

The Rules of Different Situations

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A rule was defined as behaviour which members of a group believe should or should not be performed in some situation. In a pilot study, 124 possible rules were elicited for 25 situations; in two further studies subjects rated the extent to which rules applied to these situations. There was considerable agreement between subjects; a certain level of above chance agreement was used as the criterion for there being a rule. Some rules applied to nearly all situations such as "should be friendly"; some rules were specific to one or two situations. Cluster analyses were carried out both for rules and for situations, showing which groups of rules applied to which groups of situations, and it was found that situations varied greatly in the number of agreed rules. The rules for situations were interpreted in terms of a functional analysis of rules. Some rules met universal requirements of social situations, for example, preventing withdrawal or aggression; some rules met requirements of particular situations, for example guarding against temptation or helping with common difficulties.

Recent research on personality-situation interaction has shown the great importance of the situation in determining social behaviour (Endler & Magnusson, 1976). This has led to a need to conceptualise and measure social situations, and the most widely used method has been subjective ratings followed by multi-dimensional scaling. Wish and Kaplan (1977), using this method, have arrived at the following dimensions of situations — friendly-hostile, cooperative-competitive, intense-superficial, equal-unequal, formal-informal, task-oriented-socio-emotional. However it is our view that, valuable as these dimensions are, they do not capture the full complexity of such situations as a philosophy tutorial, a selection interview, confession, a dancing lesson, etc., — all of which would be classified as task, unequal, cooperative, etc. on the Wish dimensions. In order to give advice or train people to cope better with particular situations, such dimensional information is not very useful. And to predict the sequence of events in different kinds of situation, we need a different kind of information.

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An alternative way of analysing situations is in terms of their key structural features, which are (1) their goals, (2) rules, (3) repertoire of behaviour, (4) roles, (5) environmental setting, (6) ideas and concepts used, (7) linguistic style, and (8) special skills needed (Argyle, 1976). While these factors are interdependent in a number of ways, the most important link is from the goals to the rest, that is, the rules and other features can be interpreted in terms of their functions (Argyle, Furnham, & Graham, in press). The present paper is concerned with part of this analysis of situations — rules, and with the relationship between rules and situational goals.

By a rule we mean "behaviour which members of a group should, or should not, or may perform in some situation or range of situations". Rules can be distinguished from norms, which imply that there is an established consensus in the group — whereas most people might break a rule (for example, where everyone thinks something should be done but very few actually do it). Rules include conventions and arbitrary fashions as opposed to those intrinsic rules which are essential for goal attainment.

There are several different kinds of rules: some are prescriptive, others are proscriptive;

some are categorical, others are guides to behaviour with numerous exceptions; there are laws, morals, rules of etiquette, and conventions; some rules are laid down by authority, others emerge from the group; some are stated in words, others have never been put into words (Twining & Miers, 1976).

Rules often sound restrictive — do this and don't do that. These restrictions often bring obvious benefits, as with driving on one side of the road, or not talking during concerts. But rules do far more than this — they make whole realms of behaviour possible: they play an important part in the "social construction of reality".

Using language, playing games, courting, getting married, reasoning in mathematics, making decisions in committee, buying and selling a house, passing sentence on a person convicted of crime and even fighting a war are all to a large extent rule-governed activities. (Twining & Miers, 1976. p. 57).

What about "informal situations", like sitting around at home chatting, where rules are much less in evidence; do they have rules too? Price and Bouffard (1974) found that situations could be ranked in terms of the number of things that couldn't be done in them. The least rule-bound situations in their study were: in own room, in a park, in the dormitory lounge. The most rule-bound were church, job interview and in the lift. In a very informal situation, fewer things are prohibited, and probably fewer things are demanded; there is more freedom to do what you like, and probably weaker sanctions if the rules are broken. For there are still rules — the universal rules which apply to all social situations.

Rules as we have defined them include conventions of various kinds, such as fashions in clothes. There is obviously a big difference in for example the rule that players should wear white trousers at cricket, and the rule that the batsman should use a bat (rather than a tennis racquet etc.). This is an important theoretical difference: rules coordinate the behaviour of group members in relation to group goals, fashion and conventions are elements of shared culture which can vary without affecting task performance or attainment of other goals.

In a previous study by Argyle and McCallin (reported in Argyle, 1975), it was found that breaking rules (as defined by the investigators) in a number of situations was judged as more disruptive, unacceptable, etc. than breaking

conventions. Breaking universal rules which apply to all social situations was even more disruptive. However there was no sharp cut-off point, and some norms which had been classified as conventions were just as disruptive to break as some rules. There are some conventions which it is very disturbing to break, for example wearing clothes, since breaking these rules brings about a change in the nature of the situation.

How are the rules in a situation discovered? If rules are basically beliefs, it follows that some kind of interview or questionnaire should be used with members of the group concerned. They can be asked about the acceptability of various kinds of behaviour, or shown varied instances of rule-breaking, and asked for their reactions.

A more direct method is simply to ask people if a certain rule applies. Price and Bouffard (1974) asked subjects to rate the appropriateness of 15 forms of behaviour in 15 situations. In Investigation 2 below we report an investigation of this kind: subjects were asked to rate on 5-point scales the importance of rules to different situations.

Another method is to interview members of a group about acceptable forms of behaviour. For example Marsh *et al.* (1978) interviewed football hooligans about how to "put the boot in" and allied matters. In these interviews a number of rules were stated more or less directly by informants, for example it was not acceptable to hurt members of the other side, though it was desirable to frighten them.

To speak of rules, in our sense, is to put forward an hypothesis. When we say that someone is following a rule, we imply that he knows the rule, recognises that it applies in some situation, and that this has affected his behaviour. We want to contrast rule-following behaviour, therefore, with behaviour which is the product of instinctive reactions, conditioning, reinforcement learning, or other processes which do not include cognitive processes involving rules.

To speak of rules also implies a certain philosophical model of human behaviour. It implies, for the types of behaviour to which rules are said to apply, that people have a choice of different behaviours and that their decision is affected by their knowledge of the rule.

Do animals follow rules? Reynolds (1976)

compared the incest taboo in certain groups of primates with the marriage rules of very primitive human societies. He concludes that the main difference is that men can conceptualise, symbolise and use words for the social relations involved. It is possible that men use sanctions for rule-breaking where the non-human primates do not. Rules are not the same as empirical laws: rules are the practices of particular groups, they could be different and usually are so in different groups or situations, and they can be broken.

A functional theory of rules

The theory we propose is simply this: rules are created in order that situational goals can be attained. It is a familiar psychological principle that an individual person or animal will discover routes to desired goals, either by trial and error or by other forms of problem-solving. We are now proposing an extension to this principle: groups of people will find routes to their goals, and these routes will be collective solutions, including the necessary coordination of behaviour by means of rules. Unless such coordination is achieved, group goals will not be attained. For example, in order to play a game of football, croquet, etc. it is necessary for a number of people to follow the same rules, otherwise no game is possible.

We are proposing a functional theory of situations, somewhat similar to the functional theories of society which have been proposed by anthropologists and sociologists. We are in a stronger position since it is easier to carry out empirical research on situations than on societies. For example, Harris (1975) offers a functional explanation of the Indian rules protecting cows in terms of the value of cow-dung as fertiliser and fuel, of oxen for pulling farm implements, and so on. However such theories are highly speculative, and in some cases even tautological, since there is no independent evidence about which needs have to be met, or that the cultural element in question actually does the job it is claimed to do. We are in a position to explain rules in terms of the known goals of situations and to predict the rules of new situations, though this is not done in the present study.

What are the functions to be satisfied in social situations? We shall postulate that there are three main kinds. (1) Universal features — which apply to all social situations (apart from

verbal rules), (2) universal features of verbal communication, and (3) situation-specific rules, based on the goal-structure of the situation. While some of these "functional prerequisites" can be discovered from interviewing people, others cannot, and must be regarded as "latent" functions (Merton, 1949). Functional relationships could however be demonstrated by experimental comparisons of different situations.

Llewellyn (1962) has also proposed a functional theory of rules, in his case the rules of social groups. He suggests that the needs which rules meet are to avoid conflicts within the group, settling disputes when they arise, adjusting the behaviour and expectations of members when the circumstances of the group change, and regulating decision-making. Twining and Miers (1976) add a number of further functions to this list, such as the need to educate in respect of values or standards (as in the case of school rules), to express disapproval at some forms of behaviour (as in the case of prohibition in the U.S.A.), and to manage social affairs.

Sometimes it is possible to satisfy functions in more than one way, by more than one set of rules. For example buying and selling can be done by (1) fixing price sales, (2) bargaining, (3) auction sales, or (4) barter. Why should one system develop rather than another? Perhaps because further goals are met, like sustaining social relationships. The answer to such questions lies in historical factors, such as whether money is used, and the development of mass sales. We suggest that the following kinds of rule should be found.

1. Rules which meet universal requirements of social situations

a. *Make communication possible*, that is, a shared code is needed, and interactors must be able to see or hear each other.

b. *Prevent withdrawal by other interactors*. Thibaut and Faucheux (1965) found in a game-playing experiment that when players had unequal chances of winning, rules were created to guarantee some gains by the low power players.

c. *Prevent aggression*. The main exception to this rule is that ritual aggression may be allowed, as in the case of opposing groups of football fans, who give an impressive display of aggressive attitudes and intentions, but rarely hurting anyone (Marsh *et al.*, 1978).

d. Beginning and ending encounters. Interactors must be changed to a state of openness to one another and readiness to interact. This "ritual work" is performed by greeting rituals and the reverse process by parting rituals (Goffman, 1971).

2. *Rules which meet universal requirements for verbal communication*

a. Utterances must synchronise. There seems to be a rule in most cultures to the effect that not more than one person should speak at a time. Recent research has found some of the signals which are used to achieve this (Duncan & Fiske, 1977).

b. Adjacency pairs. There are rules about how one utterance should follow another. Clarke (1975) asked subjects to construct possible sequences of speech acts, and found nine sets of adjacency pairs, for example, question-answer, complain-sympathise.

c. Embedding. Single embedding (Q_1, Q_2, A_2, A_1) is allowed, but cross-over sequences (Q_1, Q_2, A_1, A_2) are not (Clarke, 1975).

3. *Rules which meet the requirements of particular kinds of situation*

So far we have considered universal rules. Now we turn to rules which are generated by the goal structure of particular situations.

a. Rules which coordinate behaviour so that goals may be attained. For example in a sales situation, the salesperson (S) may ask the customer (C) what he wants, or C may ask S what he has; S may produce samples of goods, and C may ask questions about them, or ask to see others; if C decides to buy, S wraps it up, and C pays. The situation generates (a) the repertoire of elements, (b) adjacency pairs, and (c) the order of the main episodes.

b. Rules which guard against temptation. Mann (1969) made a study of queues for football matches in Australia, which last for 24 hours or more, and found that rules developed, and were enforced, to restrain cheating but also make the queues tolerable, for example, by allowing some time out. Indeed these were the main rules governing behaviour in the queues. He does not report that there were any rules about not making a noise, making love, or getting drunk (as there are in many other situations), since these would not interfere with the goals of queuing.

c. Rules which help with common difficulties. Rules of etiquette appear to be designed to

prevent such difficulties. For example, sending invitations not more than three weeks before the event make it possible for the recipient to refuse, and coughing before entering rooms containing young couples is recommended (Goffman, 1963).

d. The creative construction of complex rule-systems. The rules of football, for example are very complex, and cannot simply be explained as functioning to help people exercise themselves on Saturday afternoons. The game existed in many countries in the ancient world, and usually consisted of large mobs, often from different villages, kicking a ball about with virtually no rules, and often with great violence, so that the game was sometimes suppressed by law. Over a long period the different versions of the game developed, with gradual additions, changes and refinements to the rules, which in each version of the game now form an elaborate system.

A study of the rules of different situations

In this exploratory study it was intended to investigate several aspects of rules in relation to situations. (1) Do members of a sub-culture agree on the rules for common situations? (2) Are there some general or universal rules? (3) Are there also some very specific rules, only applying to one situation? (4) Can rules be grouped in terms of the situations to which they apply? (5) Can situations be classified and understood by the rules which apply to them? (6) Do situations vary in the number of rules which apply to them? (7) Do the rules help us to understand situations? Do they fulfil functions in these situations?

Method

A pilot study was carried out, using the 25 situations found by Forgas (1976) to be the most common ones for Oxford psychology students. Ten subjects, 5 male and 5 female, were shown pairs of situations and asked to differentiate between them on the basis of proscriptive and prescriptive rules, that is, to state rules which applied to one but not to the other. This procedure was repeated with pairs of situation clusters, using the clusters found by Forgas, and again for higher levels of clusters. The list of rules obtained was reduced by avoiding duplication, and eliminating rules which referred to attitudes rather than to actual behaviour. This left 124 rules.

In Investigation 1, subjects were presented with the grid of 124 rules by 25 situations, and were asked to tick each situation for which they thought each rule applied. The subjects were 15 Oxford psychology students, 8 male and 7 female. This method was not wholly satisfactory, since some rules could only apply to certain situations, for example, "should offer to carry heavy bags", "should not

step on people on way to seat". Also, it looked as if different subjects were using different criteria for deciding whether or not a rule applied.

In Investigation 2, the rules were reduced to 20, and the situations to 8, so that each rule could apply to any situation. And a 5-point rating scale was used of "how important do you think it is to keep to various rules in each situation?", in order that a better statistical measure of concordance could be obtained. A larger sample of subjects was used - 50 female students of occupational therapy.

Results

Subjects had no difficulty in reporting rules, using each of the three procedures used to elicit them. The nature of the rules so obtained does give a certain face validity to the methods used.

1. *Agreement between subjects.* In Investigation 1, the 124 by 25 ratings were reshuffled by computer in a random matrix, against which the real ratings were compared. The number of cells with different levels of agreements were as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Actual and random agreement on rules in Investigation 1

number of subjects (N = 15) reporting rule	actual number of rule situation cells	number of rule-situation cells in random matrix
15	15	0
14	40	0
13	55	5
12	84	5
11	103	32
10	144	46
9	169	113
8	188	174

Table 1 shows, to take the second line, that 40 rule-situation intersections were checked by 14 out of 15 subjects, while the chance expectation of this level of agreement was 0. It can be seen that there is far more agreement than chance. A level of agreement of 11 or more was chosen for use in later analyses.

In Investigation 2 a similar random matrix was constructed, but this time standard deviations were also computed for each rule-situation cell. The lowest percent of the 160SDs was taken for comparison (the number of cells in the 8 by 20 matrix): 31 of the actual SDs were below this level, compared with 8 for the random one, again showing the above chance degree of concordance.

2. *General rules.* Investigation 1 produced a number of rules of high generality. These are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
The Most General Rules

	Investigation 1		Investigation 2	
	Number of situations (out of 25) checked by 11 of 15 subjects	Mean	Number of situations (out of 8) checked at scale point 4.0 or above)	Mean
should be friendly	16	11.4	6	4.1
should not try to make other feel small	12	10.0	6	4.2
should be polite	12	10.7	6	4.1
should try to make it a pleasant encounter	10	10.9	5	4.1
should not embarrass other	9	9.6	5	3.9

Column A shows the number of situations, out of 25, for which 11 or more subjects out of 15 thought a rule applied. Column B shows the average number of agreements for all 25 situations.

For Investigation 2 we show in Column C the number of situations out of 8 which had an average rating of 4 or above on the 5-point scale, and the average score across all 8 situations in D.

It can be seen that there is good agreement between Investigations 1 and 2. What were the situations to which these general rules did *not* apply so strongly? In Investigation 1 there was only one situation to which these rules were not thought to apply - JCR meetings. In Investigation 2 there was also only one situation - visiting the doctor.

3. *Specific rules.* Having looked at the most general rules, we turn now to the most specific ones. Rules of all degrees of generality were found. In Investigation 1 a lot of rules applied to only one situation (at the level of 11 or more out of 15 subjects agreeing). We looked at those which also had very low levels of applicability to the remaining 24 situations.

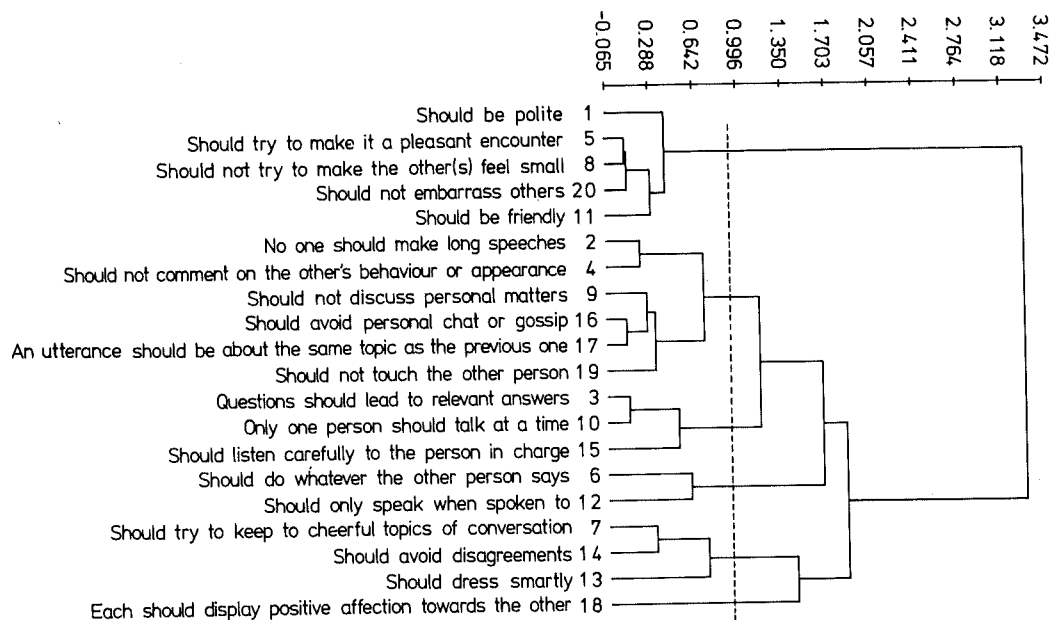


Figure 1. Clusters of rules in Investigation 2.

Most of these could only have applied to one situation, for example, "should offer to carry heavy bags" (when shopping with a friend), and "should visit when he is unlikely to be working" (visiting a friend in a college room). Others could have applied more widely but did not do so.

Here are some of the rules which applied to one situation, had a low score for all other situations, and were not uniquely determined by the nature of the situation, as in the example just given.

74. should dress smartly (wedding). (Number of rules was 13; average number of rules for other situations 0.88).
89. should address other by second name (doctor). (11 versus 1.04).

There were also some specific rules in Investigation 2. The best examples were:

6. should do whatever the other person says (doctor). (Mean rating on the 5-point scale was 3.9; mean rating for other situations was 1.81).
7. should keep to cheerful topics of conversation (wedding). (3.8 versus 2.31)
4. should not comment on the other's behaviour or appearance (interview). (4.1 versus 2.99).

Only one such item from Investigation 1 was used in Investigation 2; "should dress smartly"; this applied now to the hostess and interview situations as well as the wedding.

4. *Grouping rules by situations.* For both investigations, cluster analyses were carried out on the rules. This was based on the amount of similarity of ratings for the application of rules to different situations, using the Wishart method (Marriott, 1974).

Investigation 1 produced very large clusters, one of which consisted of the very general rules, and one consisted of the very specific ones. Investigation 2 did not suffer from this artefactual result, perhaps since the rules did not vary so widely in generality, or because of the use of a 5-point rating scale.

The clusters of rules in Investigation 2 are shown in Figure 1.

The situations with most rules are work situations and formal social situations. Morning coffee is an apparent exception; however coffee in the Psychology Department is closely connected with work, and people of different status meet a lot here. The situations with few rules are conversations with friends and acquaintances; these situations are social and informal.

Is there more variation between situations in this respect that would occur by chance? The

numbers of rules rated 4 or more for each situation were compared for the real and random data in Investigation 2: (Real data: 10, 6, 6, 5, 5, 4, 3, 1; Random data: 4, 5, 3, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0). Clearly the variation actually found between situations was much greater than that expected by chance.

7. *Do the rules perform the function of helping interactors to realise situational goals?*

A classification of goals was presented above. Is it supported by the set of rules which we have found?

i. *Rules which meet universal requirements of social situations*

a. *Make communication possible* is not represented by any rules, perhaps because our original informants didn't think of such basic rules; this may have been because they were thinking of rules relevant to the particular situations provided.

b. *Prevent withdrawal by other interactors*, and

c. *Prevent aggression*. Our cluster of universal rules clearly fit these categories ("should be friendly" etc.), though these rules could also be looked at in terms of exchange theory — providing a sufficiently high level of rewards.

d. *Beginning and ending encounters*. Two rules of this kind appeared — "knock before entering", and "should not leave without saying goodbye and thanks", but there was no mention of greeting, perhaps because subjects were asked about rules *within* situations.

ii. *Rules which meet universal requirements for verbal communication*

In both studies a cluster of common rules of this type appeared ("don't interrupt", "questions should lead to answers", etc.), and these applied to formal verbal encounters like interviews and classes. However, they did not apply so clearly to friendly chats, dates, and other primarily social events. No rules appeared for the construction of longer sequences of interaction, again perhaps because our original informants didn't think of them.

iii. *Rules which meet the requirements of particular situations.*

There are certainly examples of the kinds of rules which were expected; on the other hand this is simply a case of post-hoc classification, not of prediction proper.

a. *Rules which moderate behaviour so that goals can be attained*. We should expect the

clearest examples to occur when there is a definite task. In the tutorial there are a number of such rules, for example, "don't pretend to understand when you don't", and "should say what problems you are having". At the doctor's there are "make sure your body is clean", and "answer truthfully".

b. *Rules which guard against temptation*. Some of those just mentioned could also be classified in this way. Others are "don't touch" at a first date, and "don't leave others to pay" at the pub.

c. *Rules which help with common difficulties*. At an early period of history, rules of etiquette helped in this way. Possible examples from the present study are "introduce yourself" at a sherry party, "don't treat it as a social visit" at the bank, and "don't outstay your welcome" when visiting a friend in a college room.

It can be seen that, at the cut-off point used (.90), there are six clusters of rules:

- A. should be polite, etc. — the most universal rule
- B. no-one should make long speeches, should avoid personal chat or gossip etc. — rules of formal behaviour
- C. questions should lead to relevant answers — rules of formal conversation
- D. should do whatever the other person says, etc. — rules of obedience
- E. should try to keep to cheerful topics of conversation, should dress smartly etc. — rules for social occasions.
- F. each should display positive affection toward the other

5. *Grouping situations by rules*. For both investigations hierarchical cluster analyses were carried out for the situations, based on degree of similarity of ratings of the applicability of different rules, using the Wishart method. The results from Investigation 1 are shown in Figure 2.

The results from Investigation 2 were similar. In both cluster analyses the main division of situations was into work and social; social divided into formal versus intimate and casual; work divided up differently in the two studies, but with an intimate work cluster (for example seeing doctor) in each, and a less personal group (for example, going to the bank). It is interesting however that the 25 situations of Investigation 1 produced a quite different structure from the Forgas study, in

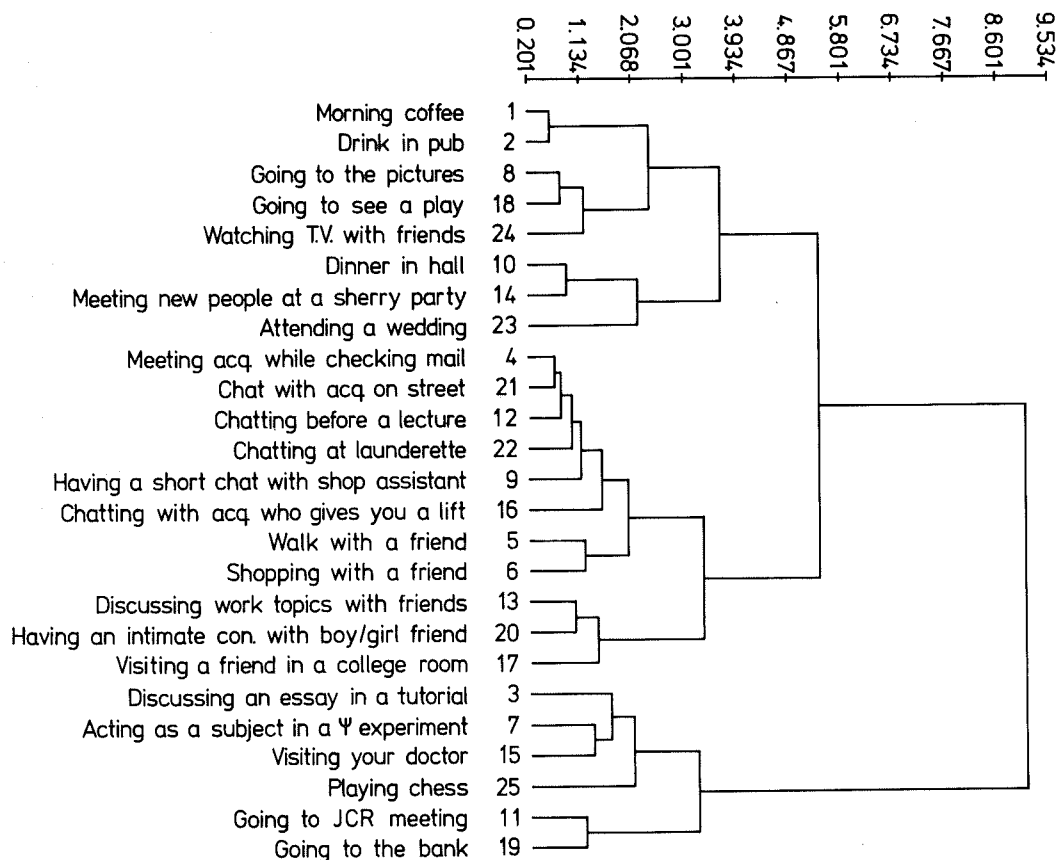


Figure 2. Clusters of situations in Investigation 1.

which they were rated along other dimensions of situations.

We can understand these groups of situations by examining the rules which apply to them. This can be done by studying which rule clusters apply to which clusters of situations. The procedure is more satisfactory for Investigation 2 than for Investigation 1, since the rule clusters were clearer. The interaction between clusters of rules and clusters of situations is shown in Figure 3.

Complaint, class, doctor. High (over 3.5) on general rules (be friendly etc.) and on conduct of conversation rules (C), low (under 1.5) on expression of positive affect (F).

Interview. Very high (4.4) on general rules (A), and on conduct of conversation rules (C), low on expression of positive affect (F).

Friendly chat. High on general rules (A), relatively low on formal speech rules (C), low on obedience rules (D).

Hostess, wedding, date. Very high on general

rules (A), high on cheerfulness rules (E), low on obedience (D).

6. Situations with different numbers of rules

It is of interest to look at the situations with many agreed rules, and those with fewer agreed rules. Those with many rules can be defined as "formal". The situations, in Study 1, with the largest and smallest numbers of rules are shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Situations with Smallest and Largest Numbers of Rules

	Most rules ^a	Least rules	
tutorial	27	walk with friends	0
doctor	23	chat before lecture	4
sherry party	18	meet acquaintance	6
		while checking mail	
play	18	shopping with friend	7
dinner in Hall	17	chatting at laundrette	7
morning coffee	17	chat with shop	7
		assistant	
		intimate conversation	7
		with boy/girl friend	

^aNumber of rules (11 or more subjects agreed).

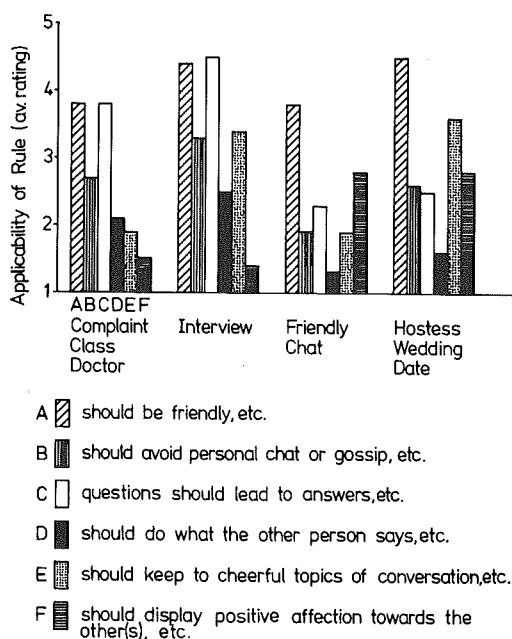


Figure 3. Clusters of rules in relation to clusters of situations.

Discussion

This study investigated a number of issues about the operation of rules in different situations. The first issue is to find out whether the concept of rule is a useful one; can rules be discovered, and is there sufficient agreement about them? Three methods of elicitation were used, and subjects appeared to have no difficulty with any of them. However, the degree of variability between subjects in the yes-no method of Investigation 1 made us suspect that different criteria were being used by different subjects, and the 5-point scale used in Investigation 2 is probably more satisfactory. The degree of concordance between subjects was highly significant in both studies, but there was also quite a lot of inter-subject variability. We were able to decide on levels of inter-subject agreement which could be taken as evidence for a rule existing.

We wanted to know whether there were any very general rules applying to all or most situations. In both investigations some rules applied to a wide range of situations — “should be polite” etc. These rules can be accounted for in terms of the functions which need to be met in all situations — preventing aggression, preventing withdrawal by other interactors,

etc., and can also be interpreted in terms of exchange theory. We expected that there might be universal principles of sequence, for example, an act should be relevant to the immediately preceding one, and show continuity with the actor's last move. However, we were dependent for our initial pool of rules on the rules which our original informants thought of.

A large number of rules were found which were specific to one or two situations. Most of these were specific because the statement of the rule referred to features of the situation. However, there were more interesting cases of rules which could have applied more widely but did not do so, for example, “should keep to cheerful topics of conversation” (at a wedding). Other rules applied clearly to 2 to 4 situations, and no others.

We wanted to know whether rules could be usefully grouped in terms of the situations to which they applied. The rules in Investigation 2 formed 6 clusters, as shown in Figure 1. These clusters can be described in terms of the common properties of the rules in them. For example, cluster B consists of rules describing formal, impersonal behaviour, for example, “should avoid personal chat or gossip”. The clusters of rules could also be described in terms of the situations for which they were important; this was also analysed and the results shown in Figure 3.

We similarly wanted to know whether situations could be usefully grouped in terms of the common rules which applied to them. Clear clusters of situations were produced — formal social situations, informal social situations, and task-oriented situations. We were then able to relate clusters of rules to clusters of situations, as shown in Figure 3. So the friendly chat group of situations was high on the universal rules (be polite, etc.), fairly high on displaying positive affection, but low on all the other rule clusters. The wedding group of situations on the other hand was also high on the cluster of rules about keeping to cheerful topics of conversation, etc.

The information we have obtained about the rules for particular situations, and for clusters of situations, throws a lot of light on the nature of these situations, and would be even more useful in the study of less familiar situations. But do these rules fulfil the kind of functions which were listed in the Introduc-

tion? We can certainly find examples of rules which appear to be related to the goals and difficulties of these situations; for example at the doctors "make sure your body is clean" and "answer truthfully". However without an independent assessment of the goals of situations this is rather speculative.

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