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Stress and Passionate Love

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Abstract

Passionate love is a turbulent emotion, with close links to joy, sadness, fear, anger, and jealousy. Of course, people differ markedly in how pleasurable or stressful their passionate experiences prove to be. Social psychologists have found that secure persons have the most positive experiences in love. For the clingy, skittish, and fickle, passionate love can be stressful and lead to problematic relationships. The consequences of passion also depend, in part, on whether or not lovers' passionate feelings are reciprocated. When reciprocated, passionate love has been found to be associated with satisfaction and happiness, and to have a beneficial effect on the immune system. Stress resulting from unrequited love seems to be hazardous to mental and physical health. When passionate relationships end, people may experience joy and relief . . . or guilt, sadness and depression, jealousy, anger and bitterness, and loneliness. As a consequence of this complex of emotions, couples who have broken up are unusually vulnerable to a host of mental and physical illnesses.

Fischer and his colleagues (Fischer, Shaver, & Carnochan,1990) defined emotions as "organized, meaningful, generally adaptive action systems" (p. 84-85). They argued that there are five basic emotions--joy, love (which comes in two subtypes--passionate love and companionate love [which they labeled infatuation and fondness]), anger, sadness, and fear. Researchers have found that men and women in a variety of nations, single and married, homosexual and heterosexual, resonate to this distinction (Fehr, 1993). We will focus on passionate love in this chapter. It has been defined this way:

> A state of intense longing for union with another.
>
> Passionate love is a complex functional whole including appraisals or appreciations, subjective feelings, expressions, patterned physiological processes, action tendencies, and instrumental behaviors. Reciprocated love (union with the other) is associated with fulfillment and ecstasy. Unrequited love (separation) is associated with emptiness, anxiety, or despair (Hatfield & Rapson, 1993, p. 5).

Hatfield and Sprecher (1986) developed the Passionate Love Scale to tap the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral incidents of this kind of love (see Appendix 1). (For information on the reliability and validity of this scale, see Hatfield & Sprecher, 1986; Singelis, Choo, & Hatfield, l995).

Companionate love is thought to be a "cooler" emotion. It combines feelings of deep attachment, commitment, and intimacy. It has been defined it this way:

> The affection and tenderness we feel for those with whom our lives are deeply entwined. . . . (Hatfield & Rapson, 1993, p. 9).

Psychologists have used a variety of scales to measure companionate love. Sternberg (1988), for example, contended that companionate relationships required both commitment and intimacy. Thus, many researchers have assessed companionate love by measuring commitment and intimacy.

Of course, some psychologists (such as Fehr,1993; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1989; Lee, 1988; Rubin, 1970; and Sternberg, 1988) have proposed yet other definitions and typologies of love.

I. The Cross-Magnification Process

In his 1992 film Husbands and Wives, Woody Allen [Gabe Roth] sketched a portrait of Harriet Harmon, the woman he had loved most feverishly. She was "sexually carnivorous." They'd make love in all sorts of combinations and in all sorts of places--in the back of cars, in other people's bathrooms, in stalled elevators, and in the bushes. Gabe noted:

> you know me, I was getting a real education and I was, you know, fascinated, I was just absolutely nuts about her and, you know, ultimately she wound up in an institution . . . .

Gabe said that he had always had a penchant for what he called "kamikaze women." Women who crash their plane into you, so you die along with them. Gabe understands the process: Its the challenge--the knowledge that there's no chance of its working out, the knowledge that he is going to confront tremendous obstacles in trying to make the relationship stay afloat, that makes him fall in love with the person. "Of course," he noted ruefully, "it has not worked out well for me. It has not been great."

Woody Allen exaggerates. But for most people, passionate love is associated with a variety of emotions, pleasurable and painful. In prototype analyses, social psychologists have found passionate love to be associated with more basic emotions than is any other emotion. Hatfield (Carlson & Hatfield, 1992) argued that in life, the most intense emotional experiences usually involve blends of emotions. This may not be pure coincidence. Perhaps emotions (especially positive emotions like joy and love) have a better chance to rise to a fever pitch when several emotional units are activated. Love may be more intense than usual when it is kindled by fire and ice--by the impossible paradoxes of ecstasy and insecurity, jealousy and impatience, love and anger. The loss of romantic partners may be especially hard to bear when combined with guilt about the way we treated them. Add grief and anger at the loss to that guilt, and the darkness deepens. There is considerable evidence that mixtures of emotions--good, bad, and neutral--can fuel passion (Hatfield & Rapson, 1993).

II. The Universality of Passionate Love

It has been claimed that Americans are preoccupied with love (Murstein, 1986). When Hendrick and Hendrick (1986) asked young people if they had ever been in love, 89% of them said they had been in love at least once. Researchers have found that young men and women from a variety of American ethnic groups--Chinese-, European-, Japanese-, Mexican-American, and Pacific Islanders (which includes people from the Philippines, Hawaii, Samoa, Guam, Tongan, Tahiti, and Fiji)--were all equally susceptible to falling in love. Almost all had been at love at least once in their lives. Most said they were in love at the present time (Aron & Rodriguez, 1992; Doherty, Hatfield, Thompson & Choo, 1994; Singelis, et al., 1995).

What effect, if any, does cultural background have on how intensely young people fall in love? Hatfield and her students (Doherty, et al., 1994; Singelis, et al., 1995) asked men and women from Chinese-, European-, Filipino-, Japanese-American, and Pacific Island backgrounds to complete the Passionate Love Scale and the Companionate Love scale. Students from all of the ethnic groups seemed to love with equal passion (and with equal companionate love).

Researchers have found that some kinds of people, in some kinds of situations, may be more susceptible to passionate love, and to have different kinds of love experiences, however.

IV. Love Schemas and Passionate Love

In our clinical practice, we have been struck by how the individual differences in what people hope for and expect from love. Recently, social

psychologists have become interested in the impact that cognitive schemata (or schemas) have on people's cognitions, emotions, and behaviors. (Schemas have been conceptualized as cognitive plans, structures, or programs that serve as guides for interpreting information and guiding action) (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). Theorists have argued that people may possess very different love schemas--i.e., different cognitive models as to what it is appropriate to expect from themselves, those they love, and from their love relationships. Hatfield and Rapson (1996) proposed that people's love schemas depend on: (1) how comfortable they are with closeness and/or independence, and on (2) how eager they are to be involved in romantic relationships. Those who are interested in romantic relationships were said to fall into one of four types: The secure (who are comfortable with closeness and independence); the clingy (who are comfortable with closeness but fearful of too much independence); the skittish (who are fearful of too much closeness but comfortable with independence); and the fickle (who are uneasy with either closeness or independence). Those who were relatively uninterested in relationships were said to fall into one of two categories--the casual (who are interested in relationships only if they are almost problem free) and the uninterested (who are not at all interested in relationships, problem free or not).

Hatfield and Rapson (1996) also pointed out that people's love schemas may have multiple determinants. In part (as attachment theorists have proposed), they are shaped by children's early experiences and thus are relatively permanent. To some extent, love schemas change as people

progress through the various developmental stages. As adolescents mature, for example, they normally become more secure in their ability to integrate closeness and independence (Erikson, 1982). In part, love schemas change with experience. Depending on their romantic experiences, people may become better (or less) able to deal with the stresses of love relationships. Finally, of course, people may react differently in different kinds of relationships. The same person, for example, may cling to a cool and aloof mate but become skittish with a smothering one (Napier, 1977).

The Love Schema (LS) scale was designed to identify people who possess various love schemas (Hatfield & Rapson, 1996. For information on the reliability and validity of this scale, see Singelis, et al., 1994) (see Appendix 2).

When Singelis and his colleagues (1994) asked American men and women from a variety of ethnic groups to rate their feelings and experiences, not surprisingly, perhaps, most (62.2%) reported that they generally felt fairly secure in their romantic relationships. Some admitted that had been clingy (7.6%), skittish (10.5%), or fickle (12.2%) in their romantic encounters. Only a few students said that they had generally been casual (6.7%) or uninterested (.8%) in relationships. Researchers have found that American men and women from a variety of ethnic backgrounds tend to classify themselves in much the same ways on the Love Schemas measure (Doherty, et al., 1994; Singelis, et al., 1994).

A. Theoretical Background

There is some justification, both theoretical and empirical, for the love schemas typology we have found to be so useful in a clinical setting. Social psychologists have charted the process by which infants, teenagers, and young adults learn to love and to balance the conflicting desires for closeness and independence. Pioneering scientists such as Ainsworth (1989), Bowlby (1979), and Freud (1933/1953), Hazan and Shaver (1987) have charted the way infants come to be attached to their caretakers. Erickson (1982) has charted the way adolescents and young adults learn to negotiate the delicate balance between independence and interdependence. All assume that these early experiences will have a dramatic impact on what young men and women desire in their love affairs and how competent they will be at satisfying their desires.

1. Attachment theory. Social psychologists have argued that passionate love and sexual desire are constructed on the ancient foundations laid down between caretakers and infants. Primatologists, such as Rosenblum (1985) and Harlow (1975) have pointed out that many primates, such as pigtail macaques, seem to experience a primitive form of passionate love. This attachment is based, they contended, on the necessity of caretakers-infant bonding, if young primates were to survive in the wild. Ainsworth (see Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978) and Bowlby (1979), who were well grounded in evolutionary theory, studied the process of attachment, separation, and loss in human infants. Developmentalists also quickly discovered that infants were capable of forming very different kinds of bonds with their caretakers--they might be classified as secure, anxious/resistant, avoidant, or

disorganized/disoriented in their patterns of attachment (see Ainsworth, et al., 1978; and Main & Solomon, 1990). Some social psychologists have argued that these early infantile attachments have a powerful impact on adult passionate attachments (Bowlby, 1979; Hatfield & Rapson, 1993 and 1996; Hazan & Shaver, 1987). As Bowlby (1979) observed:

> In terms of subjective experience, the formation of a bond is described as falling in love, maintaining a bond as loving someone, and losing a partner as grieving over someone (p. 69).

Social psychologists have amassed considerable evidence in support of the contention that childhood and adult patterns of attachment have a powerful impact on adult romantic schemas (see Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Doherty, et al., 1994; Hindy, Schwarz, & Brodsky, 1989; Keelan, Dion, & Dion, 1994; or Shaver & Hazan, 1993, for a review of this research).

2. Love and anxiety/stress. Earlier, when discussing the cross-magnification process, we observed that passion can be fueled by a variety of associated emotions. But given the attachment theoretical perspective, and the special interests of this series (stress and anxiety), the relationship between passionate love and one particular emotion, anxiety, is of particular interest. An array of theorists (Freud, 1933/1953; Reik, 1972) have proposed that it is precisely when people are not at their best--when their self-esteem has been shattered, when they are anxious and afraid, when their lives are turbulent and stressful--that they are especially vulnerable to falling head-over-heels in love. This makes some sense. After all, infants' early attachments (which motivate

them to cling tightly to their mother's side when danger threatens and to go their own way when it is all safe) are thought to be the initial prototype of love. Also, passionate love and consuming anxiety are closely related both neuroanatomically and chemically (Hatfield & Rapson, 1993). Several researchers have demonstrated that both children and adults are especially prone to seek romantic ties when they are anxious and under stress. In a duo of studies, Hatfield and her colleagues (Hatfield, Brinton, & Cornelius, 1989; Hatfield, Schmitz, Cornelius, & Rapson, 1988), for example, found that children and teen-agers who were either momentarily or habitually anxious were especially vulnerable to passionate love. Young people who varied in age from l2 to 16 years of age, who were of Chinese-, European-, Japanese-, Korean-American, or mixed ancestry, were asked to complete the Child Anxiety Scale (Gillis, 1980) or the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (Spielberger, Gorsuch, & Lushene, 1970) which measures both state anxiety (how anxious teenagers happen to feel at the moment) and trait anxiety (how anxious they generally are). Children and adolescents who were high on either trait or state anxiety received the highest scores on the Passionate Love Scale.

Dutton and Aron (1974) discovered a close link between fear, stress, and sexual attraction. The investigators compared the reactions of young men crossing two bridges in North Vancouver, Canada. The first, the Capilano Canyon suspension bridge, tilts, sways, and wobbles for 450 feet over a 230-foot drop to rocks and shallow rapids. The other bridge, a bit farther upstream is a solid, safe structure. As each young man crossed the bridge, an attractive

college woman approached him, explained that she was conducting a class project on the environment, and asked him to fill out a questionnaire for her. When the man had finished, she offered to explain her project in greater detail, and wrote her telephone number on a small piece of paper so that the men could call her for more information. Which men called? Nine of the 33 men on the suspension bridge called her, but only two of the men on the solid bridge. Here, it appears that passion was intensified by the spillover of feeling from one realm to another.

In part, then, people's love schemas may be shaped by their early attachments, but their later experiences have been found to play a part too.

3. Erikson's stage theory. Developmental theorists have pointed out that, important as infancy is, young people learn even more about passionate love and intimacy in adolescence. Erikson (1982) wrote that:

> Anything that grows has a ground plan, and out of this ground plan parts arise, each part having its special time of ascendancy (p. 92).

Stage theorists such as Erikson point out infancy is only one stage in the life cycle. Throughout their lives, children, adolescents, and adults face a continuing series of developmental tasks. In adolescence, for example, teenagers must confront two tasks--they must develop a relatively stable, independent identity and they must learn how to participate in a loving, committed, intimate relationship. Erikson (1959) also argued that men and women may differ slightly in how easy they find it to achieve independence/intimacy. As men mature, he argued, they find it easy to achieve

an independent identity; they experience more difficulty in learning to be intimate with those they love. Women have an easy time learning to be close to others; they have more trouble learning how to be independent. Other theorists have agreed. (See Gilligan, 1982; Hodgson & Fischer, 1979; White, Speisman, Jackson, Bartis, & Costos, 1986). Erikson's model, then, reminds us that if people are to have a close loving relationship with others, they must have learned how to be comfortable with both independence and closeness. Until they learn how to negotiate both, they are likely to encounter problems in their love affairs. Researchers provide some evidence in support of Erikson's theorizing (Bellew-Smith & Korn, 1986; Orlofsky & Ginsburg, 1981; Tesch & Whitbourne, 1982.)

4. Other Approaches. Neurophysiologists remind us that passionate love may also be fueled by pubescent sexual and hormonal changes (Gadpaille, 1975; Money, 1980). Puberty and sexual maturity may well bring a new depth to passion (Rabehl, Ridge, & Berscheid, 1992).]

The love schemas model, then, was designed to integrate the insights of all of these various theoretical approaches.

B. The Evidence2

Researchers have accumulated considerable evidence that people's love schemas are linked to their thoughts, feelings, and experiences in passionate encounters.

1. The secure. Men and women who are secure have been found to fall passionately in love fairly often. A steady personality does not guarantee

smooth sailing in stressful romantic waters, of course. Love is difficult for everyone and the vast majority of love affairs fail. Nonetheless, the secure do seem to do better than most at negotiating stable, companionate, intimate love relationships. Secure people think of themselves as valuable and worthy of others' affection and concern. They assume their romantic partners are well-intentioned, trustworthy, reliable, and available. (Probably, they would not tolerate romantic partners who were not so well intentioned.) They find it easy to get close to others. They feel comfortable relying on others and being relied upon by them in return. They rarely worry about being abandoned or smothered by others. They have happier, more positive relationships than do their peers. Their relationships involve more commitment, trust, satisfaction, intimacy, and interdependence than do those of their peers. (For evidence in support of these contentions, see Doherty, et al., 1994; Hatfield & Rapson, 1996; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1989; Shaver & Hazan, 1993).

2. The clingy. Those who are clingy are most vulnerable to "neurotic love." The clingy have low self-esteem. They are ambivalent about their lovers. On one hand, they idealize them. (The other could give them so much, if only he or she would.) Yet they can't help but resent them for their reluctance to make a commitment, to get as close to them as they would like, to take care of them in the way they long to be cared for. They are frantic when they think their mates might not really love them. They obsess about the other's feelings. They are so focused on what they long for from an affair, that they are sometimes oblivious to the fact that others might have very different feelings

and needs. They are addicted to the relationship; dependent. They are on an emotional roller-coaster--elated one minute and anxious, frightened, and lonely the next. They have trouble finding a stable, committed, companionate relationship; sometimes their insatiable demands seem to drive others away. (For evidence in support of these propositions, see Hatfield & Rapson, 1996; Hindy, et al., 1989; Shaver & Hazan, 1993).

3. The skittish. The skittish seem to fear romantic intimacy. They are pessimistic about love. They are aloof, emotionally distant, and skeptical about relationships. They prefer not to make any serious commitments. They think of their lovers as overly eager to hurl themselves precipitously into long term commitments. They are uncomfortable with partners who disclose too much too soon. When their lovers try to talk over problems with them, they back away. They avoid emotional confrontations. They focus their attention on their work, non-social activities, or brief, uncommitted, sexual encounters instead. Not surprisingly, their love relationships rarely go well. Breakups are not terribly stressful, however. The work of a variety of researchers leads us to these gloomy conclusions (Hatfield & Rapson, 1996; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Hindy, et al., 1989; Shaver & Hazan, 1993).

4. The fickle. As you might expect, the fickle have more problems than do their peers. They are plagued with the problems of both the clingy and the skittish (they desire what they don't have, but flee from what lies just within their grasp). They are clingy when trying to win another's love, but skittish once they are faced with an actual commitment. Thus, although the fickle can fall

passionately in love easily enough, especially for someone who is tantalizingly unavailable, they are unlikely to have ever managed an affectionate, committed, intimate relationship. They are wary of commitment. When faced with an impending commitment, they feel trapped; worried that it is too much, too soon. The more fickle people were, the less joy and the more anxiety, sadness, anger and stress they experienced in their relationships. Nothing seems to work out for the fickle. (For evidence in support of these contentions, see Singelis, et al., 1994 and l995).

5. The casual. Researchers have found that men and women who are casual about relationships, are less likely to have experienced either Passionate Love or Companionate Love than are their peers. When people are young, it is appropriate to be casual about love. In maturity, most people become interested in settling into committed, permanent relationships. For those who are casual about love in adulthood, love is not a source of joy. They remain detached in the love affairs. They keep their feelings at bay. (For evidence in support of these contentions, see Hatfield & Rapson, 1995).

6. The uninterested. Not surprisingly, those who are uninterested in relationships are extremely unlikely to have experienced much Passionate Love or Companionate Love. The disinterested are simply uninterested in getting committed or even getting very involved in a very intimate relationship. It is rather an odd question to ask how such love affairs "work out." The uninterested may be barely aware that they are involved in a relationship. Nonetheless, to the extent that the uninterested do pay attention, they may find

every reason to stay uninterested. Their affairs bring them little joy and provoke a great deal of sadness and anger. (For evidence in support of these contentions, see Hatfield & Rapson, 1996).

IV. The Consequences of Passionate Love

As we observed earlier, passionate love is a turbulent emotion, with close links to joy, sadness, fear and anger. Social psychologists have amassed some evidence as to the consequences this complex of emotions has for mental and physical health. The sparse existing evidence suggests that the consequences of passion may depend, in part, on whether one's passionate feelings are requited (and a source of joy and fulfillment) or unrequited (and associated with emptiness, anxiety, and despair).

A. Requited Love

1. Satisfaction and happiness. Fehr (1993) asked young men and women in Australia and the United States to list the characteristics they associated with love. When asked to list the characteristics they associated with love, people usually listed such positive characteristics as euphoria, excitement, laughing, and contentment (Similar results were secured by Davis & Todd, 1982; Fitness & Fletcher, 1993; and Marston, Hecht, & Robers, 1987)

2. Love and the immune system. Smith and Hoklund (1988) suspected that love (or at least reciprocated love) is good for people. A famous case in point: the poet Elizabeth Barrett was a frail, sickly, invalid. When she fell in love with the impassioned Robert Browning, her health quickly improved. Smith and Hokland interviewed 64 Danish college students. Were they in love?

Were their feelings reciprocated? How happy were they? How healthy? When college students were in love and knew they were loved in return, they were at their best. They were self-confident, relaxed and happy, and unusually healthy. (No sore throats or colds.) When technicians drew blood samples, and assayed natural killer cell (NK cell) activity, they found that lovers' NK cell activity was unusually low. The lovers' immune system was at full strength. On the other hand, when students were suffering the stresses of unrequited love, they were literally at risk. They reported feeling tense and depressed. They were especially prone to sore throats and colds. Many of them had been drinking (at least they displayed the tell-tale signs of a hang-over). More ominously, their natural killer cell activity was elevated--a sign that their immune system was trying to fight off disease.

B. Unrequited Love.

There is also evidence that unrequited love is stressful and unhealthy for the lover . . . and even worse for the beloved.

1. Satisfaction and happiness. Recently, Baumeister, Wotman, and Stillwell (1993) asked college students at Case Western Reserve University to think about a time they had broken someone's heart or had their own hearts broken by unrequited love. (Almost everyone could recall these stressful experiences: 95% of men and women had rejected someone who loved them; 93% had felt the slap of such rejection). The authors asked men and women to tell the story of <u>their</u> doomed love affairs. The would-be lovers and the lovelorn had very different stories to tell.

1. The rejected. It is painful to be rejected. Baumeiser and his colleagues found, however, that for most "broken-hearted" lovers the experience of "fatal attraction" remained a surprisingly sweet memory. When they first fell in love, they had been filled with love and hope. They had focused almost entirely on their own needs, wants, and desires. They were convinced that the attraction had been mutual. Later, when things turned sour, they believed they had been led on; that the rejecter had never clearly communicated his or her disinterest. They felt that "all is fair in love and war." They viewed the beloved with incomprehension. How could he/she not love them when they loved so much? They cared little about the beloved's feelings. They were oblivious and indifferent to what the rejecting person was going through. Some seemed to enjoy wallowing in the drama of their misery. They blamed the other for not reciprocating their love; they felt angry, annoyed, and resentful at her/his stubbornness. And they remembered the infatuation afterward as a bitter-sweet affair despite the poison of disappointment at the current state of things.

2. Those who are forced to do the rejecting. Contrary to conventional wisdom, it turned out that the loved were the ones who ended up suffering the most. At first, those who were loved beyond reason were flattered by the would-be lover's adoration. However, they soon found themselves caught up in an impossible situation. Whatever they did was wrong. It seemed cruel to reject someone who cared so much for them. It was even worse to lead someone on. They agonized over how to say "enough" without hurting feelings. But as the would-be lover persisted, guilt turned to annoyance, and then to rage.

Eventually, the rejecters began to feel trapped and persecuted. What can be motivating him? Why won't she go away? Is he crazy? Doesn't she see she's driving me crazy?

All in all, it seemed far more pleasant to have loved and lost than to have been loved.

Sometimes, of course, the rejected lover's pursuit of the other turns into harassment. Jason and his colleagues (see Reichler, Easton, Neal, & Wilson,1984) defined harassment as: "the persistent use of psychological or physical abuse in an attempt to begin or continue dating someone else after they have clearly indicated a desire to terminate a relationship" (p. 261). Romantic harassment included such behaviors as these: rejected lovers repeatedly telephoned late at night, they rang the bell and ran, watched, followed, repeatedly telephoned at home or work, besieged with an avalanche of letters, sent flowers, jumped out of the bushes when the other returned home late at night from a date, insulted or physically attacked, or threaten to kill. The researchers found that a majority of college women (56%) had been romantically harassed at some time or another. (Researchers haven't investigated how often men are harassed). Interestingly enough, when harassers were interviewed, they generally did not think of such activities as harassment. They thought they were merely trying to establish a love relationship.

We might expect that those who suffer from unrequited love would be susceptible to a variety of stress induced emotional and physical illnesses. As

yet, little research has specifically investigated this possibility. (We reviewed some of this research in the previous section, when we considered some of the benefits of reciprocated love).

C. Passionate Relationships Which Come to an End

When individuals are in love, they are generally convinced that their passionate feelings will last forever. Yet, passion is generally fleeting (Berscheid, 1983; Hatfield & Rapson, 1993.) Klinger (1977) warned that:

> highs are always transitory. People experience deliriously happy moments that quickly fade and all attempts to hang on to them are doomed to fail (p. 116).

Solomon (1980) observed that passionate love follows the same pattern as any addiction. At first, passionate love produces giddy euphoria. In time, however, it takes more and more love (or cocaine, alcohol, and so forth) to produce even a weak high. Eventually, highs become transitory. If one loses love (or if one goes "cold turkey" on a drug), one must endure the pains of withdrawal--depression, agitation, fatigue, anger, and loneliness. Marriage and family texts also warn that romantic love is temporary. Passion frequently wanes once the couple moves in together. Reik (1972), for example, warned that the best a couple, once intensely in love, can hope for after several years of living together is a warm "afterglow." There is indeed evidence that passionate love does erode with time (Sternberg, 1988; Traupmann-Pillemer & Hatfield, 1981).

For many couples, the end of passion is the end of a relationship. Recently, Levine and his colleagues (in press) asked American men and women (and men and women in 10 other nations) two questions:

> Question 1: If a man (woman) had all the other qualities you desired, would you marry this person if you were not in love with him (her)? Question 2: If love has completely disappeared from a marriage, do you think it is probably best for the couple to make a clean break and start new lives?

The sociologists found that in the United States, only 3.5% of men and women said "Yes," they would consider marrying someone if there was no "chemistry, provided the person had everything else they wanted. Most young men and women also assumed that romantic love was an important ingredient in determining whether they would stay in a relationship. A full 35.4% of men and women said "Yes," they would leave if they fell out of love; 29.9% more were undecided as to whether or not they would leave. (Similar results were secured by Simpson, Campbell, & Berscheid, 1986). Of course, with more experience, young people might find that they were willing to "settle" for less than they assumed they would. In any case, when love ends, dating relationships and perhaps even marriages may come to an end as well.

People vary in how they react to the end of an affair. Some men and women are happy and relieved when a love affair is over. Some care little one way or another. Others are devastated (Sprecher, 1994). One researcher (Stephen, 1987) found that after a break up, 52% of men and women reported

experiencing little distress, while 43% reported a great deal of distress. It is easy to guess the kind of things that make separation especially painful. The higher a person's self-esteem, the easier it is to survive a break-up. The more satisfied with their relationship, the closer they have been, and the longer they have been together, the worse will likely be the end. Break-ups are also particularly stressful if people fear that they will never find someone else to love and if they have few friends to provide social support (Berscheid, Snyder & Omoto, 1989; Frazier & Cook, 1993). It is far less painful to think of oneself as leaving someone than to be the one who is left. The abandoned are likely to be stunned by the breakup and preoccupied with trying to figure out what went wrong. It takes them far longer to recover and get on with their lives (Frazier & Cook, 1993; Gray & Silver, 1990).

Weiss (1979) observed that, in serious relationships, most men and women experience intense and conflicting emotions after a breakup. They may, on one hand, feel euphoric and relieved and, on the other, feel guilty, anxious, depressed, jealous, and angry. The newly separated feel a whirlpool of emotions, and their feelings shift with such dizzying rapidity, that it is difficult for them to deal with the turbulence.

1. Guilt. Gray and Silver (1990) interviewed Canadian men and women who had just divorced. Not surprisingly, they found that those who had decided to divorce often felt guilty.

2. Sadness and depression. Means (1991) asked college students who had just broken up to comment upon their feelings. Many still loved their

partners. They wished things could have worked out. Most were sometimes achingly sad. Two months after the break up, over 40% of the students were clinically depressed, as assessed by the Beck (1967) Depression Inventory. The Inventory classified 1% of the students as being "minimally depressed," 31% as "mildly to moderately depressed," 10% as "moderately to severely depressed," 2% as "severely" depressed, and 40% as clinically depressed.

Should a love affair or marriage end in death, the bereaved generally grieve for a very long time (Beach, Sandeen, & O'Leary, 1990; Solsberry & Krupnick, 1984; Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987).

c. Jealousy. Berscheid and Fei (1977) studied the factors that ignite jealousy. They found that the more insecure people are, the more dependent they are on their romantic partners and mates, and the more seriously a relationship is threatened, the more fiercely jealous people will be.

Researchers have found that when men and women are jealous, they tend to react in somewhat different ways. In their review of the existing research on jealousy, Clanton and Smith (1987) found that existing gender roles predispose men and women to react very differently when jealousy strikes. Men generally deny their feelings, while women freely admit to them. Men tend to become upset if they think their partners are having sexual activity with another man and they often demand a recital of the intimate details. Women become upset if they think their partner is becoming emotionally involved with someone else. They add:

> Men are more likely to externalize the cause of the jealousy, more likely to blame the partner, or the third party, or "circumstances." Women often internalize the cause of jealousy; they blame themselves. Similarly, a jealous man is more likely to display competitive behavior toward the third party while a jealous woman is more likely to display possessive behavior. She clings to her partner rather than confronting the third party (p. 11).

Finally, Clanton and Smith point out, jealous men are more likely to become enraged and violent than are women.

Israeli psychologists Nadler and Dotan (1992) found that jealous people may respond in two very different ways. (1) Some people focus on the threat to their feelings of self-esteem. Their reactions are designed to protect their own egos. For example, they berate their partners, beat them up, leave, or try to get even. (2) Some people focus on the threat to the present relationship. Their reactions are designed to try to improve their floundering relationship. They may try to make themselves more attractive, talk things out, or learn something from the experience. They concluded that men and women seem to respond quite differently to jealous provocation. In general, jealous men concentrate on shoring up their sagging self-esteem. Jealous women are more likely to try to do something to strengthen the relationship.

4. Anger and bitterness. As relationships begin to dissolve, couples often begin to fight. Sometimes when the newly-separated think back on their relationship, a volcano of anger erupts. Some have suppressed their own

feelings for months or years in the interests of harmony. Now they realize how angry they had been for so much of the time.

Couples may slap, shove, grab, bite, kick, or hit one another with their fists. They may threaten one another with knives or guns or beat one another (Marshall & Rose, 1987). Approximately 22% to 40% of dating couples and 38% of engaged couples report that they have had physically violent confrontations with their partners. More than half the time (68%), both partners were abusive (Cate, Henton, Koval, Christopher, & Lloyd, 1982; Gryl, Stith, & Bird, 1991).

Gryl and her colleagues (see Gryl, Stith, & Bird, 1991), for example, asked 280 first year college students, who were in serious dating relationships, how violent were those relationships. They asked students to complete Straus's (1979) Conflict Tactics Scale. This scale asks couples to recall the time in the past year when they and their dates or mates had had a spat or fight. How had they and their partners reacted? The scale then listed 19 tactics couples might have employed during a conflict. The list began with items from the Reasoning scale, such as "discussed issue calmly". It went on to the items on the Verbal Aggression scale, such as "Insulted or swore at the other," and ended with the Violence items. Couples were considered to have had a violent encounter if they admit using physical force to get their way--if they admit that they have shoved, slapped, kicked, beaten up, stabbed or shot their sweethearts during a fight. In this study men and women were equally likely to inflict and sustain violence (23% of the men and 30% of the women admitted that they had been

violent. 39% of the men and 28% of the women reported that they had been the victims of violence.) Most studies, however, have found that men are far more aggressive than women. Men are more likely to punch, kick, choke, beat up, and threaten their lovers with knives or guns than are women. Their violence is also more likely to inflict serious injury upon their dating partners--emotionally, sexually, and physically (Makepeace, 1986; Marshall & Rose, 1987). Researchers have found that homosexual and heterosexual couples are equally likely to try to get their way by resorting to put-downs, throwing things, pushing, and violence (Metz, Rosser, & Strapko, 1994; Waterman, Dawson, & Bologna, 1989). Researchers have also compared rates of violence in couples from African-, Chinese-, European-, Filipino- and Japanese-Americans, Hawaiians and part Hawaiians, and Hispanic backgrounds. Here too, they find that battering is all too common in all these groups (Blanchard & Blanchard, 1982; Cazenave & Stares, 1990; Straus & Smith, 1990).

5. Loneliness. After a break-up, many men and women suffer from intense loneliness. The lonely hunger for love, and in its absence they may also be angry, anxious, bored, or depressed (de Jong-Gierveld, 1986; Lopata, 1969; Perlman & Peplau, 1981).

6. Falling ill. Couples who have broken up or divorced are unusually vulnerable to a host of stress induced mental and physical diseases. They have been found to have unusually high rates of alcoholism, diabetes, heart disease, tuberculosis, and cirrhosis of the liver. They are more likely to die from natural causes, twice as likely to commit suicide, and more likely to be murdered than

when they were married (Bloom, White & Asher, 1979; Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987).

V. Love Schemas and Reactions to Loss

People differ in how quickly they recover from the break-up of a love affair. Some mend quickly whereas others appear never to recover fully. As one might expect, people who endorse different love schemas seem to deal with the stress of loss in quite different ways.

1. The secure. Researchers have discovered that secure people, with high self-esteem, bounce back better from the loss of love than do others (Frazier & Cook, 1993; Harvey, Agostinelli, & Weber, 1989). **2. The clingy.** When the clingy contemplate breaking up they may panic. (Of course, their partners, who have been feeling increasingly smothered by their demands may feel numb relief). **3. The skittish.** When the skittish break up, they may feel simple relief. In one study of dating couples, Simpson (1990) found that after a breakup, men who were secure or clingy in their love styles suffered far more than did the skittish. (Their partners may suffer more at abrupt dismissals). **4. The fickle.** The fickle always want what they don't have. After someone has finally had enough and ended the relationship, they generally realize how much the relationship meant to them and try to persuade the other person to come back. (Not surprisingly, such fickle lovers often are extremely frustrating for their partners. People are naturally enraged at being "jerked around" again and again). **5. The casual.** Casual romances end easily; at least so long as everyone involved in the affair understands that the encounter was just for fun.

6. The Uninterested. Of course, the uninterested have no interest in a relationship. They would barely notice were their mythical relationship to end. (For evidence in support of these contentions, see Choo, Levine, & Hatfield, 1995; Hatfield & Rapson, 1996).

VI. Conclusions

In this Chapter, we have written that passionate love is a bitter-sweet emotion, tightly linked to a variety of other emotions. Social psychologists have amassed some evidence as to the consequences this complex of emotions has for mental and physical health. Love that is reciprocated has been found to be associated with happiness, satisfaction, and to have a protective effect on the immune system. Unrequited love and the endings of relationships have been found to be associated with joy and relief . . . or, more commonly, with guilt, sadness and depression, jealousy, anger and bitterness, and loneliness. Couples who have broken-up have also been found to be unusually vulnerable to a host of stress induced mental and physical illnesses.

Generally, we think of passionate love as a positive experience or else we trivialize it. Once we take a realistic look at love, however, it is obvious that for most people, passionate love is a profoundly powerful experience. When unrequited or terminated, passionate love can be extremely stressful, with serious health consequences. These negative consequences as well as the positive ones certainly call out for more study.

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Footnotes

1. For information or reprints contact Dr. Elaine Hatfield, 2430 Campus Road, Honolulu, HI 96822.

2. Almost all of the research cited in this section was derived from the pioneering research of Hazan and Shaver. Our model is simply an attempt to expand their model to include three types of love schemas which we thought were not recognized in their earlier formulation--the fickle, casual, and uninterested.

Appendix 1

The Passionate Love Scale

We would like to know how you feel (or once felt) about the person you love, or have loved, most passionately. Some common terms for passionate love are romantic love, infatuation, love sickness, or obsessive love.

Please think of the person whom you love most passionately right now. If you are not in love right now, please think of the last person you loved. If you have never been in love, think of the person whom you came closest to caring for in that way. Try to tell us how you felt at the time when your feelings were the most intense.

Who are you thinking of?

O Someone I love right now.

O Someone I once loved.

O I have never been in love but am describing how I think I would feel if I were in love.

Possible answers range from:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Not at all true				Moderately true				Definitely true

1. I would feel deep despair if _____ left me.
2. Sometimes I feel I can't control my thoughts; they are obsessively on _____.
3. I feel happy when I am doing something to make _____ happy.

4. I would rather be with _____ than anyone else.

5. I'd get jealous if I thought _____ were falling in love with someone else.

6. I yearn to know all about _____.

7. I want _____--physically, emotionally, mentally.

8. I have an endless appetite for affection from _____.

9. For me, _____ is the perfect romantic partner.

10. I sense my body responding when _____ touches me.

11. _____ always seems to be on my mind.

12. I want _____ to know me--my thoughts, my fears, and my hopes.

13. I eagerly look for signs indicating _____'s desire for me.

14. I possess a powerful attraction for _____.

15. I get extremely depressed when things don't go right in my relationship with_____.

Hatfield and Sprecher (1986), p. 391.

Appendix 2

Romantic Feelings and Experiences

People have different experiences in their romantic relationships. Some people prefer to be involved in a romantic relationship, but deep down they know that, if things fall apart, they will be able to manage on their own. Others need to be close to someone; they are miserable when they are forced to be on their own. Still others need great deal of time on their own. Some people aren't quite sure what they do want. (They think they want a relationship, but somehow they always seem to fall in love with someone who isn't interested in them.) Finally, some people are just very casual about relationships . . . or uninterested in them.

Please take a moment to think of the times you have been romantically and/or passionately in love. (It doesn't matter whether or not your feelings were reciprocated). Please read the following six descriptions, and indicate to what extent each describes your feelings and experiences in romantic and passionate love affairs. Please indicate your answers on the following scale:

0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
Never true of me		True of me about **50%** of the time		**Always** True of me

***1. [Secure]: I Am Comfortable With Closeness and/or Independence:** I find it easy to get close to others and am comfortable

depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.

***2. [Clingy]: I Need a Great Deal of Closeness:** I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to merge completely with another person, and this desire sometimes scares people away.

***3. [Skittish]: I Need a Great Deal of Independence:** I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.

4. [Fickle]: I Am Not Quite Sure What I Need: Sometimes, I don't know what I want. When I'm in love, I worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me. When people get too interested in me, however, I often find that I'm just not interested in them--I end up feeling bored, irritated, or smothered. Either I fall in love and the other person doesn't or the other person falls in love and I don't.

5. [Casual]. I Am Fairly Casual About Relationships: I like having someone, but I don't want to have to get too committed or to have to invest too much in a relationship.

6. [Uninterested]: I Am Uninterested in Relationships: I don't have time for relationships. They are generally not worth the hassle.

Some scientists have also asked men and women to indicate which of the six types sounds most like them:

Love Schemas

In the previous section we described six "love schemas":

1. I am comfortable With closeness and/or independence.
2. I need a great deal of closeness.
3. I need a great deal of independence.
4. I am not quite sure what I need.
5. I am fairly casual about relationships.
6. I am uninterested in relationships.

This time, we are interested in finding out which of the six descriptions sounds most like you, which sound somewhat like you, and which sounds least like you. Please rank order these six descriptions--going from (1) that which sounds most like you and best reflects your experiences in passionate love relationships to (6) that which sounds least like you and least like the experiences you have had. (Just indicate the appropriate number in the circle).

O 1. Sounds most like me. (The best fitting description).
O 2. Second best fitting description.
O 3. Third best fitting description.
O 4. Fourth best fitting description.
O 5. Fifth best fitting description.
O 6. Sounds least like me.

(* These three items are based on Hazan & Shaver, l987, p. 515).
