Edda and Gail's friendships are more aware of a "presentation of self", and the need to manage information.⁶ As Edda says:

I might tell you [the interviewer] more than I would tell someone I know -- I know I would -- because you wouldn't know anyone [that I know].

Gail ended a blossoming friendship because that friend was fired from the magazine where they worked. By contrast, Gail's current closest friend Stephanie, who co-authored a well-regarded non-fiction book, is now a writer for a major Boston newspaper, a job that Gail admires. Stephanie's husband is also attending Harvard University Business School, a fact that appeals to Gail's "ambitious and driven" expectations. Although Gail says that it's a coincidence that she and Stephanie, whom she befriended when they were growing up in Connecticut, have had such matched career paths, it is not a coincidence that they are friends. Gail, like Edda, has only certain "types" for friends, e.g. someone who fulfills her friendship expectations.

Friend's Attributes (85%)

Characteristics of the friend

Closeness

The three women for whom the characteristic of their friend - being close - is the key reason for maintaining their current closest friendship are all twenty-six years old. All three friendships have a long history: Pat's goes back to boarding school; Eli's dates back to 7th grade, and Nora's dates back to college. These three women's friendships mirror the ideal type of the "great friend" in that the three friends that they describe are best friends who cannot easily be replaced. The emotional closeness with their best friends is reinforced by phone calls, or visits, even though these friends are no longer in proximity (Nora's best friend lives in California; Pat's best friend lives in Washington, D.C.; and Eli's best friend lives in New Jersey). Vacations together, visits three-to-four times a year, and monthly long distance phone calls are typical.

Because of the emotional closeness that typifies these friendships, all these respondents had to make adjustments about what they could expect from their friend when their best friend married, or starting cohabitating. As Pat says about Claudia:

I think the hardest thing was when she started being with him [her boyfriend]. When she had a problem with her family, she didn't have to, she didn't go to me, she went to him. He was there, and it's only natural whereas I didn't have another person. I gave my confidences to the same degree.

All three women have a medium activity level (2), and a high need for friends (3). The total number of friends of all types (best, close, and casual) for all three women is also high -- 23, on

average (compared to 14 for the entire sample). Nora and Eli are close to a family member. Pat says she is not, but she also says that she might have to move back to Texas to be near her divorced mother who lives alone. Pat, as noted before, is an only child who describes Claudia as the sibling she never had.

None of these three women had steady boyfriends at the time of the interview, although Nora ended a ten year romance three years before and Eli seems to have always been popular with men. Pat, who has never been very popular, seems resigned to a single lifestyle that relies on her girlfriends for closeness.

Shared interests

Deb, the only woman for whom the interests that she shares with her closest friend is the major reason for maintaining their friendship, is also in a unique situation in that her primary interest (fiction writing) is not how she earns her living. Deb works part-time in a public relations firm; the rest of the time, she is writing a novel. Deb's best friend Margie is a reporter for the New York Times. All Deb's other close friends are also journalists or writers, they all know each other, and they get together for their "ladies auxiliary". Deb, who does not reveal to her co-workers that she is a novelist, surrounds herself in her non-work hours with writing-related friendships. (Deb also belongs to an informal fiction writing workshop, although she says only one of the eight participants is more than an acquaintance.)

Deb and Margie met five years ago, when they both briefly worked at a magazine, but it is in the year since Deb returned from

New England, where she was obtaining her MFA in creative writing, that their friendship has intensified. Unlike those friendships maintained because of closeness, Margie's marriage to a businessman has had a minimal effect on their friendship since Margie's husband does not replace the shared interest in writing that Deb provides.

Someone I Want to Be Like

Lois, Bev, Lil, Nan, and Rose, the five women in this "be like" group of reasons for maintaining their current closest friendship, all volunteered the information that they have problems with men and are conflicted over whether or not they want children of their own. The closest friends that these women describe are, according to the respondents, either single and loving it, or married and loving it. That attitude is typical of the idealized way these "be like" friendships are viewed. One wonders how the friend, or the friendship, is perceived by the friend, or an outsider. Although all these women are successful in their diverse careers (nursing, book production, teaching, administration, and media sales), they all view their closest friend as more successful in the area of social relations. Nan and Lois' current closest friendships are relatively recent (3 and 2 years, respectively); their friends live in Manhattan, and there is weekly or biweekly face-to-face contact. For the other women, their friends, who were in proximity when the friendships were initiated, now are far enough away (Long Island, North Carolina, and Maryland) that contact is by phone or occasional in-person visits.

Only Lil, who says she thinks of her mother as her closest

friend, is close to a nuclear family kin member (although Rose has friendly kin relations with two of her cousins). Lil describes what qualities she admires in her closest friend Irene, with whom Lil has been best friends since they were nine years old:

Her life never comes apart from the seams. She just never breaks down....She always seems to have things sorted out. She had never really gone out with anybody before she met the guy she married and that worked out perfectly. The marriage is perfect and he's a doctor and they had a perfect baby and now they have a perfect house in Maryland.

The other women describe their closest friends in similar idealized terms: Bev says that her closest friend Joan has a perfect marriage, and Rose implies that her married friend Erika has the money and status that Rose would like. Nan admires the way that her best friend Liz is "out of the mainstream", earning her living from music (Nan is a teacher). Average-looking Lois admires the attractiveness and vivacity of her closest friend Lucinda, whom Lois says is "adorable".

Monetary Assets

Lucy, who is 40, is the oldest woman in the sample, and the only woman whose reason for maintaining her friendship with her closest friend is a materialistic one; Lucy's closest friend is her ex-boyfriend Wayne and it is his money that has kept Lucy friendly with him in the ten years since their five-year live-in relationship ended. (Monetary gain is the same reason that Lucy initiated their friendship.) As noted before, Lucy has an extremely poor self-image and few friends; she refers to herself as a reclusive neurotic. Lucy says: "I went through almost my entire life depressed." She did not express any guilt at using Wayne for his money.

Interestingly, the closest friend that Lucy says she has made since Wayne is a millionaire's daughter who was Lucy's boss when Lucy was living in California.

Shared history

The friendships for which a shared history with the friend (22%) is the major reason for maintaining the friendship are relationships that are longstanding (or of the longest duration for that respondent). These "shared history" women are either in their late thirties, and the friendship goes back to their late teens or early twenties (Gwen, Lee, or Sara), the women are between twenty-three and thirty, and the friendships date back to high school (Meg and Judy), or Emma, who is only twenty-three but her four-year friendship with her college classmate is the only friendship that Emma currently has.

In three cases, these "shared history" friendships were initiated because of shared interests. (The remaining three were initiated because of the respondent's orientation for companionship [2] or proximity [1].) Lee and Gwen's friendships seem remarkably stable; the friends do not share the same marital status or lifestyle but the friendship endures. Meg is questioning her friendship with April, whom Meg feels has been in an emotional rut for the last ten years.

Of these "shared history" women, two have current friendship networks of which their current closest friend is a part. None of the others have friendship networks of any kind; their friendships are now dyadic (although Lee's friend was once part of her sorority

network and Judy's friend was once part of a triad). Emma is engaged and Meg has a very active social life; none of the other women are dating.

Meg conveys the attitude of this "shared history" group in that maintaining this friendship is important despite changes that have occurred:

I still enjoy her [April's] company. I still want to see her, but I also enjoy the company of the people that I'm meeting now that are stronger [women]....Life changes. Things do change. You change jobs. You get married. You have kids. You move. You change careers. You fulfill some goals, and you make new ones. Life changes. And April is just stuck in the same thing, with the same people, in the same activities, that she's been doing for ten years.

Nature of the exchange

Activities

For the three women for whom the sharing of activities is the major reason for maintaining the friendship — Sue, Niki, and Vera — these friendships are all relatively recent (2, 1, and 3 years, respectively), although Sue has been acquainted with her closest friend since their late teens. As might be predicted, all three of these current closest friendships are with friends who are in proximity; sharing activities is facilitated. (Two years ago, Niki met her closest friend at the law firm where they are both still working.) Vera is the only one in this group who maintains friendships from her childhood days, although this was facilitated last year when her old friend got a job near Vera's Wall Street office.

All these women have competing close friendships. Their ages range from 27 to 32. None of the women are currently dating, and

they are all bothered about that. All three women have other best or close friends who are male, which is not true for the entire sample (but is true for the four women who base the maintenance of their current closest friendship on fulfillment of their friendship expectations or the situational context of the friendship).

Confidences

The four women for whom the key reason for maintaining their current closest friendship is the sharing of confidences -- Lisa, Di, Eve, and Agnes -- have all been touched by divorce, or the rupture of their nuclear family because of the early death of a parent. Lisa is separated, Di's aunt is divorced, Eve's parents are divorced, and Agnes's father died five years ago. The age range for these women is 25 to 30. As will be noted in the next chapter, all five women have had an important friendship that failed in a particularly bitter way because of a "betrayal".

All four women are Jewish and from the East Coast (Manhattan, Long Island, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn/New Jersey). Although these women could call or visit their family members more easily than those women from far away states, they are the ones for whom the sharing of confidences is the key reason for maintaining their closest friendships. (Only Lisa says that a nuclear family member is like a friend.)

All of these women rate their need for friends as high or very high. All these women are dating, but they all doubt their current romantic relationships will become permanent.

Only Di describes her current closest friend as "the" closest

friend; the other women have one or more friends whom they consider to be almost as close to them. Di describes the kinds of confidences that she shares with her best friend Susan, whom she met when they were attending the same college and who now lives in Baltimore:

We talk more about our romantic fantasies than I do with any other person. I think it was good that Susan could talk about being jealous, not of my relationship [with my boyfriend], but of that kind of relationship and she'll say that sometimes it's hard to hear and she says it's not that I don't want to, it's just that I have a hard time with it. She can tell me right out. That's part of the package. I didn't feel good that Susan was jealous, but to talk about it was good.

The Situational Context (Proximity)

Kate and Claire maintain their current closest friendship because of their friend's proximity; they both also report that the friendship is ending because the proximity is threatened. (Claire moved four blocks away from her neighbor/friend, and Kate's friend was to relocate to the Caribbean a month after the interview). Both women are Catholic, secretaries, and aspiring to careers in the arts (Kate as a producer of films and Claire as a musician). Neither woman has a longstanding close friendship, nor do they have current friendship networks. Both have a history of volatile friendship breakups. Both are close to a nuclear kin member and from out-of-town (Kate is from St. Louis and Claire is from upstate New York). Although both women talk about their inconsiderate friends, they show little insight into their own selfish behavior. Claire, for example, expressed disbelief that Carol, her former neighbor, whom Claire considers her closest current friend, had not called

since Claire had moved. (Claire, however, had not called Carol either.) Kate describes her current closest friendship in this way:

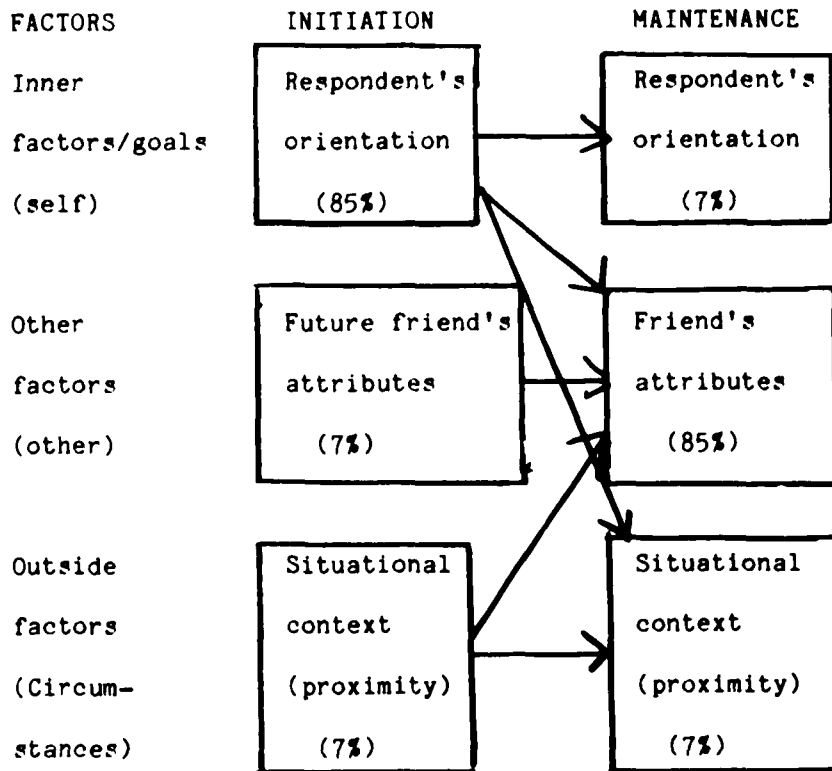
When we make each other mad, one of the things is that we can tell each other. We hurt each other, and cry, and then we laugh and giggle and work it out. We can hurt each other's feelings, but we will never walk away from it.

In spite of Kate's last statement, Kate has every intention of "walking away from it" when her friend leaves New York. For Claire and Kate, these current closest friendships highlight the precariousness of friendships maintained only because of proximity -- they end when the proximity ends.

Figures 12 and 13 summarize the key reasons that this sample population initiated and now maintain their current closest friendship. These charts also highlight the shift in reasons for friendship initiation and maintenance.

Figure 12

Why Closest Friendship Was Initiated and Is Maintained
(in percentages)*



*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding

Figure 13

Comparison of Reasons for Initiation and Maintenance
Of Current Closest Friendship

FACTORS	INITIATION	MAINTENANCE
INNER FACTORS/ GOALS (Self)	RESPONDENT'S ORIENTATION Friendship Expectations: Companionship: Do things Talk Shared interests Emotional support	RESPONDENT'S ORIENTATION Fulfillment of Friendship Expectations
OTHER FACTORS (Other)	FUTURE FRIEND'S ATTRIBUTES: Be like	FRIEND'S ATTRIBUTES: Characteristics: Close Shared interests Be like Monetary assets Shared history Exchange: Activities Confidences
OUTSIDE FACTORS (Circum- stances)	SITUATIONAL CONTEXT: Proximity	SITUATIONAL CONTEXT: Proximity

Summary for Entire Sample

As might be predicted from the reasons (for friendship maintenance), those current closest friendships that are maintained because of activities or proximity (18% of the sample), are between friends who are accessible. Those friendships are also relatively new (of 2 years duration, on average). Contact is, on average, 15 meetings, and 26 phone calls, per month (compared to an average of 5 meetings, and 11 phone calls, per month for the sample as a whole).

For the rest of the current closest friendships of this sample, proximity still must be taken into account since it effects frequency of contact. (Frequency of contact may not be the only, or the most reliable, measure of intimacy in friendship. It may, however, reflect the value of a friendship for a woman's social integration in that frequency of contact does tally the number of times a single woman living alone interacts with the friend with whom she says she is closest.)⁷ Di, for example, who speaks bi-weekly to her best friend Susan, who lives in Baltimore, is not necessarily less intimate with Susan than Agnes is with Cindy, Agnes' best friend who lives in Queens, and with whom Agnes speaks daily. If Di, who lives alone and whose boyfriend lives in Boston, does not, in addition to Susan, have other friends and acquaintances who are in proximity, Di, who has invested years in cultivating, and maintaining, her college friendships, that are now inconvenient, may feel less integrated than Lois, whose best friend Lucinda is a more recent friend (two years), but who lives closeby. (For this sample, other factors that complicate using frequency of contact as the sole measure of intimacy in a friendship include: access to a Watts

line, discounted airfare, business trips or family reunions facilitating out-of-town visits, and personal preferences about talking on the phone.)

Despite Litwak and Szelenyi's suggestion that modern means of communication and transportation no longer necessitate proximity for friendship contact, for all categories of reasons, in person meetings and phone contact is greater for those friends who live in Manhattan or the New York City area.⁸ Thus, for 85% of this sample population -- who base the maintenance of their current closest friendship on the attributes of that specific friend -- a frustrating fact about friendship emerges: the longer a friendship lasts, the more likely structural changes will physically separate the friends; even if intimacy increases, contact decreases. This phenomenon is directly opposite to the interaction that is expected for romantic relationships whereby the more intimate the romantic pair, the more likely frequency of contact will increase (and, in time, become daily and "permanent"). (See Appendix III for a chart that reorganizes the current closest friendships of this sample by reason for maintenance, proximity, and frequency of visits and phone calls.)

Therefore, in order for this sample population to maintain a friendship, the wish to continue it must be shared; it must also survive structural changes (moving away, changing jobs), and status changes (marrying, divorcing, moving up or moving down in one's career, parenting). For all but the most recent work-related friendships (Niki and Lisa), there have been one or more structural changes since respondents met these current closest friends that

have not ended those friendships. For example, Lee, who is 37, met her current closest friend Jean when they were both 18-year-old university students in Holland. Jean moved to Philadelphia, married a dentist, had children, and moved to California. Ten years ago, Lee became a stewardess, and moved to Manhattan. Although their contact has decreased to about three times a year -- they used to meet daily at college and then weekly after they both dropped out of school and moved to other cities in Holland -- Lee says their long distance friendship continues to be important to her. As noted in Chapter 5, however, Lee has had more contact in the last few years with Evelyn, a casual friend whom she met at NYU.

For the majority of this sample, since the closest friendship is maintained because of the attribute of that specific friend, structural changes per se are not obstacles to maintaining that friendship. If both members of the friendship pair wish to sustain a closest friendship, for this sample, neither circumstances nor distance will prevent it.⁹ Structural changes will, however, effect frequency of contact, necessitating those women effected by it to cultivate additional friends who are in proximity, or more accessible or, like Lee and Judy, channeling their need for friends into attending night school, or, like Emma and Kate, into a romantic relationship.

Having endured numerous structural changes, all the current closest friendships discussed in this chapter -- except the two maintained because of proximity, and which are in the process of ending -- could be considered tried-and-true. These tried-and-true friendships may be active or passive, depending upon the

participants' degree of commitment, proximity, need for friends, activity levels, and other pulls (relationships, activities, hobbies, etc.)

If it is an active tried-and-true friendship, there is a definite commitment by both friends to maintain or deepen their old tie; contact is a primary mutual concern. (Di goes to Baltimore just to see her old friend). By contrast, in passive tried-and-true friendships, contact is secondary; it happens because of other connecting situations or ties. (Bev sees Joan when Bev goes home to North Carolina to visit her parents; Joan happens to now live in the same town.) For this sample, because of the demands of their work role and heterosexual social activities, even if the tie is strong, most long distance tried-and-true friendships become passive ones. If the tie is weak, distance becomes the primary factor in rendering an active tried-and-true friendship passive.¹⁰

As was noted in Chapter 4, except for a few women with active inconvenient best friendships, this sample substitutes current convenient relationships (utilitarian acquaintanceships or newer friendships), rather than trying to actively maintain older, less convenient ones. Pat has passive tried-and-true casual friendships with some eleven friends back home in Texas since, unlike the rest of the sample, Pat writes, and receives, a steady flow of letters.

Except for the four women whose current closest friendship is based on the respondent's orientation or the situational context of the friendship, the respondents feel they can call on their current closest friend for help for any reason. (Conditioning about what one "should" ask a friend probably enters into this. Except for

Lucy, who maintains her current closest friendship for a monetary reason, none of the women have turned to, or would turn to, their friends for financial aid, although they all say they "could".)¹¹

In the last chapter we looked at how the current closest friendships of this sample compared to the six maxims of the "Like Attracts Like" theory.¹² What about the marital status and occupations of these current closest friendships, status traits that may have changed from the time that the friendship was initiated?

At the time that the friendship was initiated, 89% of the sample was matched on marital status (23 pairs were single, and 1 pair were separated). At the time of the interview, only 59% of the sample were matched with their friends on marital status (8 of the friends had married). (If cohabitating friends are included as marrieds, the percentage matched on marital status at the time of the interview drops to 44%.)

For this sample, marriage does have an effect on the maintenance of that friendship. If the marriage is a status change, the friendship is effected because a dyadic situation has become triadic.¹³ Furthermore, the married friend's rearrangement of time, lifestyle, and emotional attachments will also effect the preexisting friendship.¹⁴ Irene befriended Lil when they were nine. (Lil's family had moved to New Jersey from South Africa, and Lil was the "new kid on the block"). Their friendship endured Lil's move to another community; later they lived in the same dormitory at college. Senior year, Irene met her future husband. Lil describes what happened to their friendship after Irene met her husband, and the longterm effect it has had on Lil:

...Irene got married and moved to Arkansas. Until after that, I never really thought about it [our friendship]. I just always knew Irene was there. It was a nice secure thing. No matter what happened with my other friendships, there was always Irene, because she wasn't really part of any of the other networks.

I found in the process of this relationship with Perry [her ex-boyfriend] being in trouble, I'd come home and I'd dream about Irene.... because [after] she met her husband, the friendship was sort of pushed aside. Irene was no longer there. We were no longer as close. We no longer had as much in common as we once had.

I think, although I never admitted it to myself, that was very traumatic to me. And I wonder if because Perry has become sort of important to me, my best friend kind of thing, I wonder if I'm feeling the same loss that I felt then but I couldn't admit it. Because with a romantic relationship you're able to admit the loss, but with a friend, somehow it's not quite as acceptable, particularly as adults. 'I hate it that I don't have Irene anymore, and it's unfair, and why is she abandoning me'.

Deb has found that her best friendship with Margie, whom Deb met five years ago when they were both single, has changed because of Margie's marriage. Even though Deb considers Margie's husband a friend as well, Margie's change in living arrangements has effected their friendship, as Deb explains:

Certain times, because Margie's married, I don't want to impose on them in certain ways, and when I feel that they need time alone.

A consideration in the effect of marriage, or cohabitating, on a longstanding friendship is the interaction that the friend has with her friend's romantic partner. Lil says that she doesn't have any rapport with Irene's husband. By contrast, Gail, whose closest friend Stephanie's marriage has not adversely effected their friendship, says about Stephanie's husband, "I like him as much as I like her."

As the above examples have shown, the marriage of a friend has an impact on a preexisting friendship but, unlike the conclusions reached by Adams, that impact need not always be negative.¹⁵ For some, like Gwen, the impact has been a mild one; Gwen even counts her 37-year-old best friend's marriage last year as one of the high points of their eighteen year friendship. For others, like Lil, her best friend's marriage was traumatic. How the respondent gets along with the friend's romantic partner, and vice versa, are important as well as how the unmarried or unattached friend feels about her own singleness, and, if problems arise, whether or not the friends can talk about them. Furthermore, as noted before, the reason the friendship is maintained will have an effect. Lil's inability to achieve the marriage, and parenting roles, that Irene has already achieved deepens the schism in their childhood friendship since Lil has maintained that friendship because Irene was someone Lil wanted to be like. (They may become close again after Lil marries and has children; for now, Lil's more recent friends in New York are single "career" women.) Gwen, who has maintained her friendship with her best friend Maxine because of a shared history, absorbed Maxine's marriage as just another part of that history. Stephanie, whose friendship Gail has maintained because she fulfills Gail's friendship expectations of someone who is "ambitious and driven", fulfilled Gail's friendship expectations even more with her marriage for Stephanie now is someone who "has it all".

The occupations of the respondents and their current closest friends match for 18% of the sample. (Lisa and Niki, who befriended their current closest friend at their current jobs, are included in

this group.) Generally, friendships initiated during formative years, when career goals are vague, if present at all, led to a wider disparity in occupations later on. Niki, the lawyer, who has no close or best friends from pre-law school days, has only lawyers for friends. Emma, the trainee in a banking credit program, now has only acquaintances in banking, and Emma's only friend, whom she met at college, is a fulltime housewife. Pat, a secretary, met Claudia, her best friend, at boarding school back in Texas; Claudia now teaches horsebackriding to the handicapped.

An analysis and interpretation of the data reveals that what is at issue in friendship maintenance is not whether the friends have personality or value differences; as was pointed out in Chapter 6, these women claim to have been quite aware of those differences at the time that the friendships were initiated. As the next chapter on friendship dissolution will show, what is important is whether those differences adversely effect the friendship interaction. For example, Di says that her best friend Susan is "too hard on herself", but that does not directly hurt Di. Agnes says her best friend Cindy is too picky about the men she'll go out with, but that does not effect the good times they have together. (By contrast, when Agnes' former friend began living with the boy that Agnes had had a crush on -- and her friend denied she was even dating him when Agnes confronted her about it -- that did directly effect Agnes -- and the friendship ended.) Thus Meg, who has tolerated the emotional problems of her current best friend April for some ten years, is only now rethinking that friendship because Meg has new friendships, and attempts to include April have backfired.

Back in the 1950s, Robin Williams and fifteen graduate students did a study of the best friendships of an upper-middle class, suburban community in California.¹⁶ Based on the pattern variables in the theory of action, friendships were categorized into two types: Type I friendships had "a relatively high degree of affective involvement, diffuseness, collectivity orientation, and norms of affectivity rather than neutrality"; Type II friendships had "low rankings on these variables".¹⁷ Based on the elicited data, for this sample of urban single women, acquaintanceships and most work-related casual friendships fit into Williams' Type II classification. Best or close friendships, especially those that are maintained over a long period of time, or are no longer in proximity, are Type I friendships. Six of the women in the sample -- 22% -- maintain a Type II friendship as their current closest friendship. Seven women (26%) have one or more Type I friendships with longstanding friends who now live far away; these respondents have not yet found supplementary friends of this type in proximity. Thus for 48% of this sample of young urban working women who live alone, a Type I "affective" friendship is currently unavailable for consistent face-to-face contact. (Two of those women have steady boyfriends; five are not dating.)

However, for 52% of this sample population, a Type I friendship is currently available to them for face-to-face contact. Although none of those women said that friendship "substitutes" for an intimate romantic relationship, all the women said that close friendships are important to them, especially when they are not dating. Deb, whose best friend Margie lives in New York, says,

"When you're going out with someone all the time, there's just no time. I have more time [now] because I haven't been out and I'm not married. It also means that friends do fulfill a certain emotional role."

Deb also points out one of the differences that she sees between friendship and romance: "There's no sexual involvement. You don't have to live with them. Any kind of personal quirk you can certainly take for an afternoon or a night because you don't have to wake up [to them]. It's completely different, so you're not as demanding."

If conflict is a measure of intimacy, and the strength of a relationship, as Simmel perceived it to be,¹⁸ Deb is not alone in perceiving of friendship as a less demanding (and less conflictual) relationship than romantic intimacy (which, for most of these women, has been characterized by conflict and disappointment). This conclusion is reflected in the fact that respondents say that the course of their current closest friendships has been even (17) or very even (3); seven women say that their friendships have been uneven. (As the next chapter will demonstrate, conflict played a role in almost all of the important failed friendships discussed in detail by the respondents.)

In summary, friendship maintenance is tied to the reason for initiating, and maintaining, the friendship as well as the degree of commitment of the friendship pair. Johnson, in summarizing the research on commitment, pinpointed these three components to it:

1. satisfaction with the relationship itself
2. definition of self in terms of the relationship

3. an internalized sense of moral obligation to the maintenance of the relationship.¹⁹

For this sample, certain circumstances increase the moral obligation to the maintenance of the relationship, e.g. working together or sharing friends (triads, networks). Friendships are maintained if there is "a satisfaction with the relationship itself", to use Johnson's phrase. With so little interaction for non-work out-of-town friendships, dissatisfaction is generally caused by a precipitating incident (as the next chapter will demonstrate). For current closest friendships that are in proximity (excluding those based solely on proximity, which are ending, or those based at work), only one woman, Edda, has daily face-to-face contact with her friend who works as a night waiter three blocks from Edda's apartment. For the others, the maximum number of face-to-face meetings is twice a week, with the average once a week. The maximum number of phone calls is daily, with an average of three a week. For the sample as a whole, few friendships are maintained because of a commitment based on a "definition of self in terms of the relationship".²⁰ This fact, however, may reflect the society in which these women live as much as it reflects on their personalities; little status is attached to friendship (in contrast to marital or work roles).²¹ Thus, closest friends must continue to share a perception of each other that is as validating, successful, and effective as Chambliss proposed.²²

There lies one of the keys to friendship maintenance for, as McCall has noted, "attachments to others are formed as the individual's identities evolve and change".²³ In order to

maintain a friendship, there must be either the time, and interest, in renewing the information about the ways that the friends have changed or, if that is unlikely because of distance or the demands of other role relations, the friendship must have been based on accurate knowledge about each other's personalities and values. In Chapter 6 it was shown that these women were aware of personality and value differences at the time that these current closest friendships were initiated. Certainly the fact that it took, on average, three years from meeting to becoming friends aided the information evaluation process. In that way, friendship maintenance is facilitated in spite of later changes in proximity, occupation, or marital status. Initiating a friendship too quickly (and hence failing to have enough information and shared experiences upon which to make those evaluations), or maintaining a friendship because of proximity, rather than the attributes of that specific friend, will eventually cause its end, as the next chapter will show in greater detail.²⁴

What this chapter on friendship maintenance has also tried to show is that, for this sample of young urban working women who live alone, a multiplicity of relationships, highlighted in Chapter 5, are necessary for her social integration. One closest friend cannot -- and does not -- provide the frequency of contact (or definition of self in terms of the relationship) that could be provided by a spouse.²⁵ Furthermore, the sociological view of friendship, expounded by Suttles, among others -- that friendship can offer more exposure of one's true self than any other role -- is not true for this sample.²⁶ It is true that a few women have a "great friend"

relation of sorts -- Di's best friend Susan, Meg's best friend April, Nora's best friend Marlene, and Pat's best friend Claudia.²⁷ Those friendships, however, must be supplemented with others because: (a) most friends are now separated, and contact is infrequent, or (b) a structural change, such as marriage, causes those friends to be less accessible.

An analysis of the closest friendships of this sample confirms that it is the combination of work-related acquaintances, dyadic, triadic, or network friendships of varying levels of intimacy (best, close, or casual), and kin relations that have to be considered as a possible explanation for the social integration of most of this sample.²⁸ Indeed, the maintenance of the closest current friendships of this sample population of young urban working women actually gives support to Simmel's prediction that modern man is only capable of differentiated friendships.²⁹ Simmel's view, however, must be modified for this sample: some may only be capable of differentiated friendships (like Lucy, Emma, or Kate), but others (like Nora, Eve, or Di), even if capable of "great friend" relations, are thwarted in its attainment because of circumstances, as well as the socialized expectation that they fulfill their need for intimacy through a "great romance" relation.³⁰ (That the inability to initiate, and maintain, one "great friend" may be linked to this sample's inability to initiate, and maintain, one "great romance", will be probed in the conclusion to this dissertation.)

Footnotes

¹Eugene Litwak and Ivan Szelenyi, "Primary Group Structures and Their Functions: Kin, Neighbors, and Friends", American Sociological Review 34 (August 1969):469. On the kinship structure of the United States, also see: Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States", American Anthropologist 45 (January-March 1943):22-38.

²For a discussion of, and references on, how reasons were assessed for friendship maintenance, refer to footnote 3 in the previous chapter.

³Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and edited by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), pp. 123-4.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 325-6.

⁵For references and discussion of the "great friend" type of friendship, see text and footnotes in Chapters 2 and 5.

⁶I am using the concept of information management as is usually associated with Goffman's writing. See: Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 1973) and Erving Goffman, Stigma (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963).

⁷Based upon the knowledge that I gained by actually executing this study, if I were to redo this study, or conduct a new study with single males or married couples, I would ask detailed questions about two distinct "classes" of friends, as I now conceptualize them, e.g. the closest friend in proximity and the closest friend living out-of-town.

⁸Litwak and Szelenyi, "Primary Group Structures and Their Functions: Kin, Neighbors, and Friends", p. 465. Graham A. Allan cautions against using frequency of contact as the only measure of intimacy in friendship. See: Graham A. Allen, A Sociology of Friendship and Kinship (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), pp. 5, 17-18. On the natural progression, including consistency of face-to-face contact, in a romantic relationship, see: Murray S. Davis, Intimate Relations (New York: Free Press, 1973).

Based on pilot and additional interviews with subjects other than the sample population, as well as interviews with sociologists, this decrease in face-to-face contact for longstanding friendships does seem to be specific to this single urban population of women between the ages of twenty and forty. For example, a sociologist

related how in her mother's senior citizens apartment building, widowed women, who have been friends for life although they may have been physically separated for decades, become roommates or neighbors. (Interview with anonymous woman, New York City, February 1983.) Although there are no statistics on its prevalence, communes of singles who begin living together because they are close friends are known to exist throughout the United States today, not just on college campuses. Except for occasional vacations together, however, for this sample population major structural changes occur in spite of the effect on the current closest friendship. (Even the few exceptions, such as Lee's becoming a stewardess and moving to the United States partly because of her friend Jean, are "cancelled out" when, soon afterwards, Jean married, moved to Philadelphia, and became a fulltime housewife. Lee, however, stayed in New York.)

⁹One is again reminded of Simmel's insight that two are necessary to form a dyad, but only one to end it. Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 123-4.

¹⁰Although Judy's current closest friend is only as far away as Brooklyn, the tie is so weak that the distance seems further for Judy than California seems to Nora, whose tie to her best friend Marlene is a strong one.

¹¹This finding is similar to the finding of studies of friendship and kin relations for the elderly, namely that it is to friends that the elderly turn to sustain "a person's sense of usefulness and self-esteem more effectively than filial relationships". (Zena Smith Blau, Old Age in a Changing Society, New York: Franklin Watts, 1973, p. 67) It is to the family, however, that the elderly turn for monetary aid or in times of ill health. [Irving Rosow, Socialization to Old Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) and Greg Arling, "The Elderly Widow and Her Family, Neighbors and Friends", Journal of Marriage and the Family, (November 1976), p. 758.]

¹²See: Theodore M. Newcomb, "The Prediction of Interpersonal Attraction", American Psychologist 11 (November 1956):575-86 and Wenda J. Dickens and Daniel Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-cycle" in Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships, chapter 4, ed. by Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 91-122. For a discussion of the "Like Attracts Like" theory of friendship, see text and footnotes in Chapters 2 and 5.

¹³The introduction of the spouse to the preexisting friendship dyad may enhance, or disrupt, the dyad just as the birth of the first child permanently alters the marriage dyad. See: Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 135, 138-9, and 146.

¹⁴On the effect of marriage on friendship, see: Peter Berger and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality", Diogenes, 45 (1964):1-25. On the effect of the romantic dyad on

other social relations, see: Mark Krain, "A Definition of Dyadic Boundaries and an Empirical Study of Boundary Establishment in Courtship", International Journal of Sociology of the Family 7 (Jan.-June 1977):107-23.

¹⁵Margaret Adams, "The Single Woman in Today's Society", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 41 (October 1971):776-86.

¹⁶Robin M. Williams, "Friendship and Social Values in a Suburban Community: An Exploratory Study." The Pacific Sociological Review 2 (1959):3.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁸Georg Simmel, Conflict & The Web of Group-Affiliations, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix (New York: Free Press, 1955), p. 47.

¹⁹Michael P. Johnson, "Personal and Structural Commitment: Sources of Consistency in the Development of Relationships." Paper presented at pre-conference theory and methods workshop, Annual Meetings of the National Council on Family Relations, Philadelphia, 1978, p. 3.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹As Blau says: "People are expected to fulfill the demands of work and family life, and the judgment of their success or failure as adults rests primarily on the attainment and maintenance of these roles, not on the number of friends they have or on the quality of their friendships". (Blau, Old Age in a Changing Society, p. 60) For references on the status of women tied to marriage or to work, see: Laurie Davidson and Laura Kramer Gordon, The Sociology of Gender (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Company, 1979) and Jessie Bernard, The Future of Marriage (New York: Bantam Books, 1973).

²²William J. Chambliss, "The Selection of Friends", Social Forces (1965):370.

²³George J. McCall, "The Social Organization of Relationships" in McCall, McCall, Denzin, Suttles, and Kurth, Social Relationships (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), p. 7.

²⁴Hans Zeisel, Say It With Figures, 5th edition (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), pp. 159-57.

²⁵On the woman's definition of self by a spouse see comments and references in footnote 21.

²⁶For the sociological view of friendship, see Chapter 2, including: Gerald D. Suttles, "Friendship as a Social Institution" in Social Relationships (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), p. 95.

²⁷On the "great friend" type of friendship, see text and footnotes in Chapters 2, 5, and 6.

²⁸It will be recalled that whether or not friendship could account for the lower suicide rates that Durkheim discovered single women to have was one of the reasons this dissertation study was undertaken. See text and footnotes in Chapter 1, including: Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952) and Walter R. Gove, "Sex, Marital Status, and Mortality", American Journal of Sociology 79 (July 1973):45.

²⁹On modern man and differentiated friendships, see text and footnotes in Chapter 2, including: Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 325-6.

³⁰As noted in footnotes 8 and 21, as well as additional references throughout this dissertation, it is expected, and supposedly desirable, that a woman's social integration is provided by her spouse and parenting relations. As Deb and other respondents pointed out, friendship is not a substitute for those relations but, as this researcher learned from this study, it may be the most intimate non-kin relationship that woman can handle or find. See: Zena Smith Blau, Old Age in a Changing Society (New York: Franklin Watts, 1973) and Irving Rosow, Socialization to Old Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

Chapter 8

FRIENDSHIPS: DISSOLUTION

I think with most relationships that it reaches a point, and it's either worth it to continue investing, or it's not.

-- Pat

Twenty-three of the twenty-seven single women sampled had one to eight important friendships that, over their lifetime, had failed.¹ The total number of failed friendships for the entire sample is 66, or 2 per respondent.² This chapter explores the reasons those important failed friendships were initiated, maintained, and dissolved. The four women who say that an important friendship has never ended for them are also described. This chapter also compares the important failed friendships to the respondents' current closest friendships as a source of additional information on the friendship patterns of this sample of young urban working women who live alone.³

Initiation

The primary reason that the important friendships that later failed were initiated by this sample matches the same primary reason that the current closest friendships were initiated, namely a shared

wish to become friends.⁴ The secondary [hereafter referred to as "key" or "major"] reason those important friendships that later failed were initiated differs from the reasons for initiating the current closest friendships. Those reasons will be discussed below, within each category of reasons.

Figure 14

Reasons for Initiating Friendship That Later Ended

Primary Reason

I. Shared wish to become friends (100%)

Secondary Reason

I . *Respondent's orientation (39%)

A. Companionship (9%)

Do things with (9%)

B. Shared interests (13%)

C. Emotional support (17%)

II. Future Friend's attributes (13%)

A. Someone to be like (13%)

III. Situational context of meeting (48%)

A. Proximity (48%)

*As noted before, the respondent's orientation is also dependent on the future friend's attributes in that the respondent believes that the future friend will fulfill her friendship expectation (for companionship, emotional support, etc.)

Respondent's orientation

Whereas an overwhelming majority of the women (85%) initiated their current closest friendship because of the respondent's orientation, only 39% of the women initiated their important friendship that later failed [hereafter cited as "failed friendship"] for that reason. Furthermore, for current closest friendships, companionship accounted for 41% of the respondent's friendship expectations (do things with - 22%; talk to -- 19%). Only 9% initiated the important failed friendship because of companionship, and only in the "do things with" category. (None of the failed friendships were initiated because of the respondent's friendship expectation of having someone to talk to.)⁵

Agnes and Lil are the two women who based their failed friendship on "do things with". (Agnes based her current closest friendship on the same reason; Lil based hers on "emotional support".)

Agnes is 30; Lil is 27. Lil has a medium need for alone time; Agnes has a medium to high need, depending on the season (medium in the summer, and high in the winter). (See Appendix III for examples of coding on need for alone time and other attributes.) Having lots of friends for companionship and to "do things with" is characteristic of these women, who also have a high need for romantic companionship. Both women describe themselves as chronically depressed when they are without a man; they are both very eager to get married. (It is interesting that Agnes and Lil

are the only two women in the entire sample who ended their friendship over a boy.)⁶

The next two reasons for initiating the failed friendship, within the general category of the respondent's orientation, are shared interests (13%), and emotional support (17%). Sara, Eli, and Eve initiated their important failed friendship because of "shared interests". (Eli initiated her current closest friendship because of "shared interests", Sara initiated hers because of "someone to talk to", and Eve because of "do things with".) Sara says about her former friend Evelyn, whom Sara met when they were eighteen:

We used to talk about books. Evelyn was a great reader. She loved books. We always had that in common, and other things. We liked to travel. We went to Europe [together] when we were nineteen. We had the same background, born to German parents.

Of the four women who initiated their failed friendship because of "emotional support", for Sue and Di that was also the reason they initiated their current closest friendships. However, Sue and Di's failed friendships were with women of unequal status; Sue befriended the woman who hired her; Di befriended her resident adviser at college. Gwen's current closest friendship with Maxine was initiated because of shared interests; Claire's was initiated because of proximity.

Gwen describes the "emotional support" upon which her failed friendship with Emily was based:

I first considered Emily a friend after my stepfather died. Emily was concerned about all that had happened. I guess that was the jump off point. So it was after about three or four months after living together. At the time, I needed Emily, and she needed me...

Future Friend's Attributes

Three women initiated their important failed friendship because of the future friend's attributes (Kate, Gail, Rose) -- someone to be like -- which is 13% of the failed friendships versus Nan and Lucy (7%) who based their current closest friendship on that reason.⁷

Kate, Gail, and Rose are, like Nan and Lucy, all opportunistic and snobby women. In all three cases, their friendships later ended because of a reevaluation of choice; the friend was no longer someone whom they wanted to be like. (When the friendships that failed were first initiated, all three women were impressed by surface traits of the future friend, such as Kate's friend's "computer" mind, Gail's friend's Radcliffe credential, and Rose's friend's attractiveness.)

Kate, Gail, and Rose are all over thirty (33, 30, and 37, respectively), Christian (Catholic, Presbyterian, and Catholic/Presbyterian, respectively), earning about \$30,000 a year, and are all involved with men with whom a permanent relationship seems doubtful.

Situational context of meeting: proximity

This last category of reasons for the initiation of the friendships that later failed is where there is a glaring difference between on-going and failed friendships. It may be recalled that only two women (7%) initiated their current closest friendship because of proximity. By contrast, 11 women (48%), initiated their failed friendship for that reason. Since structural or status

changes (and subsequent relocation) is so common for this sample, or those they befriend, a friendship initiated because of proximity would be more vulnerable to dissolution than would friendships based on the respondent's orientation.

The women for whom proximity was the major reason for initiating the failed friendship are: Lisa, Meg, Nora, Lois, Lee, Judy, Pat, Niki, Nan, Vera, and Emma. (Only Emma, who has only one current casual friend, appears in this category of reasons for both her current closest and important failed friendships.) Three of the four women who earn over \$35,000 dollars a year are in this proximity category (Meg, Lois, and Niki), as well as two women on the low end of the income range (Lisa and Vera). (The average income for the entire proximity group is \$31,000.)

Meg echoes the sentiments of this proximity group when she expresses her frustration that she misinterpreted two friendships based on proximity (and convenience) for genuine friendship:

Sally and Brenda are the only two people I've ever had problems with. I tried because of circumstances to be friends with them, and I wouldn't ordinarily have been their friends. Sally and Brenda both were girlfriends of my boyfriend's friends. So it was that kind of thing....You can't force something because they're your boyfriends best friends' girlfriends and that's what happened there. We fell into this sort of false friendship.

As soon as Meg broke up with her boyfriend, those friendships ended as well.

"No" Important Failed Friendships⁸

The four women who claim not to have had any important failed friendships are Lucy, Deb, Bev, and Edda. Deb and Bev are from

North Carolina; Edda is from Texas. Lucy was born in the Bronx, and, at the age of sixteen, moved to a Y in Brooklyn. (For the last ten years, Lucy, who is now forty, has lived a few years in New York, and then a few years in California, going back and forth about every five years.) None of these women are close to any of their kin. They all earn between \$13,000 and \$23,000. They are all Christian, and none of their parents are divorced. All but Deb have close friends who are male. Only Edda is actively dating.

It is possible that the reluctance of this group to see any of their friendships as ended is tied to their "pick up and move" lifestyle.⁹ Lucy, for example, relates how on her last trip to California, she stopped off in Texas to see an old high school friend whom she had not seen, or spoken to, in ten years. Similarly, when Deb was teaching in Korea, or attending graduate school in New Hampshire, she had friends. According to Deb, even though there is no present contact, they are still her friends. (Deb's current closest friend Margie, it may be recalled, shares Deb's interest in writing and, even more importantly, Deb's current residence in Manhattan.)

Maintenance

Once again, for this sample, the wish to continue a friendship must be shared.¹⁰ The secondary reasons for maintaining those important failed friendships will be discussed below, within the categories of reasons.

Figure 15

Reasons for Maintaining Important Friendship
That Later Failed (N = 24) (in percentages)

Primary Reason

- I. Shared wish to continue friendship (100%)

Secondary Reason

- I. Respondent's orientation (9%)
 A. Fulfillment of friendship expectations
 1. Emotional support (9%)
- II. Friend's attributes (65%)
 A. Nature of exchange
 1. Activities (65%)
- III. Situational context of friendship (26%)
 A. Proximity (26%)

Respondent's orientation (9%)

Two women maintained their important failed friendships because of a fulfillment of their friendship expectations. Claire and Gwen's friends provided them with emotional support. In both cases the former friend, not the respondent, ended the friendship. Claire and Gwen are both bitter about these failed friendships, which were "best" and "close" friendships, respectively, at the time that they ended. Although Gwen says she understands why Emily was displeased

with her, Gwen's comments display her ambivalence and anger:

I was not easy to live with. Nobody could live with me at that time. Maybe that was the problem. Why should Emily have my problems and her problems? But I don't know what was really the problem. I wasn't meeting her needs, whatever her needs were, but the problem I realized was that she never told me. And her actions didn't give me any cues, but of course I could have been a little blind, too. But I was disappointed that she couldn't offer me the support that I needed. But I only found out after [we stopped living together].

Emily wanted to be on her own. She wanted to live alone....We never really had any words with each other...We saw each other after we both moved out, but for whatever reason, it just started to fade away. It was like a non-caring situation. I guess I was hurt.

Friend's attributes (65%)

The biggest difference in terms of the secondary reason for maintaining the failed versus the current closest friendships, is that 65% of the failed friendships were maintained because of activities shared with the ex-friend. (85% of the on-going friendships are maintained because of the friend's attributes, but the reasons are distributed among these attributes of the friend: closeness, a shared history, shared interests, or an exchange of confidences. Only three on-going friendships [11%] are maintained because of shared activities. The lack of these other attributes of the friend in the maintenance of the failed friendships, especially the lack of sharing confidences or a shared history, reflect the likelihood that structural changes, so common for this population, could trigger an end to that friendship.)

Nora is one of the fifteen women who maintained her important failed friendship because of a sharing of activities. When Nora broke up with her boyfriend, her friendships, formed with friends of her boyfriend -- they were all living together in a large Westside

apartment -- ended as well. Nora explains:

We did everything together from buying groceries to going to the movies. I just lost them because it became awkward because they were his friends. It sort of got to the point where they said, 'Yeah, you're putting me into an awkward position.' I don't think they were strong enough to deal with me and still be friends with both of us. I miss them. I miss having them around. I haven't had contact with them for two years.

Proximity

Although only 7% of the on-going friendships are maintained because of proximity, six of the women (26%) maintained their failed friendship for that reason. These failed friendships maintained because of proximity seemed less important to the respondents than those maintained because of shared activities.

Eli maintained her friendship with Patricia throughout high school because of proximity; occasional contact during college ended after Patricia moved to California. Lee ended her friendship with a college classmate after Lee left school. All these failed friendships that were maintained because of proximity generally ended because of a structural change; they could, however, be reinitiated by the respondent, if her former friend agreed. (Thus, although these failed friendships were not as close while they were maintained, they could be revived more easily than those maintained because of shared activities, where the endings often involved severe conflicts).

Dissolution

The primary reason that the respondents ended their important friendship lends additional support to Simmel's insight that it takes two to have a friendship (dyad), but only one to end it: 100% of the sample ended their important friendship because the respondent or the friend wished to do so.¹¹

The secondary reason [hereafter referred to as the major or key reason] for the dissolution of the failed friendship is almost equally divided between the respondent's orientation and the social context of the friendship.

Figure 16

Reasons for Dissolving the Important Failed Friendship

(N = 23) (in percentages)

Primary Reason

I. One friend wished to end the friendship (100%)

Respondent (78%)

Friend (22%)

Secondary Reason

I. Respondent's orientation (43%)

A. Reevaluation of choice

1. Unmet expectations (13%)

2. Value conflict (30%)

II. Friend's attributes (4%)

A. Reevaluation of choice

1. Unmet expectations (4%)

III. Situational context of friendship (52%)

A. Structural changes (43%)

1. Moved (26%)
2. Marriage (13%)
3. Fired at work (4%)

B. Other pulls (9%)

1. School (4%)
2. Another friend (4%)

Respondent's orientation (43%)

The first reason for ending the friendship within this general category is a reevaluation of choice because of the respondent's unmet expectations.¹² Lois, Nan, and Vera are in this group. Lois' former friend Andrea failed to meet Lois' expectations for emotional support:

She thought I should be committed. She almost wanted to have someone come after me with a butterfly net. Carol said to Andrea, 'You can't have that kind of attitude'.

Nan's longstanding friendship ended after Nan received a form letter (rather than a personal one) from her friend. Vera met her former friend Judy in college. When Judy became more interested in school activities than in Vera, Vera's unmet expectations for a companion led her to end their friendship.

All of women who ended their friendship because of unmet expectations are Jewish and from the New York area. Lois and Nan are divorced; Vera's parents are divorced. These women therefore have had experience with primary relationships that ended because of

a reevaluation of choice.¹³ It is interesting that Nan and Lois prefer no contact with their former friends to having superficial contact at a lower level of intimacy or frequency. Vera, however, has spoken to Judy "once or twice" since their friendship ended eight years ago; they also exchange birthday cards.

Of those seven women for whom the reevaluation of choice was primarily due to a value conflict, the value conflict was over a boy in Lil and Agnes' cases.¹⁴ Agnes describes what happened:

We were really inseparable for years. But there was this guy I was in love with in high school. I was seeing him my senior year of high school, and she always thought he was a real nerd. She ended up going away to college where he went, and she ended up living with him all through college. She didn't tell me about it. I found out about it, and that really bothered me. [The friendship ended] the minute I found out about it. Then she denied it. I mean they were living together. I called her and said, 'Are you seeing him?' and she said, 'No, I don't really see him that much'. I thought, 'That was really dumb because I know you're living with him.'

Lisa's friendship ended after a series of unpleasant incidents, triggered by Lisa's awareness that her ex-friend Ginny had pocketed the extra money that Lisa and their other friends had given to Ginny to buy a gift. Ginny and Lisa had grown up together in Philadelphia — "We lost our virginity together" — but they had several other value conflicts after they both dropped out of college and moved to California. When Lisa finally got a job, she told Ginny her good news. Lisa describes Ginny's response:

Ginny turned around and looked at me and said, 'I don't want to know anything about you, it's boring,' and I stood there and cried because that is my most normal reaction. I don't get angry until two days later, when I've gotten over the crying part....But it wasn't just me she did it to...The only consolation I can draw from it is that she did it to two other people as well.

The remaining four women for whom a value conflict was the key reason for ending their friendships reevaluated their choice because of incidents that revealed a new, or previously unrecognized, unacceptable character trait. Working-class Sara's friend Evelyn, who inherited a lot of money after her parents died in a fire, says that Evelyn "became a racist". Sue, when she was forced to evict her friend Linda from her apartment, says that she then realized what an opportunist Linda had been all along. Pat's friendship with Dale, formed during college, (and, it may be recalled, a source of tension for Pat with her preexisting dyadic best friendship with Claudia) ended a few months after graduation, when Pat realized that Dale was too possessive. Eve's friend, whom Eve had befriended at camp and with whom Eve went to college, ended their friendship a few years later when Eve's friend displayed her competitiveness. (After Eve's two-year live-in romance ended, Eve called her friend for comfort; instead her friend belittled Eve's loss, and talked instead about her own romantic conquests.)

At the time that these four women ended their friendships because of a value conflict, all those friendships were dyadic (all the friends were also single). In comparing the failed to the current friendships, it should be noted that none of the current friendships involve conflicts over men, or a negative reevaluation of choice.

Friend's attribute (4%)

Only one respondent, Gwen, ended her friendship because of an attribute of the friend (her friend Emily's reevaluation of her

choice of Gwen.) Gwen, it may be recalled, says that Emily ended their friendship because Gwen had too many problems. Looking back, Gwen now sees this failed friendship as a positive learning experience:

I'm glad it happened, because sometimes you rely on people too much to give you the hugs and kisses that you need, and you don't go out and get them yourself. [Before this] I thought I had the luxury of choosing who I liked, but everyone had to like me. I had that audacity.

Situational Context of Friendship (52%)

For the majority of women with failed friendships, the ending was caused by a structural change. A possible explanation for the friendships that crumbled because of situational contexts of the friendship (versus the current friendships that have not) is that the shift in reasons from the respondent's orientation, for initiation, to the friend's attributes, for maintenance, that occurred for the current friendships, did not occur as often for the friendships that later failed. As has been shown in earlier sections of this chapter, failed friendships were more frequently initiated because of proximity (rather than the respondent's friendship expectations). Similarly, it was common for the failed friendships to be maintained because of proximity, rather than the friend's attributes (as was true for the current friendships). It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that those friendships — initiated, and maintained, because of proximity — would be less likely to endure the changes (or separations) necessitated by structural changes. Furthermore, it has already been pointed out that maintaining a friendship because of activities (rather than

confidences, a shared history, or closeness) would be more prone to rupture.

Breaking up with their respective boyfriends was the change that led to the end of friendships for Nora and for Meg; finishing school ended Lee, Emma, and Eli's friendships. Except for Nora, all those relationships were based on proximity. Kate used her relocation from California to New York as an excuse to cut off contact with her friend, who was still living in California. When Gail's friend, whom Gail had idealized, was fired at work, Gail was unable to continue their friendship. (No longer working together facilitated that ending.) Claire, Niki, and Di's friendships ended after their friend's marriage because of changes that their marriages introduced (and which the friendships could not absorb). Di says she ended her friendship with Barbara about a year after Barbara's marriage:

Barbara lives in New Jersey. [After her marriage], she [only] offered time that was shared with her husband. My other girlfriend comes into New York from New Jersey all the time. It's much harder for me to get to New Jersey because I don't have a car. They have a car, and the effort was never made to come in.

I think she's no longer a friend on my part, more so than hers, and basically it was when she became involved in a relationship. But I think the other major part of that is that I don't like her husband -- her husband is very hard to take, he's grating on my nerves, very obnoxious -- and she won't do anything without him. I have other friends who have husbands that I'm not very friendly with, but I can see them without having it interfere. But she didn't do anything about it. That really ended the relationship.

For only two women were other pulls the reasons for ending their important friendship. For Judy, the demands of night school and a fulltime job caused her to lose touch with her out-of-town friend, whom Judy had befriended in college. As noted in a previous

chapter, Rose, who had initiated her friendship with Peggy because of proximity, and maintained it because Rose wanted to be like Peggy, ended their friendship when Peggy attempted to form a triad with Rose's other friend Erika, whom Rose was afraid of losing because of that.

Faded (and Fading) Friendships

For this sample, there are two distinct types of endings, e.g. no contact, or contact at a lower level of intimacy or frequency. It has been shown that the more intimate the friendship, the less likely there is any active contact if there is a precipitating incident that causes its dissolution. (However, the more intimate, the more likely there is passive contact, through hearsay information and through "running into each other" because of mutual friends).

There are also three styles of faded and fading friendships that are distinct from the ended friendships discussed thus far in this chapter. These faded (and fading) friendships can be divided into the following three categories:

- (1) Active best or close friendships that have faded to a lower level of intimacy and contact
- (2) Casual friendships without current contact, but the respondents do not view those friendships as "ended"¹⁵
- (3) Current friendships that, if there continues to be no precipitating incident, will fade into (1) or (2)

Lil's friendship with Irene, which, after Irene's marriage,

faded from a best to a close friendship, is an example of the first type of faded friendship. As Lil explains:

Irene will always be there on a certain level, but she will not always be there in the closest terms, in terms of if I needed someone to help if I was falling apart, and I needed someone to come and help pull things back together...She will always be a very good, a very well-intentioned person, someone who would not take advantage of a friend, or try to make use of a friend in any bad way. I tend to see her when she's in New Jersey [from Maryland] visiting her parents. 'I'm in town. Drop what you're doing and come and visit.'

Examples of the second type of faded friendships are those in which the respondent says it was "natural" that she and her friend parted. Some respondents, however, used the interview process to reconsider why those friendships had faded [ended]. As Eli said:

I had a lot of high school friends. I completely forgot about that! We went our separate ways. I completely forgot about that whole area, boy! There's a whole list of them from high school. Patricia, we were very close....She's in California. I'll have to call her when I go out there. Helene, lost contact after high school...There were about fifteen of us in junior high school and high school...But I've kept up with some of them. I send birthday cards to some or something like that. Notice, I don't want to have any failed friendships!

Meg, Edda, and Niki described friendships, initiated during high school, that are examples of the third type of current but fading friendships. Niki explains:

It hasn't failed, but it's in limbo. Not that we had a big fight. I kind of got tired of her being unreliable. I sort of resent her making plans and breaking them. I find it annoying and it's happened too many times. Then I'd be disappointed because we couldn't go out because she made a date at the last minute....So I stopped calling her. I always called her when I visited my parents, but I haven't called her all summer, and I haven't wanted to call her.

As noted before, Meg's fading friendship with her best friend April is creating a lot of stress for Meg:

I feel a lot like I'm taking care of her. She seems to be

walking under a black cloud. Two weeks ago there was a fire in her building and I had to go down there to clean out her apartment. She's helpless. She doesn't know how to do anything...

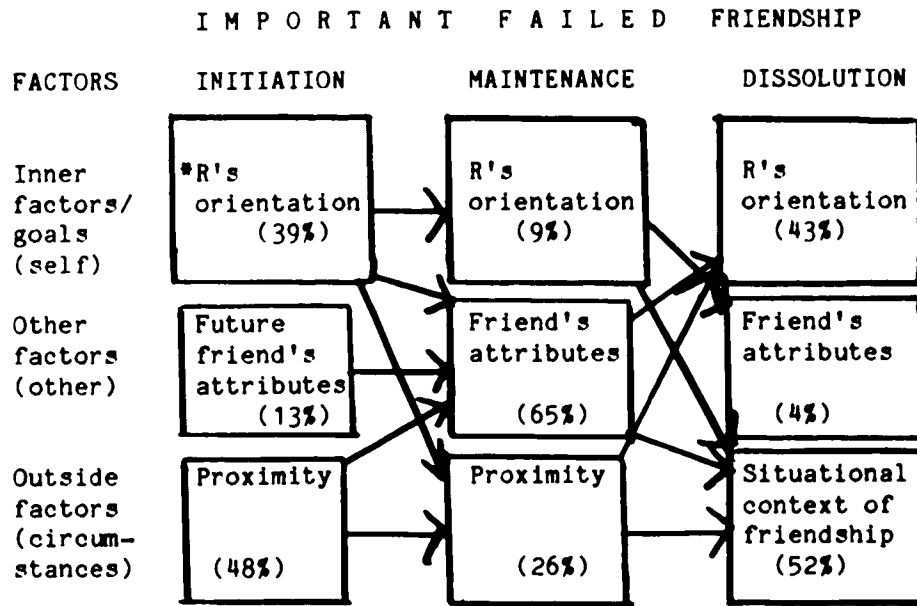
I feel less close. I feel like I'm growing away from her a little bit....I'm going to say something to her one of these days and it might blow up in my face....

Edda would like to end her close friendship with June because June is "going through a lot of emotional troubles and drinking alot and suicidal". Ending their friendship is complicated, however, since June is part of a triad that Edda has had with June and Melanie since their high school days in Texas.

Figure 17 diagrams the reasons for initiating, maintaining, and ending the respondents' most important failed friendships. The relationship between initiating half of those friendships because of proximity, and their subsequent endings because of the situational context (structural or status changes, loss of proximity) is clarified in this chart.

Figure 17

Reasons for Initiating, Maintaining, and Ending
the Most Important Failed Friendship (N = 23)
An Accounting Scheme (in percentages)



*R = Respondent

Comparison of Current to Failed Friendships

Figure 18 compares the reasons for initiating and maintaining the current closest friendship versus the reasons for initiating, maintaining, and then dissolving the most important failed friendship.

Figure 18

Comparison of Reasons for Current Closest
and Failed Friendships (in percentages)

CURRENT CLOSEST FRIENDSHIP (N = 27)			IMPORTANT FAILED FRIENDSHIP (N=23)		
	Init- iation	Maintenance	Init	Maintenance	Ending
Inner factors/ goals (self)	*R's orien- tation (85%)	R's orien- tation (7%)	R's orien- tation (39%)	R's orien- tation (9%)	R's orien- tation (43%)
Other factors (other)	Future friend's attributes (7%)	Friend's attributes (85%)	Future fd's attri- butes (13%)	**Fd's attri- butes (65%)	Fd's attri- butes (4%)
Outside factors	Prox- imity (7%)	Prox- imity (7%)	Prox- imity (48%)	Prox- imity (26%)	Situa- tional (52%)

*R = Respondent
**Fd = Friend

In reviewing the elicited data, and comparing the background characteristics of the respondents within the various categories for initiating, maintaining, or dissolving an important friendship, except for those deviant cases noted in the previous chapter (e.g. Nan or Lucy), far more important than individual traits in common within one group (such as the "group" of women who maintained their failed friendship because of the exchange of activities) are the four factors that follow. These factors are significantly different for important friendships that failed versus ongoing closest friendships:

1. type of friendship (dyadic, triadic, or network)
2. the time from meeting until the initiation of the friendship
3. the presence of a triggering incident
4. the even or uneven course of the friendship

1. Type of friendship

At the time of the interview, the patterns of the on-going closest friendships were the following:

Dyad - 11 (41%)

Triad - 6 (22%)

Network - 10 (37%)

(N = 27) 100

By contrast, at the time that the important friendship ended, the patterns of those friendships were as follows:

Dyad -	22	(92%)
Triad -	2	(8%)
(N = 24)	100	

Three failed friendships that had been triads, and six failed friendships that had been part of a network, did not end until after the respective triads or networks had been dissolved.

These findings -- that dyads are more difficult to maintain than triads or networks -- are consistent with Simmel's insights.¹⁶ Furthermore, the expansion of ongoing friendships from the initial dyad to a triad or network (by adding other friends or spouses) may reflect the strength of that dyad and also, as has been shown, helps to foster its continuation.

Sociologist Michael Johnson has written: "People stay in relationships for two major reasons: because they want to; because they have to".¹⁷ The key words in Johnson's first reason are they and want. It has already been shown that, based upon the elicited data, for this sample population, if both friends ("they") do not wish to continue the friendship, it will end.¹⁸

The key words in Johnson's second reason are they and have to. For this sample, have to includes friendships that occur within triadic or network situations, whereby the attitudes of the "others" control behavior, or if the friendship involves formal role obligations, where the consequences of ending the friendship are severe, e.g. with a co-worker or the friends of a romantic partner.¹⁹

For this sample, therefore, there seems to be a trade-off among exclusivity, duration, and intimacy.²⁰ The question has to be

raised, however, if the failure to involve a dyad in other friendship relations was a cause, or an effect, of its dissolution. This research seems to indicate that involving a dyadic friendship in a triadic or network situation may insure its continuation (similar to the way that a child or the kinship network may deter the dissolution of the marital dyad).²¹

2. Time from meeting to becoming friends

The second important factor in dissolved friendships versus ongoing ones is consistent with the findings of Goode and others about the length of time from meeting (or engagement) to marriage and the likelihood of divorce.²² For this sample population of single women it took, on average, three years from meeting to becoming friends for ongoing friendships, and only two months from meeting to becoming friends for the failed friendships. (For twenty of those failed meaningful friendships, the respondent says that the friendship started "immediately" upon becoming acquainted; for the other four, the friendship still occurred within a year of meeting.)

Thus, for this sample, this maxim seems to be true: "Befriend in haste, dissolve at leisure." A reason for this is that the longer it takes to become friends, the less likely there will later be a negative reevaluation of choice.²³

3. The presence of a triggering incident

For eight women (30%) there were triggering, or precipitating, events that caused the ongoing friendship to develop from an acquaintanceship or other relation to a friendship; for the failed friendships, there was one woman (4%) for whom there was a triggering event that elevated her roommate relation to a

friendship. (As was noted in the previous section on time from meeting to becoming friends, this is because for the failed friendships, the meeting was often the "trigger" since little time elapsed between those meetings and the establishment of the friendship. An attempt to skip the acquaintanceship stage had dire consequences in that those friendships later ended, whether the ending occurred within a year or eighteen years later.)

For all twenty-four women with a failed important friendship, however, the ending had a triggering, or precipitating, event that caused the respondent or friend's reevaluation of her choice, or the situational context of the friendship (e.g. structural changes or other pulls) was a "final blow" (rather than a natural course of events that on-going closest friendships seem able to withstand.)

Some respondents, so disillusioned by the ending, found it hard to remember any memorable high points with their ex-friend. Low points usually coincided with the situation, or causes, for the ending.²⁴ There was a distinct contrast in clarity about reasons for ending, versus reasons for initiating, friendships. That contrast seems to resemble the ease, or difficulty, that researchers have found when they have asked married respondents why they think their marriages "work", compared to asking divorced respondents why they think their marriages failed.)²⁵ (Unfortunately, not enough respondents were able to recall who initiated their current or failed friendship to enable conclusive interpretations of that data.)²⁶

4. The even or uneven course of the friendship

Of the on-going current friendships, 74% are described as even or very even by the respondents; 7 (26%) say that those friendships are uneven. By contrast, 18 of the failed friendships (78%) were uneven. Thus, conflict, unresolved conflict, including an inability to accurately communicate their feelings, played a role in these failed friendships.²⁷ As Gwen noted, in comparing her failed friendship with Emily to her current best friendship with Maxine: "There was more conflict with Emily. She's a very strong personality, and I'm a very strong personality."

Goode stated that "...divorce is to be seen as one kind of mechanism for dealing with the pressures and problems inevitably caused by marriage".²⁸ For this sample, friendship dissolution serves the same purpose. Once again, both friends have to want the friendship to work out. Pat, who has had three important failed friendships, describes why she has decided against salvaging those friendships: "If someone disappoints me, or screws me around in a major way, there's no place left to try to go back to it. If they don't suit my [high] standards, then I don't want to even try."

Yet Pat's current best "great" friendship with Claudia, who has never fallen below Pat's "standards", has had its share of conflict: "There are times when we have gotten to the point of actual physical violence. These were major things. I guess they've been serious tests of our friendship." Pat and Claudia have the desire, and obviously the ability, to deal with conflict. Meg, by contrast, has found April unable to handle conflict, which may, eventually, be the reason their friendship does end:

There were one time [in fifteen years] when I was really very angry with her. And she was devastated by the fact that I was angry and sent me letters and called me and did everything to make me understand that she had been wrong...

Thus both friends have to be able, and willing, to handle conflict. However, since all these women have alternative friendships, or kin relations, to turn to, the dissolution of one friendship lacks the practical and emotional implications that accompany dissolution of the marital dyad.²⁹ As Simmel wrote about conflict:

The strongest love can stand a blow most easily, and hence it does not even occur to it, as is characteristic of a weaker one, to fear that the consequences of such a blow cannot be faced, and it must therefore be avoided by all means....³⁰

It is therefore intriguing that one of the most dramatic accounts of a "dissolution" is Lil's description of the impact that the fading of her best friendship, because of her friend's marriage, has had.

Although Johnson notes that "to end an acquaintanceship one might need only to refrain from calling one's acquaintance again", meaning that closer relationships require more definite endings, for this sample, friendships, even those of twenty years duration, were ended simply by refraining "from calling" again.³¹ There are a few exceptions, like when Sue threw Linda out of her apartment, or when Nan responded to her friend's form letter with a personal letter, "telling her how insensitive she was".

More common is the way Rose ended her seventeen year friendship with Peggy. Rose said to herself, "'You know, you really don't have to take this. You can drop her,'" and she did. Similar words were

not said to Peggy; Rose merely stopped returning her calls. Pat ended her four-year close friendship with Dale in this way: "I tore her name out of my address book, and haven't spoken to her in four years." Lois says that to end her twenty-year close friendship with Andrea she simply failed to follow up on Andrea's invitation to "do lunch".

As the prevalence of on-going married friends indicates, marriage per se is not a reason for a failed friendship. The aftermath of that, and other, status or structural changes are the causes, e.g. not getting along with the friend's spouse, no longer having "anything in common" with a non-working wife or mother, the friend no longer having time for the respondent, etc.

Neither physical illness nor death ended any friendships for this sample. Emotional problems broke up three friendships. Since, for this sample, friendships tend to be differentiated, rather than "great friend" do-all-and-be-all relationships, it is not surprising that friends do not allow emotional problems to burden each other for very long.³² That might be why women like Bev, who says she has never had a meaningful friendship that failed, or Agnes, who is able to maintain friendships even if she's depressed for months on end, go to therapists with their chronic problems, instead of their friends.³³

Only those respondents who had a precipitating incident before the end of their friendship, or the former friend was the one to end the friendship, say the friendship was still important to them when it ended. For the others, the ending was preceded by a fading so that by the time the friendship ended -- for this sample, it took an

average of ten months for a friendship to end once the decision was made to do so -- it was no longer as important to her, or it had already been replaced by other friendships or interests.

Where there is still a connection to the ex-friend, through current friends or hometown relations -- Kate, Lisa, and Lois hear about their ex-friends through "the grapevine" -- those women confess that they rely on that information to keep abreast of their ex-friend's lives. Few, however, want to reinitiate the friendship, although, as was noted before, some, like Meg and Vera, now consider their former close friends to be acquaintances. As Agnes says about her ex-friend:

Socially I'd reinitiate it, but not emotionally. I never really trusted her after that. Not that she was living with him, but that she told me she wasn't. That really bothered me.

Some of the failed friendships were described with phrases like "We were partners in crime together", "We were inseparable", or "We were sisters". Thus, as noted before, although the ongoing friendships are even or very even (74%), except for those few who have "great friends", those friendships may also be less all encompassing. The expectations, and level of exchange, for these failed friendships may have been higher, and less obtainable, on a long-term basis.³⁴ Differentiated friendships, alas, may be easier for this sample to keep going.³⁵

Footnotes

¹The wording of the questions about failed friends, or the placement of those questions at the end of a long and detailed interview, may have led to most respondents to interpret a failed friendship as a friendship that ended because of a dramatic (conflictual) encounter. Furthermore, since the discussion of former friends was even more dependent on retrospective data than accounts of current friends, for some respondents, the two categories may not be completely compatible. Current friends do seem to accurately reflect best, close, and casual friends; former friends may be more reflective of best or close (primary) friendships. (Some women may have failed to include the number of failed casual friends in their tabulations, as well as failed friendships with those whom they had simply "lost touch".)

²For the 23 women with important failed friendships, the number of failed friendships is 3 per respondent.

³Because the N is different for the current and failed friends (27 and 23 women, respectively), to facilitate comparisons, numbers in each category of reasons will be converted to percentages.

⁴Georg Simmel, Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and ed. by Kurt Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1951), p. 124.

⁵That none of the failed friendships were initiated because of "someone to talk to" fits in with the absence of "sharing confidences" as a reason for maintaining these friendships that later failed.

⁶The fact that only two friendships ended because of conflicts over men is a notable finding since it disputes the myth that women cannot trust their girlfriends in that regard. Judy Klemesrud wrote in the New York Times: "The stereotype [of female friendship] was of women at each other's throats as they competed for men". See: Judy Klemesrud, "'Girlfriends' Director On Female Friendship", New York Times, August 4, 1978, p. A12. It now seems that the myth of rivalry over men negating female friendships has been replaced by the contemporary stereotype that female friendships at the office are dangerous to careers. See: Susan Jacoby, "Hers", New York Times, July 24, 1983, p. C2; Barbara Ehrenreich, "After the Breadwinner Vanishes", The Nation, February 26, 1983, pp. 225, 240-2; Marilyn Mercer, "Office Friendships: How They Really Affect Your Career", Glamour, April 1979, pp. 152, 154, 157; Suzanne Gordon, "The New Corporate Feminism", The Nation, February 5, 1983, pp. 129, 143, 146-7; Anne M. Seiden and Pauline B. Bart, "Woman to Woman: Is Sisterhood Powerful?", pp. 189-228 in Old Family/New Family, ed. M. Glazer (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975); and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual:

Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America", Signs, 1 (1975):1-29.

⁷ Nan and Lucy seem to be opportunistic women. Nan admits "using" her ex-boyfriend for his summer vacation home, and Lucy admits using her ex-boyfriend for his money.

⁸ A consideration about these respondents who say they have never had any failed friendships is that failure at personal relationships may be seen as stigmatizing. That information may, therefore, have been withheld from the interviewer. For these women, however, it seemed more a question of their viewing of faded friendships as still viable rather than concealing information. (See section on faded friendships later on in this chapter.)

⁹ In seeing all their friendships as viable, or in not having had any that ended in dramatic conflict, these women are, to some extent, the prototype of the urban dweller. It is indeed a testimony to the energy and commitment to intimacy of the rest of the sample that the view of these four women is not more prevalent. See: Louis Wirth, "Urbanism As a Way of Life", American Journal of Sociology 54 (1938):1-24, repr. Urban Place and Process, ed. Irwin Press and M. Estellie Smith, pp. 10-48 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1980).

¹⁰ Simmel, Sociology of Georg Simmel, p. 124.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Hazel Gaudet, "A Model for Assessing Changes in Voting Intention" in The Language of Social Research, edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (New York: Free Press, 1955), p. 432.

¹³ For references on the effect of divorce on relationships, see: Michael P. Johnson, "Social and Cognitive Features of the Dissolution of Commitment to Relationships." Chapter prepared for S.W. Duck, ed., Personal Relationships 4: Dissolving Personal Relationships (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 42-page typescript, p. 1; Robert S. Weiss, Marital Separation (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Goode, After Divorce; Nicky Hart, When Marriage Ends (London: Tavistock, 1976); Joseph Epstein, Divorced in America (New York: Penguin, 1974); Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson, ed. by George Simpson (London: Routledge, 1952); and Paul Bohannan, ed., Divorce and After (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971).

¹⁴ As noted in footnote 6, it is not true for this sample that friendships ended (or that current friendships are fraught with) rivalry over men.

¹⁵ See text and footnotes in Chapters 2 and 6 of this dissertation for a discussion, and references, on the developmental

view of friendship.

¹⁶Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 123-4, 138-9, 145.

¹⁷Johnson, "Social and Cognitive Features of the Dissolution of Commitment to Relationships", p. 3.

¹⁸Simmel, Sociology of Georg Simmel, p. 124.

¹⁹If respondents did end friendships with co-workers or friends of a romantic partner it was after the job, or relationship, ended.

²⁰Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 123-4, 338-9, 145-69.

²¹Ibid., pp. 128-9, 138-9, and 146.

²²William J. Goode, After Divorce (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), p. 78.

²³Gaudet, "A Model for Assessing Changes in Voting Intention", p. 432.

²⁴Hans Zeisel, Say It With Figures, 5th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 166-7.

²⁵For the difficulties in assessing reasons for why relationships "work" versus why they fail, see the references cited in footnote 13.

²⁶Unfortunately there were far too many "unknowns" in response to the question about who initiated the current or failed friendships to draw definitive conclusions about that data. One reason was the poor recall most women had for exact details about friendships dating back more than five years duration. The prevalence of "unknowns" in the failed friend versus the current friend categories however is probably also due to the reluctance of women whose friendship failed to take "credit" for initiating it. Another reason may be that questions about failed friends came at the end of the interview and most women were tending toward less demanding "general" answers rather than taxing themselves for details.

Keeping those limitations in mind, Table 19 compares the answers for "Who initiated the friendship?" for the current closest versus most important failed friendships.

Table 19
Who Initiated This Friendship
(in numbers and percentages)

Current Closest	Most Important Failed
(N = 27)	(N = 23)

Respondent	7 (26%)	4 (17%)
Friend	5 (18%)	4 (17%)
Mutual	7 (26%)	1 (4%)
Don't know	8 (30%)	14 (61%)
	100	99*

*Percentages do not total 100% due to rounding

²⁷References describing the give and take necessary in intimate relationships include: Julie Indvik and Mary Anne Fitzpatrick, "If you Could Read My Mind Love..., Understanding and Misunderstanding in the Marital Dyad", Family Relations 31 (January 1982):43-51; Mary Anne Fitzpatrick, Susan Fallis, and Leslie Vance, "Multifunctional Coding of Conflict Resolution Strategies in Marital Dyads", Family Relations 31 (January 1982):61-70; William W. Wilmot, Dyadic Communication, 2nd ed. (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979, 1975); Mark L. Knapp, Social Interacourse: From Greeting to Goodbye (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1978); Joseph M. Strayhorn, Jr., Talking It Out: A Guide to Effective Communication and Problem Solving (Champaign: Research Press, 1977); John Gottman, Cliff Notarius, Jonni Gonso, and Howard Markman, A Couple's Guide to Communication (Champaign: Research Press, 1976); and Michael E. Rolon, Interpersonal Communication: The Social Exchange Approach (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981).

²⁸Goode, After Divorce, p. 9.

²⁹See references in footnote 13.

³⁰Georg Simmel, Conflict & The Web of Group-Affiliations, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix (New York: Free Press, 1955), p. 47.

³¹Johnson, "Social and Cognitive Features of the Dissolution of Commitment to Relationships", p. 11.

³²For a discussion of "great friend" and "modern man" differentiated friendships, see text and footnotes in Chapters 2 and 5.

³³Unfortunately the question as to whether or not the respondent was seeing a therapist was not asked until the 24th respondent (Bev) so that conclusive statements can not be made.

³⁴For references on expectations and level of exchange, see footnotes in Chapter 2.

³⁵Blau has observed "that the profits from exchange decrease with the number of exchanges". See: Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: Wiley, 1964), p. 90.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"'We ain't got neighbors any more. People ain't so friendly as they used to be. There's less neighborhood visiting. You have to go places to see them.'" Middletown (1929)¹

This concluding chapter begins by looking at the social structure of friendship for this sample of young urban single women.² Attributes of this sample population that effect their friendship patterns are examined, including their energy levels, parenting attitudes, intimacy problems, divorce experiences, and physical appearance.³ The findings of this dissertation, including how friendship aids the social integration of this sample, are then summarized. This chapter concludes with suggestions for further research.

What is the role of friend? It is an optional role without legal commitments or blood ties.⁴ It is a particular relationship developing from an acquaintanceship which took, on average, three years for this sample's current closest friendships, and two months

for their important failed friendships. Friend, unlike spouse, describes anyone from a casual or "convenience" friend, to a best friend who is "like a sister". (This sample has, on average, 1 best, 4 close, 8 casual, and 2 failed friends). For these women, what is shared in a friendship need not be equal, but the wish to become, and remain friends, must be shared.⁵ The sociological view of friendship -- that friendship offers the only possible deviation from formal roles -- is false for this sample since friendship is a role with its own obligations and privileges.⁶ These single woman cannot lean too heavily on their friends; if they demand too much "emotional support", and are not enough "fun", there are alternative friendships available to their friends.

The role of friend differs for this sample according to:

type (dyad, triad, network)

level of intimacy (casual, close, best)

duration

secondary reasons (for initiating, maintaining)

proximity

In general, the more differentiated (and less intimate) a friendship, the more formal are its rules. (Hence, the least differentiated relationships -- kin, spouse, or best "great" friend -- should allow the most deviation from formal roles.) Figure 19 shows that intimacy increases, and differentiation decreases, according to whether a relation is an acquaintanceship, a friendship (casual, close, or best), a spouse, or a kin member. (Differentiation and intimacy are at opposite ends of the continuum.)

Figure 19

Model of Levels and Types of Relationships

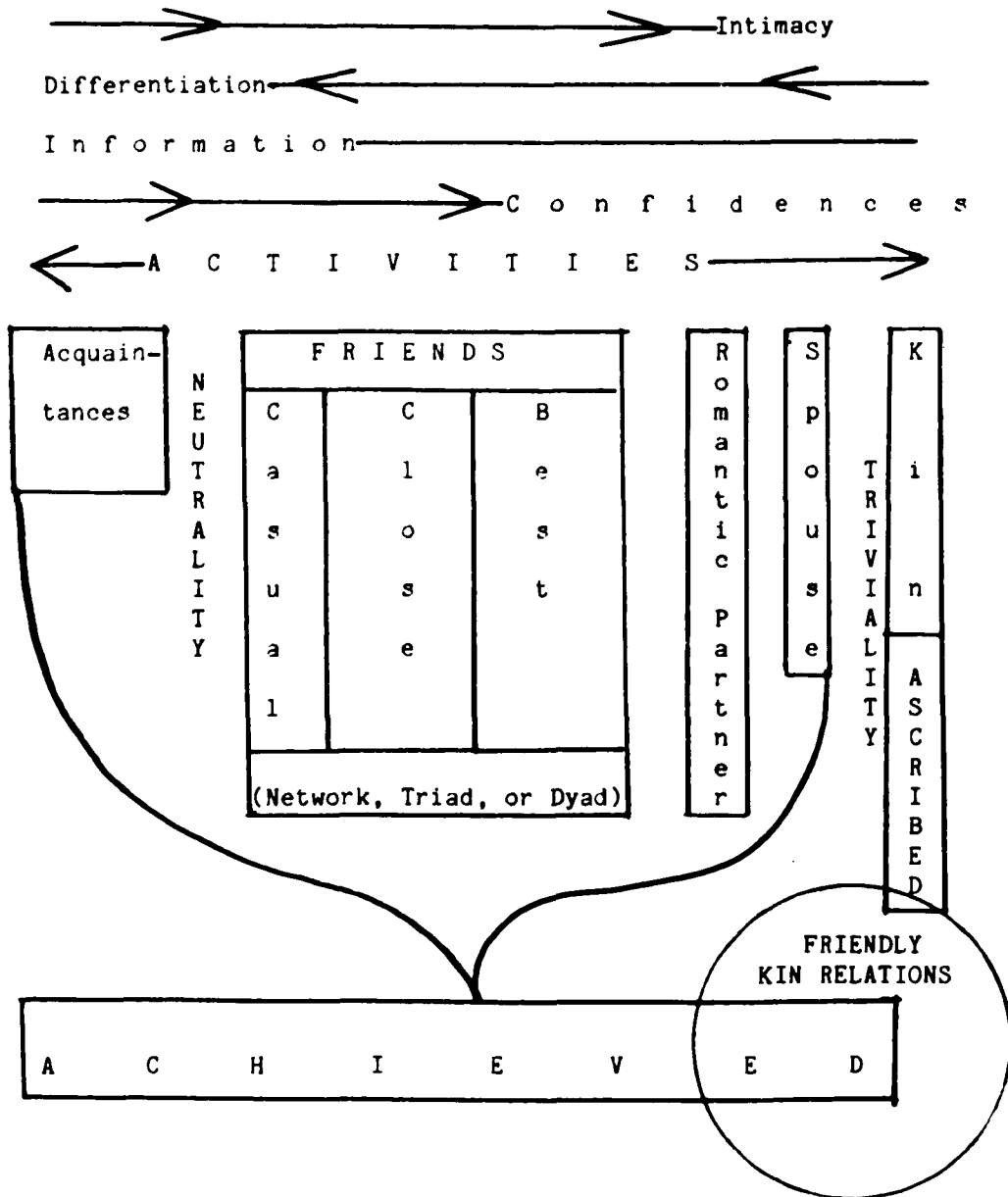


Figure 19 showed that all these social relations involve a sharing of information, activities, and confidences, but confidences are shared more as the relation becomes more intimate, information is shared more when the relation is less intimate. In that diagram, friendship is depicted to occupy a unique place in the social construction of relationships, inbetween achieved acquaintanceships and ascribed kin relations.⁷ (Note the rearrangement in Figure 19 of network, triad, and dyad to reflect their accurate positions on the continuum in terms of intimacy.) Friendship offers something distinct from kin relations. As Rose says, "Your family accepts you, with all your faults, and they love you anyway. Whereas friends are not like that. My family is not into the same lifestyle as I am, whereas my friends, most of them are involved in the same kind of things that I'm doing." Figure 19 also showed that acquaintances and casual friends are the "safest" relationships in terms of risk and investment; they are affectively "neutral" zones. As we have seen in previous chapters, for some women in this sample, a kin relation is more intimate and affective than any of their friendships or romantic relationships. According to the system depicted in Figure 19, a close or best friend should offer the least differentiation, and the most intimate relationship, outside of a spouse or a kin member. The loss of availability (due to a change in proximity or status) does, however, necessitate that most women have multiple friendships (or relationships) to avoid social isolation.

For this sample of young urban working women who live alone, acquaintanceships, based on current shared situations or relations,

such as work or romantic attachments, compete with friendships for their time and attention. Unlike older widows and retirees, whose friendship patterns reflect their surplus of time, the friendship patterns of this sample reflect their scarcity of time, and their primary worker role.⁸ Their jobs and work-related relationships offer them daily social contact, and a degree of anchoring to their lives. Nora's description of a Monday morning at her office, after a weekend away from her work cronies, sounds like the sense of community typical of police officers at the station.⁹ Gail, who, like Lil and other respondents, thinks of those she works with as a type of family, says, in referring to a recent acquaintance, "She could become a friend...if I had the time."¹⁰ However, in addition to their worker role, unless those women who still want families of their own, invest the time in finding, and developing, a permanent romantic relationship, they may never have one.¹¹

Those respondents with more active lives also have more friends. Someone, like Eve, who plays volleyball and is a member of the Block Association, has more friends than someone, like Sara, who likes to sit alone in her apartment and read. Sara wishes she had more energy and, hence, more friends:

I find if you're working, it's such a drain on you that you really don't explore other areas of your personality. I relax after I come home, close the door, and leave it all out there, and go into my mind. I would say on the average I probably go out once during the week.

By contrast, other high energy, high need (for friends and for romance) women, like Edda and Meg, may stay home only one night during the week.

For all but the few "great" best friendships, proximity is

important to this sample.¹² For current closest friends, however, being closeby, does not mean being next-door neighbors. Whether it is symptomatic of the urban environment, or their individual personalities, none of this sample's current closest friends live in their apartment buildings, or on their block. Optimal proximity for closest friends is being convenient enough for regular contact. The absence of one all important friend who lives closeby may be indicative of: (1) their wish to be independent (2) their wish to invest their time in work, romantic relationships, or other interests. However, this sample does contradict the stereotype of the "cold" anonymous urban community in that all these women are "friendly" with one or more neighbors; 37% have one or more casual or close friends on the block, and one respondent's sister lives in her building.¹³

The following proximity categories evolved for this sample:

Figure 20

Proximity Categories of Friends

CLOSEBY AND CONVENIENT

At work
On the block
East side of Manhattan
Attendance at regular meetings

CLOSEBY BUT INCONVENIENT

Any other part of Manhattan
Another borough
Long Island
New Jersey

DISTANT BUT CONVENIENT

Eastern city with ready access: Boston,
Washington, D.C., Philadelphia
In town or city near respondent's family
In town or city visited for business

DISTANT AND INCONVENIENT

State or country not usually visited

Chapters 6-8 compared the data for this sample's current closest friends to the six maxims of the "Like Attracts Like" theory.¹⁴ In addition to those findings, it is interesting that although these women live in a heterogeneous city, none of their current closest friendships are with black men or women. (Only Lisa's current closest friendship with a Japanese American woman is across racial lines.) Even Lee, who moved here from Holland, says

that her current closest friend is Jean, whom Lee knows from college in Holland and who now lives in California.

The current socioeconomic status of these unmarried women is tied to their own occupational status.¹⁵ It is those women who have climbed up the ladder who want to form new friendships with others at a similar higher level -- Meg, who now wants "successful" friends and Lois, who wants friends who can afford a "night on the town" with her. The "snobbism" demonstrated by the high-earning women is not confined to the economic sphere. Low-income earning Deb, who sees herself as a novelist, wants only writers for friends. Gwen boasts that she dropped her high school friends, as if that is a confirmation of her growth. Emma is openly anti-female; Lee is openly anti-male.

Until recently, marriage has been associated with parenting.¹⁶ Without even being asked, the majority of women in this sample said that they do not want to have children, or are conflicted over that issue. Sara says: "I can't remember ever wanting a child, and if you get married, that would be my reason. Some women are not made for marriage...That's probably because my mother and father did not have a good relationship." Niki sees the competing roles of professional woman, mother, and spouse as too much for her to handle: "It almost seems like being a married career woman, you don't get a chance to put your feet up". Lois does not want to marry, but she might have a child if she can resolve certain problems that a child would create:

It's forming that day-to-day relationship with someone else. It's marrying the housekeeper. Men go ahead and have children very easily and they don't stop and think about the

effect it will have on their career. But I also realize that's because they have a wife.

Some of these women, in their all or nothing romantic relationships, their exaggerated needs for alone time, or their "friend dropping", demonstrate an inability, or unwillingness, to deal with day-to-day intimacy.¹⁷ Lois verbalized it in this way: "I feel more myself when I don't have a man". Niki says she likes not having to deal with anyone when she gets home from the office at about nine or ten.

Thus far, none of these women have worked out the power conflict with men that "friend dropping", or failing to merge their separate networks, implies.¹⁸ (Emma, who is engaged, has avoided this conflict by lacking any close or best friends that she might have to give up.) This issue about friends and romantic partners is one manifestation of this sample's failure to resolve gender stratification conflicts in their culture, and why they might see a permanent romantic commitment as a giving up of their rights and freedom.¹⁹

What this sample "loses" in social integration by lacking spouse or family, they may gain through simplicity of life, reduced role strain, and increased control over their lives. Whether she lives in a modest one-room apartment or a luxury co-operative apartment that she purchased herself, these women are self-supporting and not beholden to "a man".

It is notable that most of these women are pleased with their friendships. Lil may wish for the kind of best friendship that she and Irene had when they were nine, and Emma may wish she had

career-minded friends like herself, but friendship is not a source of pain and suffering as, for most of this sample, romantic relationships seem to be. It is possible that there is less stress in getting what you can from utilitarian relationships and friends than in failing to get what you need from a romantic partner.²⁰ When Rose's four year live-in relationship ended, she avoided men for four years. The breakup of a six-month romance has left Claire in despair. (It will be recalled that Lil's romantic breakup necessitated her returning home to recover.) By contrast, none of the tales of friendship dissolution inspired reactions of a similar magnitude.

Forty-four percent of this sample have been affected by divorce or "empty shell" marriages. David Reisman has said: "Children of divorced parents may be concerned about the stability of marriage and hesitant to make a commitment".²¹ As Bev says, "I have a pretty pessimistic attitude on romance. I almost don't consider any male/female relationships capable of endurance". Those women affected by unhappy marriages may cling to their friends.

Friendship, by contrast, is structured, and a relationship between equals.²² Friendship enables these women to have intimacy on their own terms. Even when friends will meet is structured. Friendship does not involve their entire life, a status change, or a change in living arrangements, as marriage might. It is interesting that as realistic as these women are in their expectations about friendship, they are unrealistic in their romantic ones. One wonders if these women were to revise their romantic fantasies if that would be more attainable for them as well.

As prior descriptions of these women demonstrated, there is a preponderance of overweightness in this sample. Out of twenty-seven women, only six are slim (or at least not overweight). That weight, and attractiveness, are considerations in romance has been documented.²³ Although some of the women mentioned their disapproval of a friend's weight gain, no one ended a friendship because of it. Overweightnesses, and failing to look more attractive, does effect the romantic experiences of this sample, however, whether or not it is a cause, or an effect, of their intimacy problems.²⁴

Based on this sample, it may not be as utopian as some think for marriage to become as optional as friendship. Consider how infrequent the contact with even the current closest friend is for some of these women, or that, even after eighteen years, some women ended those close friendships by simply failing to return phone calls. The bond of friendship is too easily severed, and the interaction too infrequent and transitory, to hang their intimacy needs on any one friend. (The growth of living together arrangements, in lieu of marriage, indicates that more Americans are trying this optional intimacy route.)²⁵

Based on the elicited data, it seems that for these single women living alone all three types of friendship patterns -- dyads, triads, and networks -- and of varying levels of intimacy -- best, close, and casual -- are recommended to assuage their loneliness and to maximize their social integration: dyads (for intimacy and exclusivity), triads (for shared friendships, especially with

married friends), and networks (based on common interests or a shared history). They also need a friendly kin relation to turn to since, as a few examples have tried to show, excessive dependence on friends in times of emotional distress or chronic depression (let alone in a financial crisis) can cause friendships to end.

The friendships of the majority of these women, as Simmel predicted, are highly differentiated but, it seems, as much by choice, because of personality factors, as by circumstances, because of structural changes and separations.²⁶ What most of this sample seems to be saying is, "If Susie is busy, I'll call Harry. If Barbara moves away, I'll start going to the movies with Gloria. And if everyone's busy, I'll call my mother, or my sister." Maybe this is one of the consequences of women making it -- loosening ties that, in the past, prevented them from moving away, and finding a better job for themselves.²⁷

The friendships of these single women seem closer to the developmental view of friendship. For some of these women, and those they befriend, their lives are still in the developmental stage, with marriage, parenting, and more relocations still ahead.²⁸ Since the friendship units of this sample rarely move in tandem, structural changes, such as changing jobs or moving, necessitate carrying on "long distance" friendships. As Nora says about her best friend Marlene, who lives in California, "She's always telling me to move out there, and I'm always telling her to move back here". But Marlene, who is married, stays in California; and Nora stays in New York. (Interestingly, even when high school best friends went away to the same college, the respondent

emphatically pointed out that that was a coincidence, as if making a decision based on a friendship is an embarrassing admission.) Thus, long distance friendship ties must be replaced, or augmented, with more convenient ones, for these women cannot afford the peer isolation that a married person might be able to sustain. Maintaining those inconvenient relations is, however, important to these women for a sense of continuity in their lives, missing through a spouse or children.

The friendship patterns of this sample contradict several generalizations about female friendships, namely that female friendships are dyadic, are based on sharing confidences, and involve rivalry over men.²⁹ For the current closest friendships of this sample, only 41% are dyads; the remainder are part of triads (22%), or networks (37%). Furthermore, those women who used to have only dyadic friendships are now trying to form friendship networks. This change in their friendship patterns is a reflection of their belated acceptance of their singleness as a permanent, not a transitory, state. Lucy and Sara, for example, are trying to develop friendship networks based on their interests (yoga, birdwatching and reading, respectively). As Rose puts it: "I started to pay more attention to and develop my friendships more when I realized that I may be single the whole rest of my life and that's not such a terrible thing. I realized that when I was thirty."

The sample answered the general question, "On what do you base your friendships?" in this way: 85% said that their friendships are based on sharing activities and emotional support; 7% on sharing

only confidences; and 7% on sharing only activities. In addition, of the fifty closest and failed friendships discussed in detail by respondents, and analyzed in depth by this researcher, only two friendships involved rivalry over men.

Through reason analysis, why this sample population initiated, maintains, or dissolved their current closest or important failed friendships were discussed at length. Simmel's insights about the necessity of two for the life of the dyad but only one for its death were supported by these data.³⁰ The majority of the sample (85%) initiated their current closest friendship because the future friend fulfilled the respondent's friendship expectations for companionship (40%), shared interests (26%), or emotional support (19%). The majority of the sample (85%) maintains their current closest friendship because of a characteristic of the friend (37%) or the nature of their exchange (26%). By contrast, proximity (26%) and a sharing of activities (65%) were the key reasons for maintaining the friendships that later failed. Current and failed closest friendships of this sample population also differed in the evenness of the friendships and triggering incidents.

Further analysis of the general friendship patterns of this sample revealed that thirteen of the respondents have one to three friendship networks; all the women lack networks based on romantic partners. Contrary to prior research minimizing the role of kin relations for singles, 52% are close to a nuclear kin relation ("friendly kin relations").³¹ Friendly kin relations were also a factor in whether or not a woman had a best friend, or a friendship network.

Thus, based upon the data elicited, it is concluded that the social integration of most of this sample is high because:

- Their jobs and work-related relationships offer them daily social contacts, and a degree of anchoring to their lives.

- They gain satisfaction from their ability to support themselves and to live alone.

- The time that other women spend with spouse or family, and in duties related to those roles, these women are able to spend with friends, going to school, dating, or in activities that they enjoy doing, alone or with others.

- There is enough intermingling with non-singles so that they do not feel like a segregated group.³²

- Their friends or kin relations provide multiple sources and levels of intimacy.

- They are able to either like the single lifestyle or blame their singleness on men.

- These women feel they have more control in friendship than they do in romantic intimacy.

- Friendship offers something distinct from ascribed kin relations. Friendship, an achieved relationship, is one of mutual choice, a situation that, thus far, they have not had in terms of a "permanent" romantic relationship.³³

- Studies have shown that socioeconomic status, and the happiness of a marriage, are tied to less anomie; marriage is not the only factor. All these women have a medium-to-high income; none are in unhappy marriages.³⁴

In conclusion, this sample mirrors the gamut of the single working woman's lifestyle. Almost all have multiple friendships and work-related acquaintanceships. Some even have romantic relationships or friendly kin relations. At the other extreme is Emma, who seems to be the stereotype of the attached woman who, since she has her fiance and her job, has no need for friends.³⁵ Even if some of this sample fantasize that that would be ideal for them, Emma is not completely convinced. With her fiance in Hong Kong at the time of the interview, the drawbacks of an "all for him" lifestyle are typified in her comments:

Sometimes I wonder if I were to collapse on the street on Friday [if] no one would know until Monday morning [when I failed to show up for work].

Most of this sample has one or more friends in proximity who would care, but they have to adjust to life without "a man". At the time of this study, most of them seemed to be dealing with that situation quite well.

Suggestions for Further Research

In this section, further research following a different methodology as well as additional studies extending this study's research design, will be presented.

A completely different approach to friendship would be to study a group of friends over time through participant observation.³⁶ At a dinner in February 1983, this researcher sat next to a divorced man who said he has been having breakfast everyday for the last two years with the same six friends. Four are single; two are married; one is female.³⁷ The research techniques to study that friendship

network would include "observation, informant interviewing, document analysis, respondent interviewing, and participation with self-analysis".³⁸ Over a period of several months, this researcher would participate, observe, and study each friend, as well as their interactions. By interviewing the "breakfast network" members about themselves, and each other, it might be possible to gain insights into a predominantly male friendship group, as well as developing more general rules governing friendships within a network. The end result would hopefully be a more precise and sociological Tally's Corner; instead of friendship of blacks on an urban street it would be the friendships of middle-aged white males on the Upper East Side of Manhattan.³⁹

Another extension of this dissertation would be into the area of friendships at work. As noted earlier in this study, there has been a great deal of popular writing "warning" women against friends at the office.⁴⁰ Without restricting that new study to single women, the friendship patterns of women in a corporate setting, spanning several tiers of authority, would be explored. Using participant observation techniques, as well as structured interviews with respondents, a randomly-selected sample of women in one corporation would be interviewed at two points in time, with a year between interviews. What their friendship patterns are, as well as how those patterns aid, or inhibit, their work performance, would be assessed.

Further research on this specific sample points to a follow-up longitudinal study, if cooperation could be secured, reinterviewing these urban single women in five years to assess the changes that

have occurred in their lives, and how those changes are reflected in their friendship patterns.⁴¹ An immediate follow-up to this study would be to interview members of the dyads, triads, networks, or family members, cited by the sample population, to study the dynamics of those interconnecting relations. For failed friendships, if ethical issues could be successfully dealt with in advance, it would be informative to interview the other half of the failed pair. Will the ex-friend's reasons for the end of the friendship match those given by the respondent?

Another extension of this research would be to turn it into a comparative study by interviewing the young single men living alone on the same Block. (Pilot interviews with single men indicated that their friendships are far more affective than the literature has indicated.)⁴² It would also be worthwhile to replicate this study with samples of single men and women in suburban or rural areas, or with married men and women, in the same age group, with and without children. In a phone interview, a 38-year-old married urban woman, with a one-year-old daughter, said, "I've met a lot of women in the park. Women with children about Jessica's age. These are women that I would not be friendly with unless they were in the same situation as me."⁴³ For non-working urban married mothers, do "mothers in the park" substitute for the work-related acquaintanceships and casual friends of this sample?

Footnotes

¹Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1929, 1956), p. 274. See: "The Organization of Leisure," chapter XIX, pp. 272-312 in which the Lynds discuss the friendships of the working class and business group that they studied in Middletown. The verbatim quotes are particularly intriguing since the predominant theme is how formal entertaining and contact with friends had decreased, compared to the generation before. The complaints of the Middletowners seems very much like the ones leveled against friendship in urban areas today: "I do very little visiting -- mostly keep in touch with my friends by telephone". (p. 275)

²In looking at the social structure of friendship, I was inspired by the format that Berger and Kellner used in describing how marriage is a construction of reality (and that Diane Vaughan adapted, less effectively, in describing the social construction of divorce). See: Peter L. Berger and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality", pp. 308-22, and Diane Vaughan, "Uncoupling: The Social Construction of Divorce", pp. 323-38, in Social Interaction, ed. Howard Robboy, Sidney L. Greenblatt, and Candace Clark (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

³Weber defined sociology as "...a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a casual explanation of its course and consequences". In this instance, the social action is friendship, the course is the friendship patterns of urban single women, its consequences are its effect on their lives, and the explanation are analyses and interpretations set forth in this dissertation. See: Max Weber, Economy and Society: Vol. 1, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, translated by Ephraim Fischhoff, et. al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 4. (References pertaining to the attributes cited in this sentence appear at the appropriate points, and the corresponding footnotes, throughout this chapter.)

⁴Ibid., p. 365.

⁵Ibid., p. 27.

⁶Gerald D. Suttles, Social Relationships (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).

⁷Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and edited by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), p. 125.

⁸On time as a resource, see: Barry Schwartz, "Waiting, Exchange, and Power: The Distribution of Time in Social Systems", American Journal of Sociology 79 (1973):841-70, repr. in Social Interaction, ed. Robboy, Greenblatt, and Clark, pp. 240-65. References on the friendship patterns of the elderly and retirees include: Helena Znaniecka Lopata, Women as Widows (New York:

Elsevier North Holland, 1979); James J. Lynch, The Broken Heart (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979); Zena Smith Blau, Old Age in a Changing Society (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1973); Irvin Rosow, Socialization to Old Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Greg Arling, "The Elderly Widow and Her Family, Neighbors and Friends", Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):757-68; Alan Booth, "Sex and Social Participation", American Sociological Review 37 (1972):183-92; Beth Hess, "Friendship" in Aging and Society: Volume 3, eds. Matilda White Riley, Marilyn Johnson, and Anne Foner (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), pp. 357-93; and Marjorie Fisk Lowenthal and Clayton Haven, "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable", American Sociological Review 33 (1968):20-30.

⁹Peter L. Berger and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality", Diogenes 45 (1964):1 repr. in Robboy, et. al., Social Interaction, p. 308 and participant-observations by this researcher at police precinct in lower Manhattan, Fall 1975-Spring 1976.

¹⁰See: "Workplace Families" in Friends as Family by Karen Lindsey (Boston: Beacon Press, 1981).

¹¹See: William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain", American Sociological Review 25 (1960):483-96. Even if, like Lois, some of these women decide to become parents without marrying, they will need to adapt their priorities, which few seem willing to do. It would have been useful to have gathered more retrospective data on the adolescent dating habits of these respondents to learn if some of them were always so unpopular with men.

¹²Williams also found proximity to be of importance to his suburban sample. See: Robin M. Williams, "Friendship and Social Values in a Suburban Community: An Exploratory Study", The Pacific Sociological Review 2 (1959):3-10. On "great friend" friendships, see text and footnotes in Chapters 2, 4-6.

¹³It should be restated that the Block under study has an active block association, which is not true for all blocks in Manhattan. The three women in this sample who are active in the block association all live in walk-up buildings and have been living on the block for 4 years, on average. On the city, see: Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment" in The City, ed. Morris Janowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1925, 1967), pp. 1-46; Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 409-24; and Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", American Journal of Sociology 44 (1938):1-24.

¹⁴On "Like Attracts Like" theory, see text and footnotes in Chapters 2 and 6, including: Ellen Berscheid and Elaine Hatfield Walster, Interpersonal Attraction (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969); Steve Duck, Personal Relationships and Personal Constructs (New

York: Wiley, 1973); Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour, eds., Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships (New York: Academic Press, 1981); and Theodore M. Newcomb, "The Prediction of Interpersonal Attraction", American Psychologist 11 (November 1956):575-86.

¹⁵See: Laurie Davidson and Laura Kramer Gordon, The Sociology of Gender (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1979) and Jessie Bernard, The Future of Marriage (New York: Bantam Books, 1973).

¹⁶See: Bronislaw Malinowski, "Parenthood, the Basis of Social Structure" in The Family, ed. Rose Laub Coser (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974), pp. 51-63; Sharon K. Houseknecht, "Voluntary Childlessness in the 1980s: A Significant Increase?", Marriage & Family Review 5 (Summer 1982):51-70; Jane Riblett Wilkie, "The Trend Toward Delayed Parenthood", Journal of Marriage and the Family 43 (August 1981):583-91; Rose Laub Coser and Gerald Rokoff, "Women in the Occupational World: Social Disruption and Conflict" in The Family, ed. Rose Laub Coser, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974), pp. 490-511; Judy Klemesrud, "Mothers Who Shift Back From Jobs to Homemaking", New York Times, January 19, 1983, pp., C1, C10; Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles" in The Family, ed. Rose Laub Coser, pp. 512-19 and Mirra Komarovsky, "Thirty Years Later: The Masculine Case" in The Family, pp. 520-31.

¹⁷See: Bernard I. Murstein, Mary Cerreto, and Marcia G. MacDonald, "A Theory and Investigation of the Effect of Exchange-Oriented on Marriage and Friendship", Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1977):543-48; J. L. Barkas, Single in America (New York: Scribner's, 1980); and Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: Wiley, 1964).

¹⁸See: Bernard C. Rosen and Carol S. Aneshensel, "The Chameleon Syndrome: A Social Psychological Dimension of the Female Sex Role", Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):605-17 and Colette Dowling, The Cinderella Complex (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981).

¹⁹Davidson and Gordon, The Sociology of Gender, pp. 112-19. See also: Lonnie Barbach, For Each Other (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1982), pp. 9-50 and Nicholas Babchuk and Alan P. Bates, "The Primary Relations of Middle-class Couples: A Study in Male Dominance", American Sociological Review 28 (June 1963):377.

²⁰John Ryan, "Marital Status, Happiness, and Anomia", Journal of Marriage and the Family 43 (August 1981):643-49 and Kobrin and Hendershot, "Do Family Ties Reduce Mortality? Evidence from the United States, 1966-68", pp. 737-45.

²¹Jane Anderson, "Living Single", Christian Science Monitor, Tuesday, January 18, 1983, p. 15. See also: Nicky Hart, When Marriage Ends (London: Tavistock, 1976).

²²See footnotes 4-7 as well as: Ted Huston, "Power" in H. H. Kelley, E. Berscheid, A. Christensen, J. Harvey, T. Huston, G. Levinger, E. McClintock, A. Peplau, and D. Peterson, Close Relationships, chapter 5 (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1982), (88-page typescript); Boyd C. Rollins and Stephen J. Bahr, "A Theory of Power Relationships in Marriage", Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):619-27; Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "Reconciliation of Women's Roles" in The Family, pp. 473-89; Jessie Bernard, The Future of Marriage (New York: Bantam, 1973) and Ann Oakley, The Sociology of Housework (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).

²³See: Elaine Walster and G. William Walster, A New Look at Love (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1978).

²⁴Werner J. Cahnman, "The Moral Treatment of Obesity", The Sociological Quarterly (Summer 1968):283-99, repr. Social Interaction, pp. 439-54. See also: Hilde Bruch, Eating Disorders (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), pp. 118-9.

²⁵On the increase in living together arrangements, see: Bernard I. Murstein, ed., Exploring Intimate Life Styles (New York: Springer, 1978) and Richard R. Clayton and Harwin L. Voss, "Shacking Up: Cohabitation in the 1970's", Journal of Marriage and the Family 39 (May 1977):273-83.

²⁶Georg Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. and ed. Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), pp. 325-6. See also: Harry Stack Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (New York: Norton, 1953).

²⁷Myrna M. Weissman and Eugene S. Paykel, "Moving and Depression in Women", Society 9 (July/August 1972):24-8.

²⁸On the developmental view of friendship, see text and footnotes in Chapters 2 and 4, including: Robert L. Selman and Anne P. Selman, "Children's Ideas About Friendship: A New Theory", Psychology Today, October 1979, pp. 71-2, 74, 79-80, 114 and Wenda J. Dickens and Daniel Perlman, "Friendship Over the Life-cycle" in Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships, ed. Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 95-6.

²⁹For references on gender differences in friendship patterns, see text and footnotes in Chapter 2 as well as footnote 35, below.

³⁰Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, pp. 123-4.

³¹Norman Shulman, "Life-Cycle Variations in Patterns of Close Relationships", Journal of Marriage and the Family 37 (November 1975):813-21 and references in Chapter 2, including Claude S. Fischer and Stacey J. Oliner, "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle", working paper (Berkeley: University of California, March 1980), pp.

1-24.

³²Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, abridged (Garden City: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1958).

³³George J. McCall, et. al., Social Relationships (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).

³⁴Ryan, "Marital Status, Happiness, and Anomia", pp. 643-49, Kobrin and Hendershot, "Do Family Ties Reduce Mortality? Evidence from the United States, 1966-68", pp. 737-45, and Ronald C. Kessler and Marilyn Essex, "Marital Status and Depression: The Importance of Coping Resources", Social Forces 61 (December 1982):484-507.

³⁵On women and friendship see: Lowenthal and Haven, "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable", pp. 20-30; Hess, "Friendship" in Aging and Society, pp. 357-93; Lynd and Lynd, Middletown, Williams, "Close Friendship Relations of Housewives Residing in an Urban Community", pp. 358-62; Babchuk and Bates, "The Primary Relations of Middle-Class Couples: A Study in Male Dominance", pp. 377-84; Rita James Simon, Gail Crofts, and Linda Mahan, "An Empirical Note About Married Women and Their Friends", Social Forces 48 (June 1970):520-525; Nicholas Babchuk, "Primary Friends and Kin: A Study of the Associations of Middle Class Couples", Social Forces 43 (1965):483-93; D. M. Toomey, "Conjugal Roles and Social Networks in an Urban Working Class Sample", Human Relations 24 (1971):417-31; Lillian Breslow Rubin, Worlds of Pain (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Claude S. Fischer and Stacey J. Oliner, "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle", unpublished working paper; and Mayta A. Caldwell and Letitia Anne Peplau, "Sex Differences in Same-Sex Friendship", manuscript of article to appear in Sex Roles (December 1979), pp. 1-22.

³⁶George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons, eds., Issues in Participant Observation: A Text and Reader (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969).

³⁷Interview with anonymous male respondent, New York City, 10 February 1983.

³⁸McCall and Simmons, eds., Issues in Participant Observation, Preface.

³⁹Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), pp. 161-207.

⁴⁰See: Marilyn Mercer, "Office Friendships: How They Really Affect Your Career", Glamour, April 1979, p. 152; Suzanne Gordon, "The New Corporate Feminism", The Nation, February 5, 1983, pp. 1, 143, 146-7; Beth B. Hess, "Friendship and Gender Roles Over the Life Course" in Peter J. Stein, ed., Single Life (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 106.

⁴¹ An important question, and one which this study did not even set out to answer, is one posed by a professor who, listened to a recanting of some of the responses of this sample of urban simple women, asked, "But why do they live alone?" (Professor William Kornblum, CUNY Graduate School and University, Interview, 19 October 1982.) Another question that might be posed -- since the answer might have a bearing on their friendship patterns -- is, "Why did these women leave home and relocate to Manhattan"? Other questions that were not consistently asked for the initial sample -- the importance of those questions and answers only evolved out of the data collection and analysis -- that would be included in further studies are: the respondent's current or past involvement with therapy (type, frequency); better probing on who initiated their current closest, and most important failed, friendships; religion of all primary friends; detailed questions about acquaintanceships as well as kin members to whom the respondent is not close.

⁴² Anonymous in-person interviews, New York City, August 1982.

⁴³ Phone interview with anonymous female, New York City, 26 December 1982.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I
ACCOUNTING SCHEMES AND STUDY DESIGN

Reason Analysis

In October 1980, the decision was made to approach the research topic of friendship by using reason analysis¹ "...a set of procedures used in survey research to construct causal explanations for the actions, decisions, or intentions of individuals."² Reason analysis is "used in studying the subjective factors in any course of individual action" and is the research method of choice if one or more of the following conditions are present: (1) a process is being studied; (2) the act is extremely frequent or infrequent; and (3) only those performing the act can conveniently be located or followed.³

Studying friendship involves looking at the subjective reasons for initiating, maintaining, or dissolving friendships. Furthermore, two of the three above criteria for using reason analysis are present in friendship. Friendship is a process; under study is the course of a friendship from its beginning through its maintenance (or dissolution). Friendship is also an extremely frequent act; almost everyone has "friends". Put another way, almost everyone has social relations with adults outside their families.⁴ Although reason analysis is easier when applied to

such "casual acts" as soap buying or voting, it's application to a depth decision, such as beginning, maintaining, or ending a friendship, is still useful.⁵

In "A Sociologist Looks at Motivation," David Sills provides this explanation of reason analysis: "It [reason analysis] differs from other procedures in that instead of directly establishing statistical tendencies -- e.g., better educated people are more likely than less educated people to join voluntary associations -- it requires the initial determination, in the case of each individual studied, of what reasons led to his behavior....the essential element in reason analysis is that each individual is initially considered separately."⁶

This kind of analytical system is called by various names -- reason analysis by Kadushin and Zeisel⁷, "'model of action'" or "'balance sheet'" by Sills⁸, "action-analysis" by Gaudet,⁹ and decision analysis by Lazarsfeld, as noted by sociologist William J. Goode:

Paul Lazarsfeld used to use a kind of "decision analysis system": asking for the specifics that fall under the categories of (a) predispositions toward long term commitments, values, goals, attitudes; (b) the evaluation of different alternatives as they present themselves; (c) cross-variables (disapproval from others, etc.); and (d) precipitating variables. These do not require the respondent to know why he or she ended the relationship. But they do require that you put in the right kinds of questions, alas.¹⁰

Reason analysis, and accounting schemes, grew out of the tradition, established by Lazarsfeld at Columbia University some fifty years ago, that it is necessary to determine the underlying reasons a respondent may have to a seemingly simple "why" question.¹¹ In his classic article, "The Art of Asking Why,"

Lazarsfeld describes three basic principles for framing "why" questions: (1) ascertaining what a question means (specification); (2) enabling the interviewee to answer (division); and (3) ascertaining what the answer means (tacit assumption).¹²

Designing a reason analysis involves the following six steps:

(1) distinguishing each type of action involved in the subject to be studied; (2) dividing the act to be studied into separate acts or phases; (3) developing an accounting scheme for each act or phase; (4) translating the accounting scheme into a data-collection guide, usually an interview schedule; (5) developing a calculus of factors so that the relative weight of different factors can be assessed; and (6) tabulating the results of this assessment for the whole sample or for different segments of the sample.¹³

Reason analysis is a research technique that, through the analysis of pilot studies and the researcher's theoretical framework, enables the researcher to continually reformulate a theory or questions so that the final data is collected with a firm perspective on the specific research topic. This contrasts sharply with just going into the field and asking open-ended questions, or constructing a questionnaire, distributing it, and then trying to find meaning in the responses. For instance, a graduate student who is getting her Masters degree in Human Resources Administration has just had 120 questionnaires completed by employees at the company where she works. She now has to, as she put it, "Make some sense out of the answers." In reason analysis, the "making sense" process is on-going, with the final data collection the culmination, not the beginning, of that process.

Unlike data collection and after-the-fact analysis, reason analysis requires a presorting of possible typologies and categories so that, to facilitate comparisons, the apples and oranges are already correctly placed. Since every category in an accounting scheme must be mutually exclusive, a researcher using this method must have a thorough knowledge of his or her research area even before interviewing the final sample -- e.g. the type of friendship; circumstances of the meeting; structural changes that might effect the friendship.

Examples of Research Using Accounting Schemes

The first example of reason analysis is found in Herta Herzog's, "Why Did People Believe In the 'Invasion From Mars'?". Herzog reports on her commissioned study, based on thirty intensive interviews with middle-class men and women who were living in Orange, New Jersey at the time of the Welles' broadcast. (Herzog chose her sample based on reports from neighbors and friends that her respondents had been greatly effected by the broadcast.)¹⁴

Herzog listed these factors as the necessary ones to consider in analyzing listener gullibility:

- a. What in the past experience or personality of our respondents made them inclined to become perturbed?
- b. What in the program was especially conducive to taking it for a real news broadcast?
- c. Which listener situations were especially likely to facilitate a misunderstanding of the program?
- d. How did people influence one another when they were listening in groups or got in contact with each other?
- e. What possibilities of checking upon the nature of the broadcast did the listener have and what use did he make of these possibilities?¹⁵

Using the data elicited from her interviews, Herzog filled in each question with answers that would explain a respondent's acceptance of the broadcast. For example, "the situational context" was important: "...the special moment at which people started to listen," with the following list of determining situations ordered in the frequency in which they were stated:

- Dialed in by coincidence after the program had begun
- Family members or friends rushed in and made them listen
- Were urged over the telephone to listen
- Happened to enter a room where the program was on
- Listened from the beginning¹⁶

A second example of the use of accounting schemes is J. Stannard Baker's report, "A Framework for Assessment of Causes of Automobile Accidents." Baker cites these necessary conditions for the occurrence of a traffic accident: surprise, trafficway, traffic, and doing some injury or damage.¹⁷ Baker stresses that traffic accidents do not have one cause; they are the result of a series of events "...and that the cause is a combination of many circumstances often extending back over many years."¹⁸ Although the following contributing acts or conditions are of unequal importance in traffic accident causation, they still must all be taken into account: 1) early or remote causes (contributing conditions); 2) mediate or middle causes (conditions existing at the time and place of the accident; acts or neglect which lead quickly up to the surprise; and acts after the surprise worsening the situation); 3) the direct cause (unconventional behavior of a vehicle, pedestrian, or passenger directly leading to the key event); and 4) the cause (the combination of circumstances which resulted in the accident, not one cause alone).¹⁹

The inadequacies of the general why question is demonstrated by Peter H. Rossi's discussion of why families move, a third example of reason analysis.²⁰ The responses to Rossi's question about the reason for a move were grouped as follows: "To secure better quarters or live in a better location"; "To build or purchase a home"; "More space required"; "Rents too high or house too large"; "House sold, repaired, renovated, occupied by owner"; "House in need of repairs, burnt or torn down"; "Closer to location where employed"; and "Marriage". Rossi notes: "Some respondents answered the question as if it referred to the house to which they have moved... and others answered in terms of the homes from which they had moved..."²¹

As this researcher found it necessary to do for questions about friendship, Rossi had to break down the general why question about moving "...into a set of specific whys each directed at one of these less complex topics....The function of such frames of references called accounting schemes is to specify in advance what are the aspects of the actions in question which will be discussed with the respondent..."²²

"The" accounting scheme is a misleading term since more than one accounting scheme may be necessary to complete one research probe. In studying why people go to psychiatrists, Kadushin, for example, needed four accounting schemes, one scheme for each of the four stages that he uncovered in the process, namely:

1. Realizing there is a problem
2. Consulting with relatives and friends
3. Deciding on the type of healer
4. Choosing an individual practitioner²³

Goode, in his development of an accounting scheme for divorce rate differentials, notes the following minimum types of data necessary to explain the different divorce rates between strata, groups, or generations:

1. Predispositions in the economic or social stratum toward or against divorce
2. Internal strains on, and satisfaction from, the marriage
3. Alternatives outside the present marriage
4. External supports for, or undermining of, the marriage on the part of the relevant social groups
5. Precipitants of conflict, or of the decision to divorce²⁴

Another example of the use of accounting schemes is Columbia University-trained sociologist David L. Sills's scheme, based on his research into family planning effectiveness in India. Sills demonstrates how useful an accounting scheme can be when asking "why not?"²⁵ In "Cultural and Socio-Economic Factors in Family Planning Motivation: On the Art of Asking 'Why Not?'" Sills presents the accounting scheme that he developed because of the variety of interpretations of the "why not" question, e.g. no need for family planning, reasons for failing to go to a family planning clinic, husband's objections to contraception, or husband's arguments against sterilization.²⁶

Figure 21
Sills' Accounting Scheme for Ascertaining Reasons
for Accepting or not Accepting Family Planning

I. Knowledge		
Knowledge of specific method(s) of family planning	Knowledge something can be done to prevent pregnancy	Knowledge of of father
II. Presence and awareness of need		
Belief in or evidence of fertility	Living with husband; exposure to intercourse	Desired number of children (or sons) already born
III. Absence of objections		
A. To family planning generally		
<u>Wife's Objections</u>	<u>Others' (particularly husband's) objections</u>	
1. Moral or religious	1. Moral or religious	
2. Health, practicality, comfort, trouble	2. Health, practicality, comfort, trouble	
B. To specific methods		
<u>Wife's Objections</u>	<u>Others' (particularly husband's) objections</u>	
1. Moral or religious	1. Moral or religious	
2. Health, practicality, comfort, trouble	2. Health, practicality, comfort, trouble	
IV. Availability of means		
Existence of clinic or other medical facilities; knowledge of these facilities	Psychological ability to visit facilities	Practical ability to visit facilities
V. Precipitating event		
<u>Channels of information</u>	<u>Effectiveness of channels</u>	
1. Husband/other family members	1. Level of knowledge	
2. Friends of acquaintances	2. Awareness of need	
3. Medical personnel	3. Absence of objections	
4. Group meetings	4. Availability of means	
5. Mass media	5. Prestige of communicator	
	6. Chance factors affecting exposure and capacity to act ²⁷	

The next example of the use of reason analysis is provided by Hazel Gaudet in "A Model for Assessing Changes in Voting Intention," a paper that examines Gaudet's 1939 research into the role of radio as a tool in political propaganda. Gaudet cautions researchers about the difficulty of assessing the respondent's true reasons for changing an opinion: "...Ordinary interviewing requires a considerable amount of tact and skill, but ascertaining the full reasons for a change in opinion is more difficult. It requires special knowledge and perception of what constitutes a complete answer. It requires a special definition of the possible components of a change. Interviewers should be made especially alert and aware on this point so that they will never accept the first answer given by a respondent if it is incomplete without following it up with further questioning."²⁸

The ninth, and last, example of research using accounting schemes is from a study conducted by Hans Zeisel, with the assistance of Howard Mann, about reasons that lawyers would request or waive the right to a criminal (jury) trial for their client. The following excerpts from the accounting scheme that Zeisel devised for those cases where the decision to waive a trial was based on a case-by-case analysis. .TP 15

Figure 22

Zeisel's Scheme of Reasons for Choosing Trial
With or Without Jury²⁹

- I. Advantage Aimed At
 - A. More advantageous verdict
 - B. Costs of trial
 - C. Better prospects for bargaining or an advantageous guilty plea
 - D. Better opportunities for appeal

E. Better insulation against client if case is lost

II. Influences on Decision

- A. Client's wishes
- B. Trial judge's preferences (to gain his favor)
- C. Counsel's personal preferences
- D. Countering opposing counsel's preference
 - 1. In particular case
 - 2. In general
- E. Tradition in the particular court

Accounting Schemes for This Study

In September 1980, a questionnaire on friendship was devised, and distributed, to this researcher's college students and to a snowball sample of adults. After studying those 117 questionnaire responses, and reading through the transcripts of the eight initial in-person and telephone interviews, this researcher realized that she had to develop accounting schemes -- "a logical structure of what you want to find out"³⁰ -- to get more useful and complete responses on friendship. Sills states the purpose of accounting schemes in this way: "The general idea underlying the accounting scheme is as follows: questions must be framed and asked so that it will be possible to score each woman (or man) interviewed at least once in each box. As the respondent answers specific questions, the questions to be asked subsequently will be altered somewhat; that is, different interviews will consist of different combinations and types of questions. All interviews, however, will obtain sufficiently complete information from the respondent."³¹

While conducting additional pilot interviews, this researcher realized that she would need more than one accounting scheme, since each phase of the friendship process would need its own scheme. The 25 pilot interviews that were conducted allowed a testing out of

each scheme as it was devised, revising it until satisfied that the final interviews with the random sample could be adequately analyzed. Complete accounting schemes, and sets of dimensions, would enable the exploration of the patterns of friendships as well as the beginning, maintenance, or dissolution of specific friendships, and would act as an analytical tool following the interviews. From the beginning of the research, it was intended that the accounting schemes would not be used for framing specific interview questions, but as a guide to facilitate asking questions to elicit complete answers to any "why" questions.

It became apparent that to look at the current closest friendship, it would be necessary to understand its beginning as well as its current status. To study why a woman ended an important friendship, it would be necessary to look at two types of endings -- those that faded and those that definitely ended.³² To learn about the friendship patterns of the interviewees, it would be necessary to learn about all their current friendships and whether they were dyads, triads, or networks. It would also be important to set out the "various dimensions of the action or attitude under study" -- "general categories of reasons."³³ Ziesel suggests an accounting scheme of a rudimentary type -- predisposition ("all motives prior to the ... decision"); attributes of the desired object; and influences "which affect the course of the decision".³⁴

Why friendship is initiated, maintained, or dissolved has to consider Lazarsfeld's three principles regarding the why question. Friendships would also seem to fit Zeisel's push-pull model:

"Whenever a change or switch from one situation to another, or one product to another is at issue, a model recommends itself that is based on the two poles of the decision: the dissatisfactions with the old situation or product (push) and the satisfactions expected from the change (pull)....Around this polarity of push and pull, other dimensions will form: the channels through which the new situation comes to attention and the influences that strengthen pull or push, as the case may be...."³⁵

Zeisel's push-pull model was kept in mind during the pilot interviews; even the earliest accounting schemes zeroed in on the structural changes (e.g. marriage, divorce, relocation, etc.) that could effect a friendship.³⁶ Goode, whose comprehensive study, After Divorce, is a useful example of an in-depth analysis of a "why" question, also points out the importance of such structural changes in regard to friendship:

...All the various factors that go into maintaining any kind of social unit would play a role: 'What are the profits from the interaction? What is the surplus that each may draw upon? How dependent each is on the others? The support from kin and other friends? How long the acquaintance?' and so on. That is, structural variables will always be of considerable importance in maintaining any relationship.³⁷

The accounting schemes on friendship for this study had to "...exhaust the kinds of reasons expected" and each reason had to be "...mutually exclusive, so that any reason can be clearly identified as belonging to one dimension and no other."³⁸ Although not all accounting schemes include the time dimension, those for this study would since time is a dimension of interest in friendship. Although some friendships do seem to just fade over time (still a type of ending), there are friendships that dramatically end because of "a

type of action, evolving over time, the end phase of which is triggered off by a relatively minor event."³⁹ One type of time element taken into consideration is: "Time to get from first contact with each other to considering him/her a friend."⁴⁰ A second time element of interest in looking at friendship patterns is the time spent together, or frequency of contact.

In the course of the pilot studies, specific words and actions to initiate a friendship were becoming as important to consider as those that ended it. A specific action that ended a friendship, described by one pilot study male interviewee, was how, when he was fourteen years old, he discovered that his friend was a shoplifter (value conflict).⁴¹ In another instance, a pilot study female, who had known her friend since their college days together, ended their friendship some ten years later. She explained that "the" reason was her dissatisfaction with the way her ex-friend treated her after the ex-friend and then the interviewee's children were born (fault finding). In this instance, the interviewee actually sent a letter telling the former friend not to contact her again. During probing, however, it was revealed that the interviewee, who lives in Massachusetts, only sent the letter to her friend after the friend moved to Florida (structural change).⁴² Where no specific action or words occurred, however, respondents, such as one pilot study interviewee, seemed to view those friendships as merely faded. For example, an exploratory study interviewee revealed that although out of touch with her male friend for five or more years -- she was not even sure what state he now lived in -- she regarded that friendship as merely faded.⁴³

Especially in regard to ended friendships, exploratory interviews for this study helped in the application of the three phases of a decision, described by Zeisel:

1. Information phase -- when news is learned and absorbed
2. Evaluation phase -- when the news is evaluated
3. Confirmation phase -- when the experiences of others are weighed before deciding to accept the news.

Although Zeisel was referring to the decision-making phases that doctors go through in deciding whether or not to use a new drug, those phases can also be applied to friendship. As the accounting schemes for this study were revised, schemes were restructured so that distinct phases could be discerned in the friendship formation, maintenance, and dissolution processes. Here are the processes involved when Melanie, a pilot interviewee who is 38 and living alone in Manhattan, decided to end a friendship, a decision (and relationship) that had a fourteen year history:

Information phase: Melanie meets Brenda when they are both living in the same dormitory at the college they are attending in California. Brenda initiates the relationship in the elevator. They become friends [final interviews would determine how long that took], eventually rooming together when both later live in New York. After that, they always seem to be living on opposite coasts. For years, they maintain a long distance relationship of letters, phone calls, and occasional visits. Melanie detects early in the relationship that Brenda has "no integrity" -- "more than once she went after a man that I was going out with."

Evaluation phase: This lasts fourteen years, from the

beginning of the relationship until its ending, when Melanie finally decides her original instincts about Brenda are correct.

Confirmation phase: Brenda and Melanie have breakfast during one of Brenda's trips to New York. When Brenda asks her, outright, if she still wants to be friends, Melanie replies, "As a matter of fact, I don't." Melanie has decided Brenda is not worth the bother anymore. The end of the friendship is confirmed through Melanie's words.⁴⁵

In order to learn about the course of specific friendships as well as the friendship patterns among urban single women, three accounting schemes would be necessary:

Scheme 1: Initiation

Scheme 2: Maintenance

Scheme 3: Dissolution

(The third accounting scheme would be used only if the relationship had ended or dramatically faded.)

Sills points out at the end of his family planning accounting scheme: "...as the data obtained from this survey are subjected to further analysis some revisions will undoubtedly be made."⁴⁶ Thus, the core of the schemes for this dissertation, after almost two years of pilot study research (questionnaires and interviews), reflection, and reading, were formulated between May 7th and June 17th, 1982; modifications, however, occurred throughout the months of final data collection and analysis (June 1982 to April 1983).

Figure 23

Elements Necessary for a Complete Answer

About the Course of a Friendship

INITIATION

I. Respondent's orientation -- (All motives prior to initiation of relationship)

A. Desire for friendship

B. Friendship expectations

II. Future friend's attributes -- (desired object)

A. Shared desire for friendship

B. Characteristics

III. Social context of meeting (which affect the course of the decision)

A. Proximity

(2) MAINTENANCE

I. Respondent's orientation

A. Desire to continue friendship

B. Fulfillment of friendship expectations

II. Friend's attributes

A. Shared desire to continue friendship

B. Characteristics

III. Social context of friendship

A. Proximity

B. Structural changes since meeting

(3) DISSOLUTION

- I. Respondent's orientation
 - A. Wish to end the friendship
 - B. Reevaluation of choice
- II. Friend's attributes
 - A. Wish to end the friendship
 - B. Reevaluation of choice
- III. Situational context of friendship
 - A. Structural changes
 - B. Other pulls

The above accounting schemes (which, in Chapters 6 - 8 were filled in with the elicited categories of reasons for this sample population) demonstrated that friendship is, to use Parsons' words, "...concerned both with personality and with culture..."⁴⁷ Why friendship is functional or dysfunctional for the single women was elucidated in Chapters 4-9.⁴⁸

Attributes of the Actors

In addition to the previous accounting schemes that would be used in eliciting, and coding, the data, questions covering demographic (background) information were framed. It should again be noted that the list that follows served only as a guide, not as a rigid interview schedule. (The questions below enabled this researcher to place the final sample in a socio-economic/cultural context, as detailed in the descriptive and tabular material presented in Chapter 3.)

Figure 24

Demographic and Background Data to be Elicited

1. Age
2. Race [observe only]
3. Ethnic background
4. Religion
5. Place of birth
 - a. Place grew up
6. Time living in New York City
 - a. Time living in current apartment
7. Living arrangement
8. Marital status
9. Children
10. Educational background
 - a. Highest degree
 1. Whether currently in school
11. Occupation
 - a. Previous occupations
12. Family background
 - a. Parents
 1. Living or deceased
 2. Current marital status
 3. Current place of residence
 4. Mother's occupation
 5. Father's occupation
 - b. Siblings
 1. Sister(s)
 - a. Age
 - b. Occupation
 - c. Marital status
 2. Brother(s)
 - a. Age
 - b. Occupation
 - c. Marital status
13. Hobbies
14. Association/organization memberships
15. Income

Categorization of Actors

In addition to the accounting schemes and the background questions, additional categorizations about the actors were necessary to which the schemes would apply. These possible categories of non-kin, non-romantic relations were devised: (1) best friend(s); (2) close friend(s); (3) casual friends; (4) acquaintances. These mutually exclusive categories for the way in

which the future friends met were also constructed: (1) residence or neighborhood-related; (2) school; (3) work; (4) through an activity or organization; (5) through another person (family member; friend; romantic partner; an acquaintance. The type of contact with a friend was classified in this way: (1) activity-related; (2) confidence-sharing; (3) both. The following mutually exclusive categories for the possible types of friendships were devised: (1) isolated dyads; (2) interlocking triads; and (3) social networks.

Figure 25 describes the complete set of dimensions that were included in developing the categorization of the actors to which the accounting schemes applied.

Figure 25

Categorization of Actors

1. Type of Friendships
2. Origin of Friendship(s)
3. Types of Relationships
4. Basis for relationship
 - a. Utility
 - b. Character
 - c. Both
5. Category of contact
 - a. Activity-related
 - b. Confidence-sharing
 - c. Both
6. Type of contact
 - a. In person
 - b. By phone
 - c. Through correspondence
 - d. Through hearsay
7. Frequency of contact
8. Number of Best, Close, and/or Casual Friends
9. Respondent's Current Closest Friend
10. Close failed friendships
 - a. Number
 - b. Respondent's most important failed friendship
11. Desire for Additional Friends
 - a. Number
 - b. Type
12. Need for Friends (low, medium, high, high) (See Appendix III for examples of coding)

13. Need for Alone Time (low, medium, high)
14. Need for Romantic Intimacy (low, medium, high)
15. Activity level (low, medium, high)
16. Single orientation
 1. Not accepting
 2. Resigned
 3. Accepting
 4. Very accepting
17. Primary friends (Best and/or Close)
 - a. Gender
 - b. Proximity
 - c. Exchanges
 - d. Marital status
 - e. Religion
 - f. Occupation
 - g. Age ranges
 1. Youngest
 2. Oldest
 - h. Duration of friendships
 1. Longest
 2. Most recent
 - i. How met
 - j. Age at meeting
 - k. Role of conflict
18. Substitutes for friendship and/or romantic involvement (if it is unimportant or unavailable)
 - a. Family ties
 - b. Job responsibilities
 - c. Outside activities
 - d. Romantic relationships
 - e. Being alone
19. Effect of Romance on Friendship(s)
 - a. Importance of respondents' friends to romantic partner(s)
 - b. Importance of romantic partner's friends to respondent

To demonstrate the fulfillment of an early pilot study version of this categorization, the responses from an exploratory interview with Carol, a 28-year-old never-married woman, follow. In May 1982, Carol was interviewed in a coffee shop near her apartment in downtown Manhattan. Carol, who is Catholic, has short curly hair, and grew up on Long Island. Carol says that she is very close with her parents, especially her mother. An executive at a bank, Carol owns a one-bedroom apartment in a luxury building. At the time of

the interview, Carol had just completed her MBA after five years of night school and had broken up with her boyfriend of ten years standing. (They had met in high school, dated on and off during and after college, and had lived in separate cities until six months before our interview, when they had tried living together in Carol's apartment.)

Carol talks about her busy schedule. ("It's difficult to find time to go out with everybody.") She finds that errands really "cramp" her "style" — "the things that all the guys at work have wives to do for them. These men have no idea how much time it takes to be a homemaker while working nine to five while also keeping a very active social life. I think that's what I'm good at, juggling all these things." She discusses what it was like when she and her boyfriend lived together: "He didn't like me cuddling with him if he was reading....For him I was a distraction because he doesn't have that much self-discipline....I didn't need to know him any better. I knew him and that was what I didn't like."

Types of friendships: Isolated dyads

Origin of friendships

Friend 1 - School-related (10th grade)

Friend 2 - School-related (college)

Friend 3 - School-related (college)

Friend 4 - Neighborhood-related (lived in same building for 4 years; now lives 1 block away)

Need for Friends: High

Type of Social Relations: Has never had a best friend; acquaintances are people she enjoys talking to and doing things

with; close friends are those she can tell everything to. "I think I'd call three of them close friends that I confide everything in. One of them, one of the girls from college, is a friend; I don't confide everything in her. I would say the other three I share just about everything with."

Type of contact: Confidence-sharing

Frequency of contacts:

Friend 1 - Speak to once or twice a week

See once a month

Friend 2 - Speak to once a week

See once a month

Friend 3 - See infrequently

Talk to infrequently

("But I still consider her a close friend")

Friend 4 - Weekly visits

Daily phone calls since break up with
boyfriend; before that, 2-3 times a week

Final Interview Strategy and Questions

With the final sample, actual questions were asked spontaneously as the interviews evolved, keeping in mind the points of the accounting schemes on reasons for initiating, maintaining, or ending specific friendships, the background information to be elicited, and the categorization of the actors' friendship patterns to be completed. A sample of interview questions, transcribed from the taped interview with L11, Respondent 18, appear below.

Sample Questions

Note: Answers ranged from just one word to paragraphs. Often the interviewee would, without proding, lead from one answer into "answering" additional questions so that those formal questions did not have to be asked.

"Your age?

Your nationality?

What religion were you brought up in?

Where did you grow up?

What college did you go to?

What happened after college?

When did you move to Manhattan?

How long have you lived in this apartment?

Do you live alone?

Have you ever been married?

What's your highest degree?

What's your marital status?

Are your parents still married?

Do you have any brothers or sisters? What are their ages?

Do you have any hobbies?

Do you belong to any organizations?

What's your income?

What rent do you pay on this apartment?

How would you describe your current dating situation?

Are friends important or unimportant to you?

How many best friends do you have? close friends? casual friends?

Are your friendships based on sharing confidences, doing things together, or both?

What would you say are your primary interests right now?

How many failed friendships have you had, failed with people that mattered to you over the course of your lifetime?

Are you close to any of your family members, family members that you consider close friends?

How would you describe your need for friends, low, medium, or high?

... your need for alone time?...your need for a romantic intimate relationship?"

["After you asked about the other types of friends, I'd have to say that I really don't have a best friend. Anyone that I could put into that category would be my mother, or the guy I'm dating."]

"So you don't really have a best friend?

Does the number of close friends that you gave me still hold?

Why don't you give me their first names.

I'm just going to ask you about your close friends, how you met them, how often you see them, and that kind of thing. When did you meet Irene?

How soon after you met her did you consider her a close friend?

How often do you currently visit her?... talk on the phone?...write to each other?

Which of your friends in New York are you closest to?

How near you does he [Bob] live?

How did you meet him?

How old were you when you met him?
 How soon afterwards did you consider him a close friend?
 How often do you see him?
 How long did you work together?
 How often do you talk?
 Is this truly a platonic friendship?" ["He's gay."]
 "Do any or all of your other close friends live in New York?
 How often do you talk to Alice? Gloria? Beverly?
 How soon after you met Beverly did you consider her a close friend?
 You see each other every day at work, do you call in the evening?
 Where does she live?
 How about Jenny?
 You talk on the phone three to five times a year?
 And Lisa?
 Do your parents still live in New Jersey?
 What does your Mother do? your Father? your sister?
 Does she have children?
 And your brother?
 So when you were nine, he [your brother] was twenty-one? Are you all from the same parents?
 How long have your parents been married?
 Do you make a lot of long distance phone calls to your friends?
 How big would you say your long distance phone bill is each month?"
 ["It's not entirely fair because we have a Watts line at work."]
 "So, let's see, you have two male casual friends. Is George gay as well?
 The longest friendship you have is Irene. What's the most recent friendship?
 How about Alice?
 Your close friends are through work, college, school, grew up together. And how about your casual friends?
 Linda? Carrie? Brenda? Wanda? Jim?
 Who are the women in your college "group?"
 Were you in a sorority together?
 Do you all get together as a group? Are you all equally friendly, except two you consider closer friends?
 How about the group through Bob?
 How many of your friends are single?
 Are your boyfriend's friends important to you?
 Does he [your boyfriend Perry] spend a lot of time with your friends?
 So your friendships are mainly networks. And do you have one-on-ones?
 When you don't have a romantic interest, do you find that you use your friends are a substitute? Do you throw yourself into your work? Would you turn to your friends if you had a lull in your social life?
 How recently did it peter out with Perry?
 Is he a lot older?
 Where does she live [the friend you forgot to mention before]?
 How often were you seeing Perry?

How long was he married? How old is his son? Is he the custodial parent?

Are there any people that you use the friendship for what they have?

What's the longest that you've had a romantic relationship?

Why don't you tell me a little bit more about Irene. When you first met her, what did she look like? What was appealing about her?

How long were you across the street neighbors? How did you keep in touch after she moved?

Was there anything at the time that the friendship started that gave you clues that it would continue?

Does Irene talk to you about her marriage? Does she understand your lifestyle?

Would you say that your relationship with Irene has been even or uneven?

What would you say has been the high point of your relationship? ... the low point?

When did she have her baby?

What's the current status of your involvement?

What's your current impression of her compared to when you first met?

Has she ever come to New York specifically to visit you?

Have you ever gone to Maryland to visit her? How about when she was in Arkansas?

Of the failed friendships you mentioned, why don't you pick one to tell me about.

What were your first impressions of her?

How long did it take to become friends?

What religion was she?

What was she majoring in [in college]?

What did you share in the beginning? Took courses together?

Did you share friends? confidences?

Was there anything at the time that gave you clues that the friendship would end? looking back?

Did you talk to her about it? [the fact that she started dating someone that you were dating]

How did it end?

How long since you've been in touch with her?

Did you ever want to reinitiate the friendship? Are you curious about her?

Are you satisfied with your current friendships, either with the number or with the quality?

What's your biggest worry?

What's the biggest source of personal satisfaction in your life?

Are you ever lonely? When?

Other than Perry, would you say that you see Beverly most often?

After Beverly, who do you see most often outside of work?

What do you hope to be doing in six months?"

Study Design

Practical considerations necessitated limiting the final sample to one specific population since other researchers have shown that friendship patterns will vary according to age, gender, marital status, race, and whether in an urban, suburban, or rural setting.⁵⁰ This dissertation was therefore limited to a study of the friendship patterns of a homogeneous group that researchers have previously neglected, namely white, working, middle and upper-middle class urban single women who live alone. Age parameters of between twenty and forty were set on the final sample. It was this researcher's intent to study single women who were old enough to be on their own, but young enough to still bear children, if they chose to, and hence not yet middle-aged.

This narrowing of the sample was inspired by a review of the literature and the realization that advances in knowledge about friendship has come from those studies, conducted in the last thirty or forty years, that focused on the friendship patterns of one specific group, whether blacks on streetcorners, white married couples in Lincoln, Nebraska, Italians in a slum, the elderly in San Francisco, or elementary-school children, to name just a few.⁵¹ Furthermore, by studying the friendship patterns of a seemingly homogeneous group -- single urban living alone working women -- finite differences within that group (rather than broad contrasts between disparate groups, such as singles and the elderly, children and married fathers) could be discerned.

The time demands on the women under study had to be considered in the study design of this dissertation. Because of those time

constraints, certain research methods, such as panel or longitudinal studies, had to be ruled out. The detailed data that was needed for interpretation and analysis also eliminated other possible data collection methods, such as written self-administered questionnaires or telephone interviews (used, with unsatisfactory results, during the pilot study phase of this research).

Upon careful consideration of the methods available to this researcher, the type of data necessary for interpretation and analysis, as well as the practical constraints imposed by the schedules and priorities of the target population, the research method of choice for this dissertation was in-person in-depth interviews, conducted at one point in time, with a sample of single women on one block in Manhattan, a block randomly selected from a census tract in an area known to have a proliferation of single women.⁵²

The in-person interviews for this dissertation would be based upon the previously-detailed accounting schemes. Questionnaire and pilot interview responses provided valuable practice in framing specific questions. Participant observation and observation were also used in the research for this dissertation, mainly to gather background information on the environment inhabited by the population under study. The recording method of choice for these in-person interviews was a tape recorder; notetaking, initially used only for documenting impressions about the respondent or her home, or if the interview took place in a noisy restaurant, became a useful way of filling out the background information sheets as respondents spoke during the unstructured interviews. Throughout

the collection of data from the final sample, insights or questions for further study uncovered by those interviews were noted by this researcher.

Single women on just one block in Manhattan were interviewed for this study, rather than women from various blocks or even sections of Manhattan, because in Manhattan a block is somewhat comparable to a neighborhood or community.⁵³ In that way, it was possible to get a more complete picture of the friendship patterns of the target population, such as their friendships with neighbors in their apartment houses or on their block. By interviewing on just one block, it was also possible to learn about the sample's immediate and surrounding environment, from local "hang outs" and restaurants to block-based associations, services, and activities. Originally it had seemed desirable to interview respondents who might know each other since contacting additional respondents might be facilitated by them (a procedure that had, in the past, been effective in snowball samples contacted by this researcher), and "checking" on their answers might also be facilitated. In one instance, interviewing two women did provide a check on each other's statements. The first respondent, Rose, said that she finally learned not to suddenly ignore her girlfriends just because a man came into her life. The second woman, Lucy, who lived next door and considered herself Rose's friend, contradicted Rose's self-report, saying, that since Rose's boyfriend was around all the time, Lucy's only contacts with her were on those occasions when, late at night, Rose stopped by to grub cigarettes.) By and large, however, offers by respondents to ask their neighbors to participate in this study

had to be turned down; it was found, through trial and error, that single women were more responsive to inclusion in this study if they believed their anonymity was complete. Thus it became necessary to start over with each potential respondent, winning her confidence, and cooperation, anew.

Footnotes

¹Interview with Professor Charles Kadushin, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, New York City, 9 October 1980. (Hereafter cited as CUNY Graduate Center).

²Charles Kadushin, "Reason Analysis," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York: Macmillan Company & Free Press, 1968), p. 338.

³Ibid.

⁴Interview with Charles Kadushin, CUNY Graduate Center, 31 March 1982.

⁵Kadushin, "Reason Analysis," p. 340.

⁶David L. Sills, "A Sociologist Looks at Motivation," in The Citizen Volunteer, ed. Nathan E. Cohen (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), pp. 77-8.

⁷Kadushin, "Reason Analysis," p. 338 and Hans Zeisel, Say It With Figures, 5th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 153.

⁸David H. Sills, "Cultural and Socio-economic Factors in Family Planning Motivation: On the Art of Asking 'Why Not?'," in Fourth All India Conference on Family Planning: Report of the Proceedings, 29 January-3 February 1961, Hyderabad (Bombay: Family Planning Association of India, 1961), pp. 32-33.

⁹Hazel Gaudet, "A Model for Assessing Changes in Voting Intention" in The Language of Social Research: A Reader in the Methodology of Social Research, ed. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (New York: Free Press, 1955), p. 428.

¹⁰Personal correspondence with William J. Goode, Department of Sociology, Stanford University, Stanford, California, 14 April 1982.

¹¹Sills, "Cultural and Socio-economic Factors in Family Planning Motivation," p. 27.

¹²Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Qualitative Analysis (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1972), pp. 183-98.

¹³Kadushin, "Reason Analysis," p. 340.

¹⁴Herta Herzog, "Why Did People Believe In the 'Invasion From Mars'?" in The Language of Social Research, pp. 420-28.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 420.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 424.

¹⁷J. Stannard Baker, "A Framework for Assessment of Causes of Automobile Accidents" in The Language of Social Research, p. 439.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 448.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 441-44.

²⁰Peter H. Rossi, "Why Families Move" in The Language of Social Research, pp. 457-68.

²¹Ibid., p. 458.

²²Ibid., pp. 459-60.

²³Charles Kadushin, Why People Go to Psychiatrists (New York: Atherton Press, 1969), p. 6.

²⁴William J. Goode, After Divorce (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), p. 65.

²⁵Sills, "Cultural and Socio-economic Factors in Family Planning Motivation," pp. 27-28.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 30-32.

²⁷Ibid., p. 33.

²⁸Gaudet, "A Model for Assessing Changes in Voting Intention," pp. 428-29.

²⁹Zeisel, Say It With Figures, p. 162.

³⁰Interviews with Charles Kadushin, CUNY Graduate Center, 1 February 1981 and 24 March 1982.

³¹Sills, "Cultural and Socio-economic Factors in Family Planning Motivation," p. 34.

³²This realization about faded versus ended friendships grew out of the pilot interviews, especially the in-person interviews. For example, one 30-year-old respondent said, in referring to a high school friend and college roommate whom he had not seen or heard from since they graduated from college ten years before, "We lost touch with each other". He did not, however, consider that an ended friendship. Similarly, another pilot study respondent had not heard from her friend in over five years, but she still considered him a friend. (These types of comments also helped in the operationalization of "friend" as a three-category concept (best, close, or casual), since neither of these interviewees would have called those faded relations current best or close friends.)

³³Zeisel, Say It With Figures, p. 157.

³⁴Ibid., p. 159.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 159-60.

³⁶These listings of structural changes developed from versions of the accounting schemes, beginning April 25th, 1981.

³⁷Personal correspondence with William J. Goode, Stanford University, 14 April 1982.

³⁸Zeisel, Say It With Figures, p. 160.

³⁹Ibid., p. 166.

⁴⁰June 17th, 1982 revision of the accounting scheme. Meeting a friend through a romantic partner was added later on, based upon the final interviews, since this unique category started to emerge. (It is possible that earlier respondents did not maintain friendships initiated through past romantic partners so they did not see a reason to mention those faded relations. Initially, no one described someone met through a current or past boyfriend as one of their current primary friends. What was cited, however, were current or past boyfriends introduced to the respondent by a mutual friend.)

⁴¹Interview with anonymous male respondent, Curacao, 6 January 1982.

⁴²Interview with anonymous female respondent, Curacao, 7 January 1982.

⁴³Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 14 January 1982.

⁴⁴Zeisel, Say It With Figures, p. 167.

⁴⁵Interview with anonymous female respondent, New York City, 26 May 1982. It was possible to reinterview this pilot study respondent a few months after the first interview. More important than the months between interviews was that right before the second interview, two young men from Europe became her friends. At the time of that second interview, she was "high on friendship," as she put it. Eventually both men stayed in her living room while they looked for their own apartment. In a more recent phone interview (October 15, 1982), it was revealed that she was having an affair with one of her two friends/guests. When he went on a one-month business trip out-of-town, she asked the other friend to move out. "There was nothing in it for me in having Bill [the other one] stay," she said.

⁴⁶Sills, "Cultural and Socio-economic Factors in Family Planning Motivation," p. 34.

⁴⁷Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: Free Press, 1951), p. 19.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 430.

⁴⁹The list of demographic variables was evolved from background readings on questionnaire construction and interviewing, as well as looking at actual questionnaires and interview schedules, such as Goode, After Divorce, Helena Znaniecka Lopata, Women as Widows: Support Systems (New York: Elsevier, 1979), and Claude Fischer, Principle Investigator, "Northern California Investigation," University of California at Berkeley, 1977.

⁵⁰On friendship patterns of specific groups, especially gender differences, see all the studies cited thus far, in the text and footnotes, of Chapter 2 as well as these additional works: Graham Allan, "Class Variation in Friendship Patterns" British Journal of Sociology 28 (September 1977):389-93; Dexter C. Dunphy, "The Social Structure of Urban Adolescent Peer Groups" Sociometry 26 (1963):230-46; Nicholas Babchuk and John A. Ballweg, "Black Family Structure and Primary Relations", Phylon 33 (1972):334-47; J. P. Sutcliffe and B. D. Crabbe, "Incidence and Degrees of Friendship in Urban and Rural Areas", Social Forces 42 (1963):60-7; and Mary Anne Fitzpatrick and Arthur Bochner, "Inside and Outside Perspectives on Self and Other: Male-Female Differences in the Perception of Interpersonal Behaviors", typescript to be published in Sex Roles, vol. 7, 1981, 23-page typescript. The following interviews also pointed out the ethnic- and age-related differences in friendship patterns: phone interview with Joseph Giordano, Director, Louis Caplan Center on Group Identity and Mental Health, Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, New York City, 24 September 1982 (on Italian friendships); phone interview with Barbara P. Kinoy, psychotherapist, Yonkers, New York, 22 September 1982 (on preadolescent and adolescent friendships); and phone interview with Rev. Dorothy Payne, Center for Single Women, White Plains, New York, 21 September 1982 (on the friendship patterns of older, middle-aged divorced and widowed women).

⁵¹These groups' friendship patterns are revealed in these studies, respectively: Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men, introduction by Hylan Lewis (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967); William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955); Nicholas Babchuk and Alan Bates, Primary Friends and Kin: A Study of the Associations of Middle Class Couples, " Social Forces 43 (1965):483-93; and M. F. Lowenthal and C. Haven, "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable," American Sociological Review 33 (1968):20-30.

⁵²Earl R. Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, 2nd ed. (Bewlmont: Wadsworth, 1979); Kenneth D. Bailey, Methods of Social REsearch (New York: Free Press, 1978); John B. Williamson, David A. Karp, and John R. Dalphin, The Research Craft (Boston: Little, Brown and Company); Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg, eds., The Language of Social Research; "Sociological Research", David A. Caplovitz, CUNY Graduate School and University Center (hereafter cited as CUNY Graduate Center), New York City, Fall 1979; "Research Training in Medical

Sociology", Samuel Bloom, et. al., CUNY Graduate Center, Fall 1979 - Spring 1982; "Qualitative Methods", Patricia Kendall and Hylan Lewis, CUNY Graduate Center, Spring 1980; "Sociological Statistics", Edgar Borgatta, CUNY Graduate Center,, Fall 1980; interviews with Charles Kadushin, CUNY Graduate Center, 1980-82.

⁵³Clara Byrnes, Block Sketches of New York City (New York: Radbridge Company, 1918), n.p.

Appendix II RESEARCH DATA COLLECTION

Obtaining the Sample

For the reasons discussed in detail in Chapter 3 and Appendix I, the census tract map for Manhattan was obtained, and one block from census tract 134, an area known to have a proliferation of single women, was randomly selected. On June 23rd, 1982, a computer program was run to randomly select the order in which to canvas the buildings on the Block to find young single women who were living alone.¹ The first building selected was building 16, a three-story building with two apartments, one of which was a commercial establishment (a restaurant). For this, and each subsequent building, the number of residential units was determined by going to the building and copying down the listings (for tenants or apartments) on either the outside buzzers or inside mailboxes. Since the first twelve buildings did not have doormen, access to the outside buzzers was always possible.

All apartments for each building were noted. If a name was posted below the buzzer, or on the mailbox, the name was recorded.² If no name was visible, the residential unit was still noted.³

Since only single women between the ages of twenty and forty who were living alone were sought, any residential units with male or multiple names were crossed off of the list for a particular building. If only a last name, or a last name and a first initial, was provided, the current Manhattan Telephone Directory was checked for the entire name, and phone number.⁴ If a name was missing

from the published directory, the Manhattan telephone information operator (411) was called in order to check for a possible new or unlisted phone number. Once again, males were eliminated.

For those names that were or could be female, two procedures were followed until the researcher decided which one was more effective. The first method, if a phone number was listed, was to write a letter to the potential respondent, enclosing a copy of the letter of identification from the Executive Officer of the Ph.D. Program in Sociology, and asking her to call me about participating in the study. The second method, and the more effective one, was to first call the potential respondent, try to gain compliance with participation in the study, and then promise to send a follow-up letter, including the letter from the graduate school, prior to the agreed upon meeting. (Scheduled interviews were set for a week from the initial phone call to allow for receipt of the introductory materials and for scheduling adjustments.)

If a phone number was unlisted, which single women are prone to do, or if there was no name on the outside buzzer and/or mailbox, an introductory letter was sent to the "Occupant of Apartment" [X], describing the project and inviting the resident to contact the researcher. A few days after those letters should have been received, if contact had not been made with the researcher by then, those nameless occupants were visited, at various times during the day and evening and weekdays and weekends, in order to verify those residential units, or to secure an interview, by ringing downstairs doorbells. (After the actual interviewing began, however, respondents were sometimes of assistance by providing the sex, age,

marital status and/or living arrangements of those neighbors with whom they were familiar. In that way, some males, couples, females living together, or women over forty, were eliminated.)

Contacting possible respondents on the Block began on June 28th, 1982, going through lists of residential units, knocking on doors, making telephone calls, and sending out introductory letters, building after building, in the order of the random selection. Interviewing began on June 30th, 1982. Because many residents required four or more contacts before verification of status could be made, or an interview secured, interviewing of eligible respondents was carried out simultaneously with the verification process. By September 15th, 12 buildings had been sorted out in the previously-described fashion; 21 interviews with single women living alone between the ages of twenty and forty had been completed.

Apartment verifications, and interviewing, of suitable single women, continued for the remaining 4 buildings (Buildings 12, 11, 4, and 8, respectively). The procedure stated above for finding, eliminating, or interviewing suitable respondents was followed for all but two of the remaining buildings. Those two buildings were luxury high-rises; there were no names below the buzzers that the doormen use to contact tenants and attempts to gain access to the mailroom, or to tenant lists, failed. For those two high-rise buildings, the tenant listings provided in the 1982 edition of Cole's Reverse Directory for Manhattan were therefore consulted.⁵ Those name and telephone listings, organized by building address, were used to either eliminate males or families, or to contact potential respondents by phone, or by mail, as noted above.

As a result of these multivarious efforts, over a three-month period, the entire Block (528 units) was canvassed. Interviews with 27 single women living alone between the ages of twenty and forty were carried out. Two other single women were interviewed but those interviews were discounted in the data analysis for the following reasons: one disclosed that, although single and "living alone", she had recently had a baby with whom she lived; another changed her mind about inclusion in the study. An additional fourteen women living alone and between the ages of twenty and forty were identified; those potential respondents either had "no time" or "no interest" in being interviewed. The remaining units on the block were not included in the sample for the following reasons: occupants were women over forty (76), males (256), not living alone — couples, families, roommates (71), commercial establishments (12); four or more attempts to contact were unsuccessful (51); phone disconnected (8); moved (11).

It should be noted that other researchers who have ventured into the urban "field" have found that the fear toward strangers that is part and parcel of big city living reduces the response rate.⁶ Simmel noted this "reserve" in his well-known essay on the metropolis.⁷ "How did you get my name?" was the most frequent question potential respondents asked. Written or verbal explanations as to how names were obtained often did not reduce the potential interviewee's fear. Interestingly, the elderly women living alone almost begged to be interviewed. The single women living alone were especially afraid of talking to a stranger, even another woman. It is this researcher's belief that because

respondents were obtained completely on the basis of their address, and their fitting the parameters of this research study — no referrals could be made so that the potential respondent could "check out" the researcher with someone known to her — and each and every respondent had to be "talked" into doing the interview, that the responsive rate was further diminished. (Three of the fourteen women identified as fitting the parameters of this study were first contacted by other respondents who were supposed to "pave the way" for this researcher. That approach, unfortunately, backfired. Although the potential respondents were now assured of this researcher's "legitimacy", they no longer believed their answers could be completely anonymous since they "knew" someone else in the research sample. Upon learning this interesting, albeit frustrating, phenomenon, offers to "help" the researcher by asking neighbors and friends to agree to the interview were declined.)

This paranoia toward strangers is reflected in the fact that so many of the interviews with the twenty-seven respondents took place, at the respondent's request, in a place other than her apartment, e.g. at her office, or at a coffee shop or restaurant near the Block. On more than one occasion, respondents verbalized this attitude in words like, "I hesitate to let anyone I don't know into my apartment."

When attempts to contact possible respondents by phone failed, or if a potential respondent had an unlisted phone number, in-person "unannounced" contacts were attempted. If the woman was home, the researcher could usually convince her of her legitimacy, and, upon showing the letter from the Executive Officer, the interview took

place "on the spot" — or another time was arranged. One woman, seen leaving her building early in the morning right before work, told the researcher that she was willing to do the interview. She was, however, so frightened of revealing her apartment number, that she just kept screaming, as she ran up the block, "Call me tonight, when I get home from work?" To which the researcher replied, "But I don't know your name?" "Please take this letter from graduate school, and my number, and call me." "No, I'm afraid to, but call me later and I'll be glad to do the interview." "But who are you?"

For each woman that was interviewed, the taped portion of the interview lasted an average of two hours, although some interviews went on for as long as three hours and some included follow-up phone calls or chance encounters, and discussions, when back on the Block. All respondents were assured of their anonymity. At the end of each interview, respondents signed an "informed consent" release form for the use of that interview in this dissertation. Within a week of each in-person interview, a personalized thank-you note (usually handwritten) expressing appreciation for her cooperation was sent to each respondent.

Footnotes

¹This randomization was done to avoid prejudicing the sample by self-selecting the order in which to canvas the buildings. Looking back, this same result could have been obtained by proceeding in an orderly fashion from building 1 to building 16 until all the buildings, and the Block, had been canvassed.

²If a name did appear on the buzzer or mailbox, it was usually only a last name or a last name and a first initial.

³I am grateful to Pearl Zinner for talking to me about the way that interviewers conducting survey research for the National Opinion Research Council (NORC) go about canvassing buildings. Interview with Pearl Zinner, National Opinion Research Center (NORC), New York City, 16 November 1981.

⁴New York Telephone Manhattan 1981-82 Area Code 212 (New York: New York Telephone Company, 1981) and New York Telephone Manhattan 1982-83 Area code 212 (New York: New York Telephone Company, 1982).

⁵Cole's Cross Reference Directory: Manhattan 1982 (New York: Cole Publications, 1982).

⁶See Claude S. Fischer, "Us Versus Them: Public and Private Worlds of City Life", working paper (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of Urban and Regional Development, 1980) reprinted from American Sociological Review, 46 (June 1981):306-16. In interviewing 1,050 adults living in 50 communities throughout Northern California, divided by size, Fischer had a lower response rate among urbanites because of "fear of crime" (p. 308). Once inside the door, however, Fischer found, as did this researcher, that subjects were cooperative. Fischer notes: "...urbanites were apparently more reluctant than people living in smaller places to let strangers into their private spheres, their homes, but once having done so, were no less helpful". (p.311)

⁷In "The Metropolis and Mental Life," Simmel wrote: "This mental attitude of metropolitans toward one another we may designate, from a formal point of view, as reserve. If so many inner reactions were responses to the continuous external contacts with innumerable people as are those in the small town, where one knows almost everybody one meets and where one has a positive relation to almost everyone, one would be completely atomized internally and come to an unimaginable psychic state. Partly this psychological fact, partly the right to distrust which men have in the face of the touch-and-go elements of metropolitan life, necessitates our reserve. As a result of this reserve we frequently do not even know by sight those who have been our neighbors for years. And it is this reserve which in the eyes of the small-town

people makes us appear to be cold and heartless."

[George Simmel, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, trans. Kurt H. Wolff
(New York: Free Press, 1950), p. 415.]

APPENDIX III Data Analysis

CODING EXAMPLES

A few examples are included here to show how this researcher coded the respondents into low, medium, or high on the following attributes: need for friends; activity level; need for romantic relationship; need for alone time; attitude toward her singleness. (Because of the imprecision of the coding on these attributes, however, this information was used only as a way of comparing the respondents on these attributes.) In some cases, respondents were asked directly, "How would you categorize your need for alone time?" or "How important are friends to you?" In other cases, the information was elicited by asking a series of questions, or by inquiring about related circumstances, such as "How many evenings a week do you spend completely alone, not even on the telephone?" or "Do you want to still be single in another ten years?"

For each of the above attributes, exemplary questions, and answers, from final interviews are excerpted, followed by the way those answers were coded by this researcher:

Need for Alone Time

(From interview with Pat)

"How about your need for alone time?"

"It's also high."

"How many nights do you spend alone at home?"

"Well recently there have been very few. What I do, I don't need nights alone. Like I go out with my friends. I stay up all night. That's another one of my problems, and I think one of the

reasons why is [that] I need the time to get myself together. I'll go out with friends, and I'll see them earlier in the evening, and then ten o'clock comes and I come home and I write in my journal and I make my lists of what I'm going to do. Like the late night time is mine, and I use that alot."

(Need for alone time - coded high)

(From interview with Rose)

"How about your need for alone time?"

"High. I need to do things alone. I need to do reading before I go to school. Before I started [seeing my boyfriend], for four years I was used to my weekends. I didn't talk to anyone from Friday night till Monday morning, and I loved it, but that does pale after a while."

(Need for alone time - coded high)

Need for Friends

(From interview with Lee)

"How important to you are friends?"

"At this particular point, not very important because I'm absorbed in my studies. Even my job I don't find very important. I do my job well, I know I do it well, but I find my studies [she is going to college for her degree] more important than anything else."

(Need for friends - coded low)

(From interview with Lisa)

"How would you rate your need for friends?"

"High"

(Coded high)

(From interview with Pat)

"Would you rate your need for friends as low, medium, or high?"

"I think high. As I said before, I think friends are a priority. That's my support system".

Attitude About Singleness

(From interview with Pat)

"How do you feel about your singleness?"

"I have a pretty single outlook. I have an open mind about it [marriage] but I don't really think I do. It's not one of my priorities, it never has been one. I mean maybe that's a reflection of my parents' situation [they are divorced] or whatever, but I don't feel I have to be married by the time I'm thirty-five ...because most of my situations in terms of relationships led me to believe that I was better off without them anyway. I think I'm pretty independent and as I get older [she's 26] I'm even set in my ways as time goes on. I'm getting to be that way".

(Attitude toward singleness - accepting)

Need for romantic intimacy - coded low)

Activity level

(Based on interview with Meg)

Meg goes out nightly, has a summerhome, two active friendship networks, dates a lot, plays a lot of sports.

(Activity level - coded high)

(Based on interview with Sara)

Sara says that all she can manage, in addition to her job, are relationships with a few isolated dyads. She says she needs to close the door each weekday night, and not even answer the phone, to recover from the energy she expends during the day at her job. If she does see friends, or visit her parents, it's on the weekends. (Activity level - coded low)

Table 20

Ways of Meeting Named Friend (In Numbers) (N = 27)

School		11
College	(6)	
High School	(4)	
Junior high school	(1)	
Co-worker		6
Through someone else		5
Through brother	(2)	
Through parents	(1)	
Friend's sister	(1)	
Through ex-boyfriend	(1)	
Neighborhood		4
Grew up together	(2)	
Apartment building	(1)	
Summer house	(1)	

Table 21

Sources of Networks (In Numbers)*

School	8
Neighborhood	6
Through friends	4
Through activity	2
Work	1

*Thirteen respondents had a total of 21 networks.

Table 22

Distribution of Size of Networks (Including Respondent)

(N = 13) (Number of networks = 21)

Size of Group	Number
4	5
5	6
6	2
7	1
9	1
12	2
14	1
Size unknown	3

Table 23

Respondents Having Kin-related Friendships
by Number of Best Friends and Type of Kin (N = 13)

KIN-RELATED FRIENDSHIP(S)	# BEST FRIENDS
Mother	0
Mother	0
Stepmother	0
Mother + Sister	0
Sister	0
Sister	0
Sister/Brother	0
Sister	0
Sister	2
Cousin	0
Cousin (2)	2
Cousin	1
Cousin + Immediate Family	1

Table 24

Frequency of Contact With Current Closest Friend
 Reorganized According to Proximity of Friend
 And Reason* for Maintaining the Friendship (N = 20)

		Visits	Phone
		p/month	p/month
CLOSENESS			
Pat	D.C.	1	3
Nora	Calif.	.3	1
Eli	N.J.	1	12
SHARED INTERESTS			
Deb	NYC	10	30
BE LIKE			
Rose	LI	.4	1
Lil	Maryland	.1	.3
Bev	N Carolina	.2	.7
Lois	Manhattan	4	20
Nan	Manhattan	4	8
MONETARY ASSETS			
Lucy	Manhattan	1	1
SHARED HISTORY			
Lee	California	.3	.3
Gwen	Manhattan	2	2
Sara	Manhattan	1	12
Emma	Manhattan	.4	.4
Judy	Brooklyn	.1	.1
Meg	Manhattan	8	16
SHARNG CONFIDENCES			
Di	Maryland	1	2
Eve	California	.2	1
Lisa	Bklyn/Work	30	4
Agnes	Queens	4	30

*Friendships maintained because of proximity, activities, or the respondent's orientation are not included

SOURCES CONSULTED

PUBLISHED MATERIALS: BOOKS (AND REPORTS)

- Adams, Margaret. Single Blessedness: Observations on the Single Status in Married Society. New York: Penguin Books, 1978.
- Allan, Graham A. A Sociology of Friendship and Kinship. London: George Allen & Unwin Publishers Ltd., 1979.
- Aries, Philippe. Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life. Translated by Robert Baldick. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.
- Aristotle. Aristotle in Twenty-Three Volumes/Vol. 19: The Nicomachean Ethics. Translated by H. Rackham. Books 8 and 9. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Babbie, Earl R. The Practice of Social Research. 2nd ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1979.
- Bachrach, Leona L. "Marital Status and Mental Disorder: An Analytical Review." U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Series D., No. 3. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.
- Barkas, J.L. The Help Book. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1979.
- _____. Single in America. New York: Atheneum, 1980.
- _____. The Vegetable Passion: A History of the Vegetarian State of Mind. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.
- _____. Victims. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978.
- Barnes, J. A. Social Networks. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1972.
- Bell, Robert R. Worlds of Friendship. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1981.
- Bensman, Joseph and Lilienfeld, Robert. Between Public and Private: The Lost Boundaries of the Self. New York: The Free Press, 1979.
- Berger, Peter L. and Kellner, Hansfried. Sociology Reinterpreted: An Essay on Method and Vocation. Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann, Thomas. The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966.

- Bernard, Jessie. The Future of Marriage. New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1973.
- Berscheid, Ellen and Walster, Elaine Hatfield. Interpersonal Attraction. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.
- Blau, Peter M. Exchange and Power in Social Life. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964.
- Blau, Zena Smith. Old Age in a Changing Society. New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1973.
- Block, Joel D. Friendship. New York: Macmillan, 1980.
- Bohannon, Paul, ed. Divorce and After. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971.
- Boissevain, Jeremy. Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974.
- Bott, Elizabeth. Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms, and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families. London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1957.
- Brain, Robert. Friends and Lovers. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1976.
- Bruch, Hilde. Eating Disorders. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973.
- Burgess, Robert L. and Huston, Ted L., eds. Social Exchange in Developing Relationships. Foreword by George C. Homans. New York: Academic Press, 1979.
- Cargan, Leonard and Matthew Melko. Preface by John Scanzoni. Singles: Myths and Realities. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982.
- Carnegie, Dale. How to Win Friends and Influence People. New York: Pocket Books, 1940.
- Carter, Hugh and Glick, Paul C. Marriage and Divorce: A Social and Economic Study. Revised ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Cicero. On Old Age and On Friendship. Translated by Frank O. Copley. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1967.
- Coser, Lewis A., ed. The Pleasures of Sociology. New York: New American Library, 1980.
- Coser, Lewis A.; Kadushin, Charles; and Powell, Walter W. Books: The Culture & Commerce of Publishing. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982.

- Coser, Rose, ed. The Family: Its Structures and Functions. 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974.
- Cott, Nancy. The Bonds of Womanhood. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Davidson, Laurie and Gordon, Laura Kramer. The Sociology of Gender. Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Company, 1979.
- Davis, Murray S. Intimate Relations. New York: Free Press, 1973.
- Degler, Carl N. At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Dowling, Colette. The Cinderella Complex. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981.
- Duck, Steve, ed. Personal Relationships and Personal Constructs: A Study of Friendship Formation. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.
- _____. Personal Relationships 4: Dissolving Personal Relationships. London: Academic Press, 1982.
- Duck, Steve and Gilmour, Robins, eds. Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships. New York: Academic Press, 1981.
- Durkheim, Emile. The Division of Labor in Society. Translated by George Simpson. New York: Free Press, 1933.
- _____. The Rules of Sociological Method. 8th ed. Translated by Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller. Edited by George E.G. Catlin. New York: Free Press, 1938.
- _____. Suicide: A Study in Sociology. Translated by John A. Spauldin and George Simpson. Edited with an introduction by George Simpson. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1952; reprint ed. 1972.
- Epstein, Joseph. Divorced in America. New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1974.
- Erikson, Erik H. Childhood and Society, 2nd ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1950, 1963.
- Feinberg, Paul. Friends. New York: Quick Fox, 1980.
- Fischer, Claude S.; Jackson, Robert Max; Stueve, C. Ann; Gerson, Kathleen; Jones, Lynne McCallister with Baldassare, Mark. Networks and Places: Social Relations in an Urban Setting. New York: Free Press, 1977.

- Fischer, Claude S. To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1982.
- Foot, H. C.; Chapman, A. J.; and Smith, J. R., eds. Friendship and Social Relations in Children. London: Wiley, 1980.
- Frankl, Viktor E. Man's Search for Meaning. New York: Pocket Books, 1939, 1963.
- Fromm, Erich. The Art of Loving. New York: Harper & Row, 1956, 1974.
- Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1976.
- Glick, Paul C. and Norton, Arthur J. Marrying, Divorcing, and Living Together in the U.S. Today. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, Inc., October 1977.
- Goffman, Erving. Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1961.
- _____. Interaction Ritual: Essays On Face-to-Face Behavior. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1967.
- _____. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 1973.
- _____. Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.
- Goode, William J. After Divorce. Glencoe: Free Press, 1956.
- _____. The Family. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.
- Golden, M. Patricia, ed. The Research Experience. Itasca: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1976.
- Gorden, Raymond L. Interviewing: Strategy, Techniques, and Tactics. Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1969.
- Gordon, Mary. Final Payments. New York: Ballantine Books, 1978.
- Gordon, Suzanne. Lonely in America. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976.
- Gottman, John; Notarius, Cliff; Gonso, Jonni; and Markman, Howard. A Couple's Guide to Communication. Champaign: Research Press, 1976.
- Hart, Nicky. When Marriage Ends: A Study in Status Passage. London:

Tavistock Publications Limited, 1976.

Homans, George Caspar. The Human Group. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950.

_____. Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms. Revised ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974.

Howard, Jane. Families. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978.

Hunt, Morton, and Hunt, Bernice. The Divorce Experience. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1977.

James, Muriel and Savary, Louis M. The Heart of Friendship. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976.

Jastrow, Marie. A Time to Remember: Growing Up in New York Before the Great War. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979.

Kadushin, Charles. Why People Go To Psychiatrists. New York: Atherton, 1969.

Kerlinger, Fred N. Foundations of Behavioral Research. 2nd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964, 1973.

Krantzler, Mel. Creative Divorce. New York: New American Library, 1973.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F. Qualitative Analysis: Historical and Critical Essays. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972.

Lazarsfeld, Paul and Rosenberg, Morris, eds. The Language of Social Research. New York: Free Press, 1955.

Leefeldt, Christine and Callenbach, Ernest. The Art of Friendship. New York: Berkley Books, 1980.

Levinson, Daniel J. with Darrow, Charlotte N.; Klein, Edward B.; Levinson, Maria H; and McKee, Braxton. The Seasons of a Man's Life. New York: Ballantine Books, 1978.

Lewis, Michael and Rosenblum, Leonard A., eds. Friendship and Peer Relations. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975.

Liebow, Elliot. Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men. Introduction by Hylan Lewis. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967.

Lindsey, Karen. Friends as Family. Boston: Beacon Press, 1981.

Lopata, Helena Znaniecka. Women as Widows: Support Systems. New York: Elsevier North Holland, 1979.

- Lopata, Helena Z. and Maines, David, eds. Research in the Interweave of Social Roles: Friendship, A Research Annual. Vol. 2. Greenwich: JAI Press, Inc., 1981.
- Lukes, Steven. Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work. New York: Penguin Books, 1977.
- Lynch, James J. The Broken Heart: The Medical Consequences of Loneliness. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.
- Machlowitz, Marilyn. Workaholics. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1980.
- McCall, George J.; McCall, Michal M.; Denzin, Norman K.; Suttles, Gerald D.; and Kurth, Suzanne B. Social Relationships. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970.
- McGinnis, Alan Loy. The Friendship Factor. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1979.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure, 1968 enlarged ed. New York: Free Press, 1949, 1968.
- Merton, Robert K. and Nisbet, Robert, eds. Contemporary Social Problems. 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1976.
- Miller, Stuart. Men & Friendship. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1983.
- Mills, C. Wright. The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Murstein, Bernard I., ed. Exploring Intimate Life Styles. New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1978.
- Nisbet, Robert A. The Sociological Tradition. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1966.
- Olmsted, Michael S. and Hare, A. Paul. The Small Group, 2nd ed. New York: Random House, 1978.
- Parsons, Talcott. Essays in Sociological Theory, rev. ed. New York: Free Press, 1949, 1954.
- _____. The Social System. New York: Free Press, 1951.
- Price, Richard. Ladies' Man. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978.
- Reilley, Mary Ellen and Bouvier, Leon F. Women in American Society: A History and Demographic Profile. Washington, Connecticut: Center for Information on America, 1976.

- Richetto, Gary M. and Zima, Joseph P. Interviewing, 2nd ed. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1982.
- Riesman, David with Glazer, Nathan and Denney, Reuel. The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character. Abridged ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
- Rosow, Irving. Socialization to Old Age. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Rubin, Lillian Breslow. Worlds of Pain: Life in the Working-Class Family. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1976.
- Rubin, Zick. Children's Friendships. (The Developing Child Series) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Sebald, Hans. Adolescence: A Social Psychological Analysis. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968, 1977.
- Sheehy, Gail. Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life. New York: Bantam Books, 1977.
- Simmel, Georg. Conflict & The Web of Group-Affiliations. Translated by Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix. Foreword by Everett C. Hughes. New York: Free Press, 1955.
- _____. The Sociology of George Simmel. Translated and edited by Kurt H. Wolff. New York: The Free Press, 1950.
- Sparks, James Allen. Friendship After Forty. Nashville: Abingdon, 1980.
- Stein, Peter J. Single. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976.
- _____, ed. Single Life: Unmarried Adults in Social Context. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- Strayhorn, Jr., Joseph M. Talking It Out: A Guide to Effective Communication and Problem Solving. Champaign: Research Press, 1977.
- Sullivan, Harry Stack. The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry. New York: Norton, 1953.
- Tennov, Dorothy. Love and Limerance: The Experience of Being in Love. New York: Stein and Day, 1979.
- Tonnies, Ferdinand. Community & Society (Gemeinschaft und Gefellchaft). Translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers (1887), 1963.
- Turabian, Kate L. A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and

Dissertations. 4th ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Van Gennep, Arnold. The Rites of Passage. Translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Walster, Elaine, and Walster, G. William. A New Look at Love. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1978.

Weber, Max. Basic Concepts in Sociology (Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft). Translated and with an introduction by H.P. Secher. Secaucus: The Citadel Press, 1962.

_____. Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology. Vols. 1 & 2. Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Translated by Ephraim Fischhoff, Hans Gerth, A. M. Henderson, Ferdinand Kogler, C. Wright Mills, Talcott Parsons, Max Rheinstein, Guenther Roth, Edward Shils, and Claus Wittich. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Weiss, Robert S., ed. Loneliness: The Experience of Emotional and Social Isolation. Foreword by David Riesman. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1973.

Weiss, Robert S. Marital Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1975.

Whyte, William Foote. Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Wilmot, William W. Dyadic Communication. 2nd ed. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979, 1975.

Young, Michael and Willmott, Peter. Family and Kinship in East London. Rev. ed. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962.

Zeisel, Hans. Say It With Figures. 5th ed. Introduction by Paul F. Lazarsfeld. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968.

ARTICLES (AND CHAPTERS) IN JOURNALS, BOOKS,
ENCYCLOPEDIAS, MAGAZINES, AND NEWSPAPERS

- Adams, Bert N. "Isolation, Function and Beyond: American Kinship in the 1960's." Journal of Marriage and the Family 32 (November 1970):575-97.
- Adams, Margaret. "The Single Woman in Today's Society: A Reappraisal." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 41 (October 1971):776-86.
- Albrecht, Stan L. "Reactions and Adjustments to Divorce: Differences in the Experiences of Males and Females." Family Relations 29 (January 1980):59-68.
- Allan, Graham. "Class Variation in Friendship Patterns." British Journal of Sociology 28 (September 1977):389-93.
- Allon, Natalie and Fishel, Diane. "Singles' Bars as Examples of Urban Courting Patterns." In Single Life, pp. 115-28. Edited by P. J. Stein. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1981.
- Anderson, Jane. "Challenges and Rewards of Living Single". Christian Science Monitor, January 20, 1983, p. 15.
- Arling, Greg. "The Elderly Widow and Her Family, Neighbors and Friends." Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):757-68.
- Asher, Steven R. and Hymel, Shelley. "Children's Social Competence in Peer Relations:- Sociometric and Behavioral Assessment", Chapter 5, pp. 128-57 in J. D. Wine and M. D. Smye, eds., Social Competence, New York: Guilford Press, 1981.
- Babchuk, Nicholas. "Primary Friends and Kin: A Study of the Association of Middle Class Couples." Social Forces 43 (1965):483-93.
- Babchuk, Nicholas and Ballweg, John A. "Black Family Structure and Primary Relations". Phylon 33 (1972):334-47.
- Babchuk, Nicholas and Ballweg, John A. "Primary Extended Kin Relations of Negro Couples". The Sociological Quarterly 12 (Winter 1971):69-77.
- Babchuk, Nicholas and Bates, Alan P. "The Primary Relations of Middle-Class Couples: A Study in Male Dominance". American Sociological Review 28 (June 1963):377-84.
- Bacon, Sir Francis. "Of Friendship (1625)." In Classic Essays in English, 2nd ed., pp. 15-21. Edited by Josephine Miles. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965.

- Baker, Luther G. "The Personal and Social Adjustment of the Never-Married Woman." Journal of Marriage and the Family 30 (August 1968):473-79.
- Balwick, Jack. "The Inexpressive Male: Functional-Conflict and Role Theory as Contrasting Explanations." The Family Coordinator 28 (July 1979):331-36.
- Barkas, J. L. "Personal Crisis Versus the Job", Los Angeles Times, September 18, 1980.
- _____. "Singles Are Not All 'Waiting for the Right One'", Newsday, October 1980.
- _____. "Time Out for the Future", Newsday, September 24, 1980.
- Barton, Allen H. "The Concept of Property-Space in Social Research." In The Language of Social Research, pp. 40-53. Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg. New York: Free Press, 1955.
- Bates, Alan P. and Babchuk, Nicholas. "The Primary Group: A Reappraisal". The Sociological Quarterly 2 (July 1961):181-91.
- Bashor, Philip S. "Plato and Aristotle on Friendship." Journal of Value Inquiry 2 (Winter 1968):269-80.
- Becker, Howard S. "Notes on the Concept of Commitment." American Journal of Sociology 66 (1960):32-40.
- Becker, Howard S. and Useem, Ruth. "Sociological Analysis of the Dyad". American Sociological Review 7 (1942):13-26.
- Bensman, Joseph and Lilienfeld, Robert. "Friendship and Alienation." Psychology Today, October 1979, pp. 56-57, 59-60, 63, 66, 114.
- Berger, Peter L. and Kellner, Hansfried. "Marriage and the Construction of Reality: An Exercise in the Microsociology of Knowledge." Diogenes 46 (1964):1-25.
- Berkman, L. F. and Syme, Leonard. "Social Networks, Host Resistance, and Mortality: A Nine-Year Follow-up Study of Alameda County Residents." American Journal of Epidemiology 109 (1979):186-204.
- Bernikow, Louise. "Alone: Yearning for Companionship in America." New York Times Magazine, August 15, 1982, pp. 24-30, 32.
- _____. "What's Special About Women's Friendships?" Ms., June 1980, pp. 39-40, 42.
- Bigelow, Brian J. "Children's Friendship Expectations." Child Development 48 (March 1977):246-53.

- Bigelow, Brian J. and La Gaipa, John J. "The Development of Friendship Values and Choice." In Friendship and Social Relations in Children, pp.15-44. Edited by H. C. Foot, A. J. Chapman, and J .R. Smith. New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1980.
- Block, Joel D. "Male Friendships: The Importance, The Obstacles," Bottom Line Personal, August 30, 1982, p. 14.
- Bloom, Bernard L., and Caldwell, Robert A. "Sex Differences in Adjustment During the Process of Marital Separation." Journal of Marriage and the Family 43 (August 1981):693-701.
- Blau, Peter. "A Theory of Social Integration." American Journal of Sociology 65 (May 1960):545-556.
- Bohannon, Paul. "The Six Stations of Divorce." In Divorce and After, pp. 33-62. Edited by Paul Bohannon. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1970.
- Booth, Alan. "Sex and Social Participation." American Sociological Review 37(1972):183-92.
- Booth, Alan and Hess, Elaine. "Cross-Sex Friendship." Journal of Marriage and the Family (February 1974):38-47.
- Brennan, Tim. "Loneliness at Adolescence." In Loneliness: A Sourcebook of Current Theory, Research and Therapy, Chapter 17, pp. 267-90. Edited by Letitia Anne Peplau and Daniel Perlman. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1981.
- Brenner, Jeffrey and Mueller, Edward. "Shared Meaning in Boy Toddlers' Peer Relations". Child Development 53 (1982):380-91.
- Brown, Carol A.; Feldberg, Roslyn; Fox, Elizabeth M.; and Kohen, Janet. "Divorce: Chance of a New Lifetime." Journal of Social Issues 32 (1976):119-33.
- Burns, Tom. "Friends, Enemies, and the Polite Fiction." American Sociological Review 18 (December 1953):654-62.
- Cannon, Lynn Weber and Guy, Rebecca F. "Married Couples Sex Role and Perceived Friendship Relations". Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology 11 (May 1983):84-88.
- Cavan, Ruth Shonle. "Topical Summaries of Current Literature: Interviewing for Life-History Material." American Journal of Sociology 35 (1929-1930):100-15.
- "Census Finds Adults Wed Later, Divorce Sooner." New York Times, January 8, 1976, p. 62.
- Challman, Robert C. "Factors Influencing Friendship Among Preschool

- Children." Child Development 3: (1932):146-58.
- Chambliss, William J. "The Selection of Friends." Social Forces (1965):370-80.
- Clayton, Richard R. and Voss, Harwin L. "Shacking Up: Cohabitation in the 1970's." Journal of Marriage and Family 39 (May 1977):273-83.
- Cohen, Yehudi A. "Patterns of Friendship." In Social Structure and Personality, pp. 351-86. Edited by Yehudi A. Cohen. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961.
- Collins, Glenn. "Friendship: A Fact of Life for Toddlers, Too." New York Times, December 15, 1980, p. B16.
- Conner, Karen A.; Powers, Edward A., Ph.D; and Bultena, Gordon L. "Social Interaction and Life Satisfaction: An Empirical Assessment of Late-Life Patterns." Journal of Gerontology 34 (1979):116-121.
- Cook, Karen S. and Emerson, Richard M. "Power, Equity and Commitment in Exchange Networks." American Sociological Review 43 (October 1978):721-39.
- Darley, John M. and Berscheid, Ellen. "Increased Liking as a Result of the Anticipation of Personal Contact", Human Relations 20 (1967):29-40.
- Dickens, Wenda J. and Daniel Perlman. "Friendship Over the Life-cycle." In Personal Relationships 2: Developing Personal Relationships, Chapter 4, pp. 91-122. Edited by Steve Duck and Robin Gilmour. New York: Academic Press, 1981.
- Doudna, Christine with McBride, Fern. "Where Are the Men For the Women at the Top?" Savvy, February 1980, pp. 17-24.
- Douvan, Elizabeth and Adelson, Joseph. "Friendship." In The Adolescent Experience, chapter 6, pp. 174-228. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966.
- Dunphy, Dexter C. "The Social Structure of Urban Adolescent Peer Groups." Sociometry 26 (1963):230-46.
- Eckerman, Carol O. and Whatley, Judith L. "Toys and Social Interaction Between Infant Peers." Child Development 48 (1977):1645-56.
- Eder, Donna and Hallinan, Maureen T. "Sex Differences in Children's Friendships." American Sociological Review 43 (April 1978):237-50.
- Edwards, John N. "Familial Behavior as Social Exchange." Journal of

Marriage and the Family (August 1969):518-26.

Edwards, John N. and Saunders, Janice M. "Coming Apart: A Model of the Marital Dissolution Decision." Journal of Marriage and the Family 43 (May 1981):379-89.

Ehrenreich, Barbara. "After the Breadwinner Vanishes (The Male Revolt)". The Nation, February 26, 1983, pp. 225, 240-2.

Eichenbaum, Luise and Orbach, Susie. "Men--Why They're So Dependent On You". Cosmopolitan, February 1983, pp. 177-8, 182-3, 226-7.

Eisenstadt, S.N. "Ritualized Personal Relations." Man No. 96 (July 1956):90-96.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "Love" and "Friendship." In Essays by Ralph Waldo Emerson, pp. 121-56. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1951.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 1969 (reprint of the original edition, 1908-1927). "Friendship" by St. George Stock.

Etzioni, Amitai. "Groups: The Sense of Belonging". New York Times, March 29, 1978, p. C1.

Farber, M. A. "Changed Lines, Changed Lives, For 23rd Precinct". New York Times, December 15, 1982, pp. B1, B4.

Fine, Gary Alan. "The Natural History of Preadolescent Male Friendship Groups." In Friendship and Social Relations in Children, pp. 293-320. Edited by H.C. Foot, A. J. Chapman, and J. R. Smith. London: Wiley, 1980.

_____. "Small Groups and Culture Creation: The Idioculture of Little League Baseball Teams." American Sociological Review 44 (October 1979):733-745.

Fischer, Claude S. "The Public and Private Worlds of City Life." American Sociological Review 46 (June 1981):306-16.

Fromm-Reichmann, Frieda. "Loneliness." Psychiatry 22 (February 1959):1-15.

Glick, Paul C. and Norton, Arthur J. "Frequency, Duration, and Probability of Marriage and Divorce." Journal of Marriage and the Family (May 1971):307-17.

Goode, William J. "The Theoretical Importance of Love." In The Family, pp. 143-56. Edited by R. Coser. New York: St. Martin's, 1974.

_____. "A Theory of Role Strain." American Sociological Review 25 (1960):483-96.

- Gouldner, Alvin W. "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement." American Sociological Review 25 (April 1960):161-78.
- Geer, Blanche. "First Days in the Field." In Sociologists at Work, pp. 322-44. Edited by Philip E. Hammond. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964.
- Gordon, Suzanne. "The New Corporate Feminism". The Nation, February 5, 1983, pp. 1, 143, 146-7.
- Gove, Walter R. "Sex, Marital Status, and Mortality." American Journal of Sociology 79 (July 1973):45-67.
- Granovetter, Mark S. "The Strength of Weak Ties." American Journal of Sociology 78 (May 1973):1360-80.
- Green, Elise Hart. "Friendships and Quarrels Among Preschool Children." Child Development 3 (1933):237-52.
- Grossman, Allyson Sherman. "Labor Force Patterns of Single Women." Special Labor Force Report 228. Washington, D.C. : U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1980. (Reprinted from Monthly Labor Review, August 1979.)
- Hacker, Helen Mayer. "Blabbermouths and Clams: Sex Differences in Self-Disclosure in Same-Sex and Cross-Sex Friendship Dyads". Psychology of Women Quarterly, 5 (Spring 1981):385-401.
- Hallinan, Maureen T. "Classroom Racial Composition and Children's Friendships". Social Forces 61 (September 1982):56-72.
- Hartup, Willard W. "Children and Their Friends." In Issues in Childhood Social Development, chapter 5, pp. 130-70. Edited by H. McGurk. London: Methuen, 1978.
- _____. "Peer Relations and the Growth of Social Competence." In The Primary Prevention of Psychopathology, vol. 3, pp. 150-70. Edited by M.W. Kent and J.E. Rolf. Hanover: The University Press of New England, 1979.
- Hendrix, Lewellyn. "Kinship and Economic-Rational Migration: A Comparison of Micro- and Macro-level Analyses." The Sociological Quarterly 16 (Autumn 1975):534-43.
- Herzog, Herta. "Why Did People Believe in the 'Invasion from Mars'?" In The Language of Social Research: A Reader in the Methodology of Social Research, pp.420-48. Edited by Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg. New York: Free Press, 1955.
- Hess, Beth B. "Friendship and Gender Roles Over the Life Course." In Single Life, pp. 104-15. Edited by Peter J. Stein. New York:

St. Martin's Press, 1981.

_____. "Friendship." In Aging and Society: Volume 3 (A Sociology of Age Stratification), pp. 357-93. Edited by Matilda White Riley, Marilyn Johnson, and Anne Foner. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972.

Hill, Charles T.; Rubin, Zick; Peplau, Letitia Anne. "Breakups Before Marriage: The End of 103 Affairs." Journal of Social Issues 32 (1976):147-68.

Homans, George C. "Social Behavior as Exchange." American Journal of Sociology 63 (May 1958):597-606.

Hughes, Michael and Walter R. Gove. "Living Alone, Social Integration, and Mental Health." American Journal of Sociology 87 (July 1981):48-74.

Huston, Ted L. and Burgess, Robert L. "Social Exchange in Developing Relationships: An Overview," pp. 3-28 in Social Exchange in Developing Relationships, ed. Ted L. Huston. New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1979.

Huston, Ted L. and Cate, Rodney M. "Social Exchange in Intimate Relationships," pp. 263-69 in Love and Attraction, eds. M. Cook and G. Wilson (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979).

Huston, Ted L. and Levinger, George. "Interpersonal Attraction and Relationships," pp. 115-56 in Annual Review of Psychology, vol. 29, eds. M. R. Rosenzweig & L. W. Porter. Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, 1978.

Ted L. Huston and Robins, Elliot. "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Studying Close Relationships". Journal of Marriage and the Family 44 (November 1982):901-925.

Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. "Marriage vs. Single Life". ISR Newsletter, August 1982, p. 8.

International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 edition.
"Friendship" by Odd Ramsøy.

_____. "Reason Analysis" by Charles Kadushin.

_____. "Typologies" by Edward A. Tiryakian.

Irish, Donald P. "Sibling Interaction: A Neglected Aspect in Family Life Research". Social Forces 42 (March 1964):279-88.

Johnson, Michael P. and Leslie, Leigh. "Couple Involvement and Network Structure: A Test of the Dyadic Withdrawal Hypothesis." Social Psychology Quarterly 45 (1982):34-43.

- de Jong-Gierveld, Jenny and Aalberts, Monique. "Singlehood: A Creative or a Lonely Experience?" Alternative Lifestyles 3 (August 1980):350-68.
- Jacklin, Carol Nagy and Maccoby, Eleanor E. "Social Behavior at Thirty-three Months in Same-Sex and Mixed-Sex Dyads." Child Development 49 (1978):557-69.
- Jacoby, Susan. "Hers" (Column on friendship). New York Times, July 24, 1980, p. C2.
- Jecker, Jon and Landy, David. "Liking a Person as a Function of Doing Him a Favor." Human Relations 22 (1969):371-78.
- Kadushin, Charles. "The Friends and Supporters of Psychotherapy: On Social Circles in Urban Life." American Sociological Review 31 (1968):786-802.
- _____. "Notes on Expectations of Reward in N-Person Networks." In Continuities in Structural Inquiry, pp. 235-54. Edited by Peter M. Blau and Robert K. Merton. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981.
- Kaufman, Debra Renee. "Associational Ties in Academe: Some Male and Female Differences." Sex Roles 4 (1978):9-21.
- Knupfer, Genevieve, M.D.; Walter Clark, M.A.; and Robin Room, M.A., "The Mental Health of the Unmarried." American Journal of Psychiatry (February 1966):841-51.
- Kobrin, Frances E. and Hendershot, Gerry E. "Do Family Ties Reduce Mortality? Evidence from the United States, 1966-1968." Journal of Marriage and the Family 39 (November 1977):737-45.
- Kon, Igor S. and Losenkov, Vladimir A. "Friendship in Adolescence: Values and Behavior." Translated by Charlotte De Lissovoy and Vladimir De Lissovoy. Journal of Marriage and the Family (February 1978):143-55.
- Krain, Mark. "Communication Among Premarital Couples at Three Stages of Dating." Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1975):609-618.
- _____. "Effects of Love and Liking in Premarital Dyads." Sociological Focus 10 (August 1977):249-262.
- La Gaipa, John J. "Children's Friendships." In Developing Personal Relationships, pp. 159-83. Edited by Steven Duck and Robin Gilmour. New York: Academic Press, 1981.
- _____. "A Developmental Study of the Meaning of Friendship in Adolescence." Journal of Adolescence 2 (1979):201-13.

- Lazarsfeld, Paul F. "The Art of Asking Why: Three Principles Underlying the Formulation of Questionnaires." In Qualitative Analysis, pp. 183-202. Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1972.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F. and Merton, Robert K. "Friendship as Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis." In Freedom and Control in Modern Society, pp. 18-66. Edited by Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1954.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. "The Principle of Reciprocity." In Sociological Theory, 4th ed., pp. 61-70. Edited by Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1976.
- Levinger, George. "A Social Psychological Perspective on Marital Dissolution." Journal of Social Issues 32 (1976):21-47.
- _____. "Task and Social Behavior in Marriage." Sociometry 27 (1964):433-48.
- Lewis, Robert A. "Emotional Intimacy Among Men." Journal of Social Issues 34 (1978):108-21.
- Libby, Roger W. "Creative Singlehood as a Sexual Life-Style: Beyond Marriage as a Rite of Passage." In Marriage and Alternatives, pp. 37-61. Edited by R.W. Libby and Robert N. Whitehurst. Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1977.
- Litwak, Eugene and Szelenyi, Ivan. "Primary Group Structures and Their Functions: Kin, Neighbors, and Friends", American Sociological Review 34 (August 1969):465-81
- Linden, Fabien. "Singular," Across the Board, June 1979, pp. 25-27.
- Lopata, Helena Z., "Friendship: Historical and Theoretical Introduction," pp. 1-19 in Research in the Interweave of Social Roles: Friendship, A Research Annual. Vol. 2. Helena Z. Lopata and David Maines, eds. Greenwich: JAI Press, Inc., 1981.
- Lovenheim, Barbara. "Singles: A Change of Scene." New York Times, March 15, 1978, p. C16.
- Lowenthal, Marjorie Fisk and Haven, Clayton. "Interaction and Adaptation: Intimacy as a Critical Variable." American Sociological Review 33 (1968):20-30.
- Maas, Henry S. "Preadolescent Peer Relations and Adult Intimacy." Psychiatry 31 (1968):161-72.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E. and Maccoby, Nathan. "The Interview: A Tool of Social Science" in Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 1, pp.

- 449-87. Edited by Gardner Lindzey. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1954.
- Mayer, John E. "Jewish-Gentle Courtships". New Society (31 August 1967):288-90.
- _____. "The Self-Restraint of Friends: A Mechanism in Family Transition." Social Forces 35 (1957):230-38.
- McCallister, Lynne and Fischer, Claude S. "A Procedure for Surveying Personal Networks". Sociological Methods & Research 7 (November 1978):131-49.
- McCall, George and Simmons, Jerry. "The Career of a Relationship." In Identities and Interactions, chapter 7, pp. 167-201. Edited by G. McCall and J. Simmons. New York: Free Press, 1966.
- Mercer, Marilyn. "Office Friendships: How They Really Affect Your Career". Glamour, April 1979, pp. 152, 154, 157.
- Miller, Arthur A., M.D. "Reactions of Friends to Divorce." In Divorce and After, pp. 63-86. Edited by Paul Bohannon. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1970.
- Montaigne. "Of Friendship." In The Complete Essays of Montaigne, pp. 135-44. Edited and translated by Donald M. Frame. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.
- Murstein, Bernard I.; Cerreto, Mary; and MacDonald, Marcia G. "A Theory and Investigation of the Effect of Exchange-Orientations on Marriage and Friendship." Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1977):543-48.
- Murstein, Bernard I. and Spitz, Leah T. "Aristotle and Friendship: A Factor-Analytic Study." Interpersonal Development 4 (1973/74):21-34.
- Naegele, Kaspar D. "Friendship and Acquaintances: An Exploration of Some Social Distinctions." Harvard Educational Review 28 (1958):232-52.
- Nelson, Joel I., "Clique Contacts and Family Orientations." American Sociological Review 31 (October 1966):663-72.
- Neugarten, Bernice L. "Time, Age, and the Life Cycle." American Journal of Psychiatry 136 (July 1979):887-894.
- Newcomb, Theodore M. "The Prediction of Interpersonal Attraction." The American Psychologist 11 (November 1956):575-86.
- New York Times. "Heart Risk Less in Some Working Women". April 15, 1980, p. C2.

- Nye, F. Ivan. "Family Mini Theories as Special Instance of Choice and Exchange Theory." Journal of Marriage and the Family 42 (August 1980):479-89.
- Oden, Sherri and Asher, Steven R. "Coaching Children in Social Skills For Friendship Making." Child Development 48 (June 1977):495-506.
- Oppenheimer, Valerie Kincade. "Demographic Influence on Female Employment and the Status of Women". American Journal of Sociology 78 (January 1973):946-61.
- Paine, Robert. "In Search of Friendship: An Exploratory Analysis in 'Middle-Class' Culture." Man new series 4 (December 1969):505-24.
- Parlee, Mary Brown and Psychology Today editors. "The Friendship Bond: PT's Survey Report." Psychology Today, October 1979, pp. 43-54, 113.
- Parsons, Talcott. "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States", American Anthropologist 45 (January-March 1943):22-38.
- Pearlin, Leonard I. and Johnson, Joyce S. "Marital Status, Life-Strains and Depression." American Sociological Review 42 (October 1977):704-15.
- Pearlin, Leonard I. and Schooler, Carmi. "The Structure of Coping". Journal of Health and Social Behavior 19 (March 1978):2-21.
- Perlman, Daniel; Gerson, Ann C.; and Spinner, Barry. "Loneliness Among Senior Citizens: An Empirical Report." Essence 2 (1978):239-48.
- Perlman, Daniel, and Peplau, Letitia Anne. "Toward a Social Psychology of Loneliness", chap. 2, pp. 31-56 in Personal Relationships 3: Personal Relationships in Disorder, ed. R. Gilmour and S. Duck. New York: Academic Press, 1981.
- Petrowsky, Marc. "Marital Status, Sex, and Social Networks of the Elderly." Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):749-56.
- Phillips, Derek L. "Social Participation and Happiness." American Journal of Sociology 72 (March 1967):479-88.
- Plath, David W. "Contours of Consociation: Lessons from a Japanese Narrative." In Life-Span Development and Behavior: Vol. 3, pp. 287-305. New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1981.
- Pool, Ithiel de Sola, and Kochen, Manfred. "Contacts and Influence", Social Network 1 (1978):5-51.

- Population Reference Bureau, Inc. "The Domestic Life of Americans." Inter-Change 6 (May 1977), p. 1.
- Potashin, Reva. "A Sociometric Study of Children's Friendships." Sociometry 9 (1946):48-70.
- Powers, Edward A. and Bultena, Gordon L. "Sex Differences in Intimate Friendships of Old Age." Journal of Marriage and the Family (November 1976):739-747.
- Reinhold, Robert. "Trend to Living Alone Brings Economic and Social Change". New York Times, March 20, 1977, p. 1, 59.
- Renshaw, Peter D. and Asher, Steven R. "Social Competence and Peer Status: The Distinction Between Goals and Strategies", Chapter 16, pp. 375-95 in K. H. Rubin and H. S. Ross, eds., Peer Relationships and Social Skills in Childhood. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1982.
- Rollin, Betty. "Hers" column in New York Times, August 12, 1982, p. C2.
- Rose, Arnold M. "A Research Note on Experimentation in Interviewing." American Journal of Sociology 51 (September 1945):143-44.
- Rosen, Bernard C. and Aneshensel, Carol S. "The Chameleon Syndrom: A Social Psychological Dimension of the Female Sex Role", Journal of Marriage and the Family 38 (November 1976):605-17.
- Rosenblatt, Roger. "Friends and Countrymen." Time, July 21, 1980, pp. 50, 53.
- Rossi, Alice S. "A Biosocial Perspective on Parenting". Daedalus (April 1977):1-31.
- Rubin, Zick. "Seeking a Cure for Loneliness." Psychology Today, October 1979, pp. 82, 85-86, 89-90.
- Ryan, John. "Marital Status, Happiness, and Anomia." Journal of Marriage and the Family 43 (August 1981):643-49.
- Salamon, Sonya. "Family Bounds and Friendship Bonds: Japan and West Germany." Journal of Marriage and the Family 39 (November 1977):807-20.
- Schwartz, Barry. "The Social Psychology of the Gift." American Journal of Sociology 73 (July 1967):1-11.
- Seiden, Anne M. and Bart, Pauline B. "Woman to Woman: Is Sisterhood Powerful?" In Old Family/ New Family, pp. 189-228. Edited by M. Glazer. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975.

- Selman, Robert L. and Selman, Anne P. "Children's Ideas About Friendship: A New Theory." Psychology Today, October 1979, pp. 71-72, 74, 79-80, 114.
- Shulman, Norman. "Life-Cycle Variations in Patterns of Close Relationships." Journal of Marriage and the Family 37 (November 1975):813-21.
- Simmel, Georg. "Friendship, Love and Secrecy". Trans. Albion Small. American Journal of Sociology 11 (1906):457-66.
- Sills, David L. "A Sociologist Looks at Motivation." In The Citizen Volunteer, pp. 70-93. Edited by Norman E. Cohen. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960.
- _____. "On the Art of Asking 'Why Not?': Some Problems and Procedures in Studying Acceptance of Family Planning." All India Conference on Family Planning, Fourth, 1961, Report of the Proceedings: 29th January-3rd February 1961, Hyderabad. Bombay: Family Planning Association of India, 1961, pp. 26-36.
- Simon, Rita James; Crotts, Gail; and Mahan, Linda. "An Empirical Note About Married Women and Their Friends." Social Forces 48 (June 1970):520-25.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 1 (Autumn 1975):1-29.
- Somers, Anne R. "Marital Status, Health, and Use of Health Services: An Old Relationship Revisited." Journal of the American Medical Association 241 (April 27, 1979):1818-22.
- Spreitzer, Elmer and Riley, Lawrence E. "Factors Associated with Singlehood." Journal of Marriage and the Family (August 1974):533-542.
- Starr, Joyce R. and Carns, Donald E. "Singles in the City." Society, February 1972, pp. 43-48.
- Stein, Harry. "Just Good Friends." Esquire, August 1980, pp.21-23.
- _____. "Looking Hard At Number One." Esquire, February 1981, pp. 20-21.
- Stein, Peter J. "The Lifestyles and Life Chances of the Never-Married: A Review of the Recent Literature." Marriage & Family Review 1 (July/August 1978):1, 3-10.
- Sutcliffe, J.P. and Crabbe, B.D. "Incidence and Degrees of Friendship in Urban and Rural Areas." Social Forces 42 (October 1963):60-67.

- Tesser, Abraham and Smith, Jonathan. "Some Effects of Task Relevance and Friendship on Helping: You Don't Always Help the One You Like." Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 16 (1980):582-90.
- Thompson, Linda and Walker, Alexis J. "The Dyad as the Unit of Analysis: Conceptual and Methodological Issues". Journal of Marriage and the Family 44 (November 1982):889-900.
- Tognoli, Jerome. "Male Friendship and Intimacy Across the Life Span." Family Relations 29 (July 1980):273-79.
- Toomey, D.M. "Conjugal Roles and Social Networks in an Urban Working Class Sample." Human Relations 24: (1971):417-31.
- Turner, R. Jay. "Social Support as a Contingency in Psychological Well-Being." Journal of Health & Social Behavior 22 (December 1981):357-67.
- Udry, J. Richard. "Marital Alternatives and Marital Disruption." Journal of Marriage and the Family 43 (November 1981):889-97.
- Udry, Richard and Hall, Mary. "Marital Role Segregation and Social Networks in Middle-Class Middle-Aged Couples." Journal of Marriage and the Family 27 (August 1965):392-95.
- Vaughan, Diane. "Uncoupling: The Social Construction of Divorce." In Social Interaction, pp. 323-38. Edited by Robboy, Greenblatt, and Clark. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979.
- Verbrugge, Lois M. "Marital Status and Health." Journal of Marriage and the Family 41 (May 1979):267-85.
- _____. "Multiplexity in Adult Friendships." Social Forces 57 (June 1979):1286-1309.
- _____. "The Structure of Adult Friendship Choices." Social Forces 56 (December 1977):576-97.
- Weinberg, S. Kirson. "Primary Group Theory and Closest Friendship of the Same Sex: An Empirical Analysis", chapter 22, pp. 301-19 in Human Nature and Collective Behavior, ed. Tamotsu Shibutani. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.
- Weiss, Robert S. "The Emotional Impact of Marital Separation." Journal of Social Issues 32 (1976):135-45.
- Weissman, Myrna M. and Paykel, Eugene S. "Moving and Depression in Women". Society 9 (July/August 1972):24-8.
- Williams, James H. "Close Friendship Relations of Housewives Resign in an Urban Community". Social Forces 36 (May 1958):358-62.

- Williams, Robin M. "Friendship and Social Values in a Suburban Community: An Exploratory Study." The Pacific Sociological Review 2 (1959):3-10.
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life". American Journal of Sociology 44 (1938):1-24.
- Wolfe, Linda. "Single in the City: The Good News, The Latest Expert Word on What It Means to be Single". New York, Dec. 28, 1981-Jan. 4, 1982, pp. 33-35.

UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS: CONFERENCES, CORRESPONDENCE,
INTERVIEWS, PAPERS, AND REPORTS

- Babchuk, Nicholas, Regents Professor of Sociology, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Personal communication, 13 September 1982.
- _____. "Select Bibliography on Primary Relations (Intimacy, Confidants, Networks, Neighbors, Friends)". University of Nebraska, Didactic Seminar, January 1979.
- Bard, Morton, Director, Center for Social Research, Department of Psychology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center. Personal communication, 30 November 1979.
- Barkas, J.L. "The Effect of Marriage on Friendship." Term Paper, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, Fall 1980.
- _____. "Why Friendship Ends." Term Paper, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, Fall 1980.
- Berndt, Thomas J., Department of Psychology, University of Oklahoma at Norman. Personal communication, 13 September 1982.
- Bernard, Jessie. Personal communication, 21 May 1980.
- Bigelow, B. J. Personal communication, 8 September 1982.
- Booth, Alan, Department of Sociology, University of Nebraska. Personal communication, 31 August 1982.
- Brenner, Jeffrey. Personal communication, 18 September 1982.
- Brim, Orville G., Jr. Personal communication, 9 September 1982.
- Brown, Michael, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, New York City. Interviews, 1980-1983.
- Caldwell, Mayta A. and Peplau, Letitia Anne. "Sex Differences in Same-Sex Friendship." Unpublished paper, December 1979.
- Caplovitz, David, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, New York City. Interview, 8 December 1980.
- Clausen, John A., Professor of Sociology, Emeritus and Research Sociologist, Institute of Human Development, University of California, Berkeley. Personal communication, 6 October 1982.
- Clinard, Marshall, Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico. Personal communication, 17 September 1980.
- Cook, Karen S., Sociology Department University of Washington,

Seattle, Washington. Personal communication, 27 September 1982.

Cowgill, Donald O., Department of Sociology, University of Missouri-Columbia. Personal communication, 1 September 1982.

de Jong-Gierveld, Jenny. "Loneliness and the Degree of Intimacy in Personal Relationships." Paper presented at the Madison Conference on Personal Relationships, July 1982.

Denitch, Bogdan, Executive Officer, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, New York City. Interviews, May 1980-April 1983.

Duberman, Lucile, Department of Sociology, Rutgers University, New Jersey. Phone interview, 1 September 1982.

Duck, Steve, Director, SSRC Research Programme on Friendship Development, Department of Psychology, University of Lancaster, Bailrigg, Lancaster, England. Personal communications, January 1981-April 1983.

_____. "The Personal Context: Intimate Relationships." Chapter for The Social Psychology of Psychological Problems edited by P. Feldman and J. Orford.

_____. "Toward a Research Map for the Study of Relationship Breakdown." Chapter for Personal Relationships 3: Personal Relations in Disorder, edited by R. Gilmour and S. Duck. New York: Academic Press, 1981.

_____. "A Typography of Relationship Disengagement and Dissolution." Chapter for Personal Relationships 4: Dissolving Personal Relationships, edited by S. Duck. New York: Academic Press, 1982.

Eggleston, Lynn, Search Analyst, New York State Library Data Base Services. "Why Marriage Ends, Divorce, Causes of Divorce." Dissertation Abstracts 1861 - March 1981, 21 April 1981; Psychological Abstracts (PSYC), 1967 - February 1981, 17 April 1981; Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), 1965 - February 1981, 17 April 1981; Sociological Abstracts (SA), 1965 - February 1981, 17 April 1981.

Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, New York City. Phone interview, January 1980.

Erwin, P. G., Department of Social Science, Manchester Polytechnic, England. Personal communication, 20 October 1982.

Etzkowitz, Henry and Stein, Peter J. "The Life Spiral: Social Change and Life Structures." Paper presented at annual meeting of the

Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, 1 April 1978.

Farrell, Michael P. "Artists' Circles and the Development of Artists." Paper presented at American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August 1980.

_____. Personal communication, 8 September 1982.

Finkelstein, Carol Ann. Phone interview, 16 September 1982.

Fischer, Claude S. Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley. Personal communication, 21 January 1981.

Fischer, Claude S. and Oliker, Stacey J. "Friendship, Sex, and the Life Cycle." Working paper. Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, March 1980.

Fitzpatrick, Mary Anne and Bochner, Arthur. "Insider and Outsider Perspectives on Self and Other: Male-Female Differences in the Perceptions of Interpersonal Behaviors." Manuscript for publication in Sex Roles, vol. 7, 1981.

Foss, Robert, Associate Director, CUNY Data Service, City University of New York, New York, New York. Interview, September 1982.

Giele, Janet Zollinger, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. Personal communication, 29 August 1982.

Goode, William, Department of Sociology, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Personal communications, 14 April 1982 and 17 December 1982.

Granovetter, Mark S., Department of Sociology, Harvard University. Personal communication, 18 September 1982.

Graziano, William, Department of Psychology, University of Georgia. Personal communication, 15 March 1982.

Gurdin, J. Barry. Personal communication, 11 October 1982.

Hacker, Helen M., Department of Sociology, Adelphi University, Garden City, New York. Personal communication, 24 February 1983.

_____. "The Influence of Gender Roles on Reciprocal Patterns in Same-Sex and Cross-Sex Friendship Dyads". Paper presented at the IXth World Congress of Sociology, Uppsala, August 14-19, 1978.

Hagestad, Gunhild O., College of Human Development, Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania. Personal Communication, March (n.d.) 1982.

Hendrix, Lew, Department of Sociology, Southern Illinois University

at Carbondale. Personal communication, 30 August 1982.

Huston, Ted L., Division of Individual and Family Studies, College of Human Development, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania. Personal communication, 28 September 1982.

Hymer, Sharon. "Narcissistic Friendships". Unpublished paper, received 9 May 1982.

_____. Phone interview, March 1983.

Irish, Donald P., Department of Sociology, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota. Personal communication, 7 February 1983.

Jesser, Clint J., Department of Sociology, Northern Illinois University. Personal communication, 4 March 1981.

Johnson, Michael P., Department of Sociology, Pennsylvania State University. Personal communication, 20 May 1982.

_____. "Personal and Structural Commitment: Sources of Consistency in the Development of Relationships." Paper presented at Pre-conference Theory and Methods Workshop, Annual Meetings of the National Council on Family Relations, Philadelphia, 1978.

_____. "Social and Cognitive Features of the Dissolution of Commitment to Relationships." Chapter for Personal Relationships 4: Dissolving Personal Relationships (New York: Academic Press, 1982).

Kadushin, Charles. "Frontiers of Research in Network Theory and Method." Paper presented at AAAS Meetings, Houston, January 1979.

_____. Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, New York City. Interviews, June 1980-April 1983.

Kinoy, Barbara P. Phone interview, 22 September 1982.

Krain, Mark, Department of Sociology, University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Personal communication, 1 September 1982.

Lang, Milton, New York City Department of Planning, New York City. Phone interview, 15 December 1982.

Lee, Alfred McClung. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center. Interview, 28 June 1982.

_____. Personal communication, 28 July 1982.

Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, New York City. 88th Annual

Report. New York: Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, 1982.

Lerner, Lea. National Opinion Research Center (NORC), New York City.
Phone interview, 18 November 1981.

Libby, Roger W. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts.
Personal communication, 27 August 1982 and Interview, March
1983, New York City.

Mayer, John. Personal communication, 4 February 1983.

McCaffrey, Erika, Search Analyst, New York State Library Data Base
Services. "Sociology of Friendship." Sociological Abstracts,
1963-present, 29 October 1980; Dissertation Abstracts and
Psychological Abstracts, 1935-present, 30 October 1980; and
Social Sciences Citation Index, 1977-present, Nov. 1980.

Murstein, Bernard, Department of Psychology, Connecticut College.
Personal communication, 14 April 1981.

Newsome, Oliver D., Centrolia College, Centrolia, Washington.
Personal communication, 4 February 1980.

Noonan, John Ford. "A Coupla White Chicks Sitting Around Talking."
Directed by Dorothy Lyman. Astor Place Theatre, New York City,
5 August 1980.

Parlee, Mary, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, New York
City. Interview, 22 September 1980.

_____. Personal communication, 30 July 1980.

Payne, Rev. Dorothy, Center for Single Women, White Plains, New York.
Phone interview, 21 September 1982.

Pearlman, Daniel, Department of Psychology, University of Manitoba,
Canada. Personal communication, 8 September 1982.

Pearlman, Daniel and Peplau, Anne Letitia. "Loneliness Research:
Implications for Interventions." Paper prepared for
"Preventive Interventions to Reduce the Harmful Consequences of
Loneliness" workshop sponsored by the Office of Prevention,
National Institute for Mental Health (NIMH), 1982.

Peplau, Anne Letitia, Department of Social Psychology, University of
California, Los Angeles. Personal communication, January 1981.

Phillips, Derek L., Professor of Sociology, Universiteit van
Amsterdam, Amsterdam. Personal communication, 16 September
1982.

Plath, David W., Department of Human Development and Family Ecology,
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Personal

Correspondence, August 1982.

- Quinney, Richard, Department of Sociology, Brown University.
Personal communication 8 December 1982 and Phone interview, 29 December 1982.
- Risoli, Toni, Search Analyst, New York State Library Data Base Services. "Friendships Among Women." Sociological Abstracts, 1978-present, 22 April 1982.
- _____. "Sociology of Friendship," Sociological Abstracts, 1963 - date, 22 April 1982.
- Rodin, Miriam J. Department of Psychology, San Diego State University, San Diego, California. Personal communications, 13 March 1981 and 16 March 1982.
- Rubin, Zick, Department of Psychology, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. Personal communication, 30 December 1980.
- Sagarin, Edward, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & Center, New York City. Personal communications, 27 October 1980 and 9 March 1981.
- Salamon, Sonya, Department of Human Development and Family Ecology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Personal communication, 11 February 1981.
- Sills, David L., Social Science Research Council, New York City. Interview, 2 July 1982.
- Simon, Barbara, National Opinion Research Center (NORC), New York City. Interview, 10 September 1982.
- Simon, Rita James, Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois. Personal communication, 1 September 1982.
- Stein, Peter J. "Men and Their Friendships." Paper presented at Annual Groves Conference on Marriage and the Family, June 1982.
- _____. "Understanding Single Adulthood." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council on Family Relations, August 14-18, 1979, Boston, Massachusetts.
- _____. Department of Sociology, William Patterson College of New Jersey. Personal communication, 23 July 1982.
- Surra, Catherine, Department of Human Development and Family Ecology, University of Illinois, Urbana. "From Courtship to Marriage: Patterns of Interaction between Partners and their Social Networks." Paper presented at International Conference on Personal Relationships, Madison, Wisconsin, July 18-23, 1982.

Thurmond, Margaret, Executive Director, Counseling Without Walls Foundation, Los Angeles. Personal communication, 11 August 1982.

Tuchman, Gaye, Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School & University Center, New York City. Interview, 20 October 1980.

_____. Personal communications, 12 February 1981 and March 1981.

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. "Changing Family Composition Associated With Lower Income Levels, Census Bureau Report Shows," 22 September 1982 release.

_____. "Nation to Reach Zero Population Growth by 2050, Census Bureau Says in First Long-Range Projections Based on 1980 Census Results". 9 November 1982 release.

_____. "Household Size Continues to Decline, Census Report Shows". 19 November 1982 release.

Wheeler, Valerie A. "Reciprocity Within First Grade Friend and Nonfriend Dyads In a Conflict-of-Interest Situation." Paper presented at International Conference on Personal Relations, Madison, Wisconsin, July 1982.

White, Kathleen M., Department of Psychology, Boston University. Person communication, 20 October 1982.

Wright, Beverly. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, New York City. Interview, 27 November 1981.

_____. Phone interview, 15 December 1982.

Yorkville Civic Council. "A Directory of The Yorkville Community." New York: Yorkville Civic Council, January 1982.

Zaslow, Martha. "The Emergence of Peer Relations in Kibbutz Toddler Groups." Paper presented at the International Conference on Kibbutz Studies, New York, June 1982.

Zaslow, Martha, Ph.D., Research Psychologist, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Department of Health & Human Services. Personal communication, 7 September 1982.

Zinner, Pearl, National Opinion Research Center (NORC), New York City. Interview, 16 November 1981.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

J.L. Barkas has B.A. in Fine Arts and an M.A. in Criminal Justice. She is the author of five books, such as Single in America (Atheneum, 1980), The Help Book (Scribner's, 1979), Victims (Scribner's, 1978), and The Vegetable Passion (Scribner's, 1975), including Japanese, Dutch, and British editions of several titles. Her magazine, newspaper, and journal credits include: The New York Times, Harper's, Journal of Current Social Issues, Federal Probation, Glamour, Redbook, Los Angeles Times, McCall's, Modern Bride, Opera News, The New Leader, Crime and Delinquency Literature, Family Circle, Seventeen, Chicago Tribune, and others. Barkas has been an editor at major New York publishing houses. She has also been the Coordinator of a Community Crime Prevention Resource Center and a counselor to victims of crime and offenders. In addition to public speaking engagements, Barkas has been a Visiting Professor at The Pennsylvania State University and on the faculty of St. John's University, Temple University, and the New School for Social Research.