Gender Differences in Connectedness: An Examination of Maternal and Peer Relationships in Adolescence

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CONNECTEDNESS:
AN EXAMINATION OF MATERNAL AND PEER RELATIONSHIPS
IN ADOLESCENCE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

BY
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MAY, 1993
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Dr. Maryse Richards for her guidance and insight throughout the development of this work, and Dr. Grayson Holmbeck for his excellent critique and suggestions along the way.

This thesis is dedicated to my husband Larry, who has provided constant support and encouragement in all of my academic endeavors.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

It has been well established that women as a group have a greater capacity for intimacy than men (Aukett, Ritchie, & Mill, 1988; Fischer & Narus, 1981; Mazur & Olver, 1987; Richey & Richey, 1980; Williams, 1985). At the same time, they have been described as inferior to men in their capacity for autonomous action and moral judgment (Kohlberg & Kramer, 1969). Feminist theorists have shed new light on our understanding of these phenomena. This study examines empirically the implications of the developmental theories of Carol Gilligan (1990, 1982), Nancy Chodorow (1989, 1978), and Jean Baker Miller (1976) by extending their ideas into a model stating that girls will differ from boys in how the quality and quantity of time spent with mother is associated with the quality and quantity of time spent with friends. This model is proposed only for normal populations.

Studies related to feminist developmental theories have been based on various self-report measures that require text interpretation, such as structured and semi-structured interviews and sentence completion (Stern, 1990; Lyons et al., 1990; Rich, 1990; Gilligan et al, 1990). On the other hand, most studies of gender-related differences in capacity
for intimacy, as well as studies of maternal and peer relations have made use of questionnaire data (Aukett, Ritchie, & Mill, 1988; Camarena, P.M., Sarigiani, P.A., & Petersen, A.C. 1990; Bukowski & Newcomb, 1983; East, 1989; Gold & Yanof, 1985). While research based on interviews and questionnaires is valuable, a more ecologically valid account of adolescent daily experience is achieved in the present study through the use of the Experience Sampling Method for data collection. Fifth to ninth grade participants carried pagers and responded to random signals throughout the day, providing information about their mood and who they were with in questionnaire booklets that they carried.

Because of the immediacy of experience and response in the data collection, this study boasts a degree of ecological validity most interview and questionnaire-based studies cannot provide. Moreover, this study offers a more empirically-based test of feminist developmental theories than that offered by text interpretation (see Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1989). At the same time, it circumvents recall problems associated with questionnaire data (see Bernard, Kilworth, Kronenfeld, & Sailer, 1984).

Three Feminist Developmental Theories

The first feminist theory to be discussed will be that of Carol Gilligan. In her book, "In a Different Voice," Gilligan (1982) points out that early theories of
development made use of individuation as the criteria for personality development (i.e. Freud, 1925, 1931; Erikson 1950, 1964). That is, greater levels of autonomy are equated with more advanced development. Since women are generally less autonomous than men, they may be judged as less well developed under these theories. Gilligan suggests that women may not be less well developed, but instead may develop differently. Women tend not to value autonomy, but rather, value connectedness and relationships with others.

Gilligan (1982) proposes her model within the context of moral development. In particular, she identifies a bias in Kohlberg’s theory of moral development. According to Gilligan, Kohlberg’s analyses did not capture the experience of women. Gilligan suggests that men and women use different criteria in making moral judgments. Her research indicates that men tend to refer to rules for their criteria in making moral judgments, while women refer to that which will maintain the greatest cohesion in relationships for their criteria. Kohlberg’s testing methodology masked this criteria difference based on gender, leading him to conclude that women do not achieve the advanced moral development of men. Gilligan also re-examines Piaget’s observation of children at play, where generally he found that boys were concerned with rules while girls were concerned with relationships. If a dispute occurred, the boys tended to fight through it to resolution, whereas the girls appeared
to end the game rather than risk loss of a friendship. Rather than accept this as evidence of feminine moral deficiency, Gilligan concludes that there is a sex difference in what is valued as moral.

Gilligan recognizes that autonomy is problematic for some women. While they have a greater capacity and concern for intimacy, women lag behind in achievement motivation. They may fear success where it has the potential to interfere with relationships (Horner, 1972). Women experience anxiety about competition because of fears of loss of friendships and femininity. Georgia Sassen (1980) argues that these feelings may reflect deliberate and realistic choices made by women. She points out that women may have a heightened perception of the great emotional costs of competition. She found success anxiety to be present in women only when winning would be at the expense of others. She suggests that the question should not be formulated to ask why women fear success, but why men have such a narrow vision of success (i.e., achievement at the expense of time spent with family).

Therefore, Gilligan and others suggest that the price of femininity may be a fear of autonomy, while the price of masculinity may be a fear of connection and intimacy. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (1974), which was constructed by asking undergraduates to rate characteristics as more desirable for men or women (1974), supports this gender-
based dichotomy. Characteristics such as, "ambitious," "dominant," and "self-reliant," were deemed desirable for men, while characteristics such as "affectionate," "gentle," and "understanding" were deemed desirable for women. Therefore, expectations differed for men and women.

In the second feminist theory to be considered, Nancy Chodorow (1978) offers an explanation for the genesis of the differing expectations and behaviors of men and women regarding autonomy and connectedness. The great majority of children, both male and female, are raised by a primary care-taker who is female, so developmental tasks differ according to sex. That is, boys and girls develop differently in relation to their female caretaker. Female identity develops in the context of an ongoing relationship since daughters see themselves as similar to their mothers. The experience of continuity and attachment is fused with a girl's sense of female identity. Male identity, on the other hand, develops in the context of discontinuity. Boys need to see themselves as different from their mothers in order to experience themselves as masculine. An empathic tie with the mother is seen as a threat to male identity, and thus, must be curtailed. Therefore, for boys, but not girls, issues of differentiation are intertwined with sexual identity.

According to Chodorow, boys are at a developmental disadvantage since their early relationship to their primary
caretaker is sexualized in a way it is not for girls. Boys have to reject their feelings of extreme love, attachment and dependence on their mothers within this sexual climate at the same time they are learning that they are not female. Boys believe that their feelings toward their mothers are feminine, which causes anxiety, since these "feminine" feelings threaten their very identity. Contempt for women helps free boys from their mothers and from the femininity within themselves. Distance from the mother becomes entangled with masculinity and becomes generalized to all women. The result is that men tend to need to keep their distance from all women. In the struggle for male identification, males suppress or lose the capacity for relatedness. Moreover, the male role-models with which boys identify tend to be absent from the home. It is fathers who symbolize separateness and independence. Chodorow suggests that this is the origin of masculine fear of intimacy.

Chodorow's first book is entitled "Reproduction of Mothering" because it offers an explanation for the continued drive of women to mother, or to play a more central and intense role in the lives of their children than do fathers. The role of mother is handed down from generation to generation through the identification of girls with their mothers. The sexual identity of girls becomes tied to relational values learned from their mothers. Autonomy tends not to be valued by girls, not only because
their mothers did not model autonomous action, but because separation from a dissimilar care-taker is not required of girls as it is for boys.

Chodorow concludes that women's relatedness prepares them to care for a family while men's separateness prepares them for work. Both men and women suffer from the imbalance in their lives. Chodorow believes that women's deficient separation results in a debilitating, poorly defined sense of self. Men have difficulty engaging in warm relationships with women since they both fear and resent them. She suggests that child care shared between mothers and fathers may break the cycle that has created the disparity in male and female values of independence and intimacy.

The third feminist view originates with the theories of Jean Baker Miller and the Stone Center group (Jordan, 1984; Kaplan, 1984; Miller, 1976, 1984; Surrey, 1985). This view also recognizes the greater relational capacities of women. The writers from the Stone Center group contend that the self develops and differentiates not through separation alone, but also through intimate relations with others. For women, the self grows through the establishment and maintenance of relationships that are mutually beneficial and empowering.

The current study extends the theories of Gilligan, Chodorow, and the Stone Center Group by proposing a specific model of adolescent maternal and peer relations that follows
out of their views. Although Gilligan and the Stone Center Group emphasize more positive aspects of the relational capacities of women than does Chodorow, all three of these feminist theories concur that sex-role identities tend to be tied to relatedness for girls and not for boys. This greater capacity for intimacy would be expected to be reflected in both the peer relations and the maternal relations of girls. Therefore, measured levels of intimacy were expected to be higher for girls than for boys in both maternal and peer relations.

The differing levels of intimacy in boys versus girls may contribute to differing patterns of intimacy with peers. Intimacy may become over-involvement of some girls with their mothers, and the intensity of these ties may preclude the development of autonomy in the mother-daughter relationship. As a result, these girls may not develop the autonomy necessary for healthy peer relations. Chodorow (1989) states, "Girls and women may have problems with their sense of continuity and similarity, if it is too strong and they have no sense of a separate self" (p.110). Girls who are closest to their mothers may be excessively involved emotionally to the point that they are left without a sufficiently strong sense of self required for healthy peer relations. We would expect girls closest to their mothers to be less intimate with peers than those who are more distant from their mothers. Girls who are more distant from
their mothers may maintain the relational capacity that is the hallmark of their gender, but they may also have a more solid sense of their separateness that allows them to take greater autonomous action, and ultimately allows them to establish healthier peer relations. Therefore, for girls, the quality and quantity of time spent in the maternal relationship was expected to correlate negatively with the quality and quantity of time spent in peer relationships.

Because their gender identity is formed in a different way than girls, we would expect boys to have less intense relationships with their mothers, resulting in different patterns of peer relationships for boys as a group. Boys who tend to be closer to their mothers would be expected to also be closer to their peers, since these boys may be more comfortable with closeness in general. For a pictorial description of this model, see Figure 1.
Figure 1. Model of gender differences in maternal and peer relationships for boys and girls.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Capacity for Intimacy By Gender

The literature on same-sex friendship indicates that the friendships of men tend to be less intimate than those of women, and this pattern appears to be in place by adolescence. There is evidence that the friendships of girls involve greater degrees of expressivity than those of boys (Camarena, Sarigiani, & Petersen, 1990; Reisman, 1990; Sharabany, et al., 1981) and that girls tend to form intimate relationships earlier than do boys (Fischer, 1981). Fischer and Narus (1981) found that gender socialization prepares girls for intimacy to a greater degree than boys.

Friendships assume major importance during adolescence (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Sullivan, 1953), but they take different forms for girls and boys. Girls tend to choose friends with whom they feel most free to talk openly, while it is equally important to boys to choose friends with whom they can have fun (Richey & Richey, 1980). Girls tend to have a single best friend, while boys tend to have a greater number of friends (Seiden & Bart, 1975). Bukowski and Newcomb’s (1983) study points to the importance of shared athletic activities among boys, since data showed that
perceived social competence was more strongly related to social acceptance in early adolescent girls, while it was more strongly related to physical competence in early adolescent boys.

Some have suggested that boys do experience intimacy in their friendships, although it is not achieved in the same manner as girls. The findings of Camarena, Sarigiani, & Petersen (1990) were similar to other studies cited (female friendships were based on self-disclosure, while male friendships were based on shared experiences), but they challenge common definitions of intimacy in interpreting their results. They suggest that boys and girls have the same experience of intimacy in their friendships, but create this experience through different pathways (self-disclosure for girls and shared activity for boys).

It may be, however, that self-disclosure is a requirement for satisfaction in the relationships of boys, as well as girls. In Wright and Keple’s (1981) study of adolescent relationships, boys reported their female friendships to be more rewarding than male friendships and maternal relationships were seen as more rewarding than paternal relationships. West (1970) found that adolescent girls also disclosed more to females, and, as expected, did so to a greater degree than boys. Reisman (1990) found that boys do not feel as close to their same-sex friends as girls do.
Studies of adults also indicate that men find their friendships less rewarding and personal than women (Wheeler & Nezleck, 1977; Pleck, 1975; Olstead, 1975; Powers & Bultena, 1976; Booth, 1972). Stokes and Fuehrer (1980) found that men were more willing than women to disclose to strangers, while women were more willing than men to disclose to intimates. They concluded that men tend to avoid emotional intimacy with one another. Snell, Miller, & Belk (1988) found that women were more willing to disclose negative emotions in their relationships. Mark and Alper (1980) found that in responses to projective stimuli, highly significant differences in intimacy imagery were obtained for men and women. In addition, males with rigidly masculine sex-role identities were less likely than other males to use intimacy imagery. Similarly, Bem (1975) found that "masculine" males displayed independence, but failed to exhibit playfulness when asked to interact with a kitten.

Parent/Adolescent Interaction

Adolescents may be treated differently (and act differently) according to their sex. Both parents of girls were more likely to emphasize politeness and "prosocial" behaviors, while parents of boys were more likely to emphasize "self-care" behaviors. Norrel (1984) suggested that girls tend to receive greater amounts of parental disclosure than boys, and tend to be more accurate in their perception of amount of parental disclosure. Cooper and
Carlson (1988) found adolescent girls were more likely to agree with others and to make empathic remarks while adolescent boys were more likely to disagree with others and to express indirect suggestions. Boys were found to experience greater individuality with their parents than girls, based on greater parental disagreement.

Comparison of Maternal Relationships to Peer Relationships

Studies that distinguish the differential effect of the maternal-adolescent relationship on peer relations appear scant. Supporting the current predictions about boys, Holmbeck & Wandrei (1992) found that for male college freshmen, attachment to mother was related positively to adjustment measures such as self-esteem and social support, but not for girls. East (1989) found that adolescent’s perceived social risks and benefits related to peers were associated with perceived paternal, but not maternal support, possibly indicating that intense intimacy with mother may not necessarily promote positive peer relations.

Some results could be construed as offering a contrary picture to the current hypotheses, suggesting a positive correlation between quality of maternal relationship and quality of peer relationships in adolescent girls. Tolman, Diekman & McCartney (1989) found that girls whose mothers had been absent through and since their early childhood rated themselves lowest in social connectedness or
interpersonal orientation relative to girls with consistently present mothers. However, mother absence may
be a unique phenomenon not related to closeness versus distance with a present mother. The current model is
proposed for normal populations only. Gold and Yanof (1985) found that quality of maternal relationship (operationalized as affection, democratic treatment, and appropriate modeling) affected quality of peer relationships in a positive direction (operationalized as intimacy, mutual influence and identification) in adolescent girls. However, it is possible that the "democratic treatment" construct used to identify mothers for this study implies that relationships with daughters were not overly close, so they were allowed sufficient autonomy for high quality peer relations. Bell, Cornwall, & Bell (1988) found that girls whose families were highest in connectedness were also highest in peer connectedness (had more of their peer choices reciprocated in a questionnaire). The measure of peer intimacy used does not have the ecological validity of the present study.

Comparison of Familial to Peer Relationships

There appears to be a growing interest in examining familial and peer relations in adolescence. Support for the present model can be gleaned from the work of Cooper, Carlson, Keller, Koch, & Spradling (1991). They have examined quality of familial interaction as compared to
quality of peer interaction and have found evidence in favor of the "continuity models," which posit that familial patterns will be repeated and re-enacted in peer relations. This offers a degree of support for Chodorow's model, which is a continuity model, since it suggests that patterns of interaction with the primary caretaker will be re-enacted in peer relations, mediated through personality structure.

One recent study posits relational patterns in adolescents similar to the specific predictions of the current study. Cooper and Grotevant (1987) found that girls and boys highest in peer exploration had differing familial interaction patterns. The girls highest in peer exploration demonstrated the greatest separateness from their families. On the other hand, the boys highest in peer exploration came from families whose interaction demonstrated the greatest degree of connectedness. Cooper and Grotevant highlight the importance of connectedness in the father-son relationships of these boys. They conclude that greater separateness learned in the family may be necessary for females to overcome the greater restrictiveness they experience from their gender socialization, while for boys, greater connectedness learned in the family may be necessary to overcome the detachment that can result from their gender socialization.

While Cooper and Grotevant (1987) attribute their findings to differences in social pressures on boys and
girls, their data could be used to support Chodorow's claim that there are psychological differences in the make-up of boys and girls due to familial interaction. As Chodorow would predict, the boys whose fathers were more involved had less fear of connectedness with both family and peers, while the girls, who explored to a greater degree in peer relations, had mothers who expressed greater degrees of separateness, both from their husbands and their daughters.

These studies may demonstrate that adolescents who deviate from their gender's overall relational tendencies achieve a better balance of separation and connectedness, and it is this balance that allows them to form intimate peer relations. Indeed, Cooper & Carlson (1988) found that adolescents whose families were balanced in individuality and connectedness were highest in self-esteem. Unhealthy relational tendencies may result in distant peer relations for both boys and girls, but this distance may have different sources. For girls, problematic relationships may be the result of a tendency toward overinvolvement, while for boys, problematic relationships may be the result of a tendency toward disengagement. Therefore, it follows that mechanisms that promote self esteem and healthy peer relations may differ for girls and boys. Girls may need more autonomous familial relationships while boys need more intimate familial relationships. The findings in the androgeny literature (Bem, 1975), that unhealthy adjustment
is related to extreme masculinity and femininity can be explained by this model (Bem, 1975). Moreover, Leaper, Hauser, Kremen, Powers, Jacobson, Noam, Weiss-Perry, & Follansbee (1989) found that in families where parents interacted with their children in a gender-stereotyped manner, the children remained at a conformist level of ego development. When separateness was emphasized with daughters and closeness emphasized with sons, however, adolescents achieved a higher level of ego development.

**Summary**

Although quality of family interaction has been shown to affect peer interaction, the differential effect of mother-adolescent intimacy on the peer relations of boys and girls that follows from Chodorow’s theory has not been specifically demonstrated. Quality of maternal relationship has been compared to the peer relationships of adolescent girls (Yanof, 1985, Tolman, Diekman & McCartney, 1989), and differential effects of quality of maternal and paternal support on adolescents across gender has been examined (East, 1989). Others have scrutinized the differential effects of familial interaction style on boys and girls (Cooper & Grotevant, 1987). Most of these studies are based on questionnaire data, while some were based on coding of an interaction around a prescribed task.

The present study attempts to address the differential effect of maternal intimacy on the peer relations of boys
and girls, and is based on more ecologically valid data than previously acquired. Intimacy was assessed both by quantity of time spent in the relationship, and the quality of the relationship. Conventional questionnaire data provided one measure of quantity and quality, and the Experience Sampling Method provided a second measure of quantity and quality. Because the data collected through the Experience Sampling Method were reported in close proximity to the events of adolescents' daily lives, it is likely that a more accurate picture was obtained of the quality and quantity of time spent in relationships than was formerly possible.

It was predicted that differing patterns for boys and girls would emerge from the data. Quality and quantity of the mother-adolescent relationship were correlated with quality and quantity of peer-adolescent relationships, and these patterns were compared for girls and boys. If feminist theories are correct in positing that greater connectedness in relating develops in girls through their maternal relationships, while greater distance in relating develops in boys through their maternal relationships, it would be expected that: (hypothesis 1) levels of maternal and peer quality and quantity would be higher for girls than for boys. It was predicted that these patterns would hold for adolescents of different ages. Furthermore, if the model based on Chodorow's theory is correct in asserting
that higher degrees of peer intimacy will be found in adolescents who's degree of maternal intimacy is contrary to their gender's tendency as a group, then it would be expected that: (hypothesis 2) positive correlations would emerge for boys between quality and quantity of maternal relationship, and quality and quantity of peer relationships, while for girls, negative correlations would emerge between quality and quantity of maternal relationship and quality and quantity of peer relationships.

Eight variables were formed from the data in order to test the hypotheses. The two variables constructed from the ESM data that represent quantity of time spent in the relationship are: Percent of Time With Mother, and Percent of Time With Friends, while the two variables formed from the questionnaire data that represent quantity of time in the relationship are: Perceived Contact with Mother and Perceived Contact with Friends. The two variables formed from the ESM data that represent quality of the relationship are: Affect with Mother and Affect with Friends, while the two variables formed from the questionnaire data that represent quality of the relationship are: Perceived Intimacy with Mother and Perceived Intimacy with Friends.

The hypotheses posed for the study will now be stated more specifically. **Hypothesis 1**: a) Level of maternal intimacy as assessed by Percent of Time with Mother, Perceived Contact with Mother, Affect with Mother, and
Perceived Intimacy with Mother will be higher for girls than for boys, and b) Level of peer intimacy as assessed by Percent of Time with Friends, Perceived Contact with Friends, Affect with Mother, and Perceived Affect with Mother will be higher for girls than boys. These patterns will hold for adolescents of all grades sampled. **Hypothesis 2:** a) Percent of Time with Mother and Percent of Time with Friends will be positively correlated for boys, but negatively correlated for girls, b) Perceived Contact with Mother and Perceived Contact with Friends will be positively correlated for boys, but negatively correlated for girls, c) Affect with Mother and Affect with Friends will be positively correlated for boys, but negatively correlated for girls, and d) Perceived Intimacy with Mother and Perceived Intimacy with Friends will be positively correlated for boys, but negatively correlated for girls.
CHAPTER III

METHOD

This study utilized data from a larger research project collected through the Experience Sampling Method (ESM: Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1987). This method was designed to collect information about people’s daily lives in a manner more immediate than allowed by self-report. Respondents were asked to carry an electronic pager for one week, and complete self-report forms in response to signals sent randomly within two-hour blocks during their waking hours.

Sample

Of 688 randomly selected 5th to 9th graders (ages 9-15), 483 participated in the study. Twenty-four percent of students invited to participate failed to obtain parental permission, or decided to drop out. Data proved unusable for six percent of those invited. Students were excluded if they completed less than 15 completed self-reports, responded to less than half of signals sent during a consecutive time period, or supplied redundant or implausible data. Sample loss was moderately higher for boys in the upper grades (5th to 9th: 24%, 23%, 33%, 42%, 37%). Subject loss was not selective since those excluded
were distributed across relevant factors, such as age and sex.

Participants were selected from four Chicago area schools. Two of the schools were in middle and upper class suburbs, while two were in a working class suburb. The respondents were almost entirely of European descent. According to survey data, students who agreed to participate did not differ from those who declined in self-esteem, or in their parent’s socio-economic level.

Participants took part in one of eight waves, occurring over a period of two years. Sample selection was stratified to obtain equal numbers of boys and girls from each school, in each season of the year between the beginning of the 5th grade and the winter of the 9th grade.

Procedure

At the beginning of the week of participation (usually a Tuesday or a Wednesday), each participant was given a booklet of self-report forms and an electronic pager. They were instructed in a training session to carry these for the seven-day period and fill out one page of the booklet immediately following each signal from the pager. Signals were sent randomly within every two-hour block between 7:30 AM and 9:30 PM each day, amounting to seven signals per day and 49 signals per week. At the end of the week the booklets and pagers were collected and the respondents were interviewed and completed a series of questionnaires. They
were paid $8 for their participation.

The students filled out self-report forms in response to 86% of the signals received from the pagers. The remaining 14% were attributed to mechanical failures and time asleep.

Measures

On each page of their booklet, the adolescents responded to a series of questions pertaining to their situation and emotional and physical state just prior to being signaled. Four variables representing intimacy with mother and four variables representing intimacy with peers were formed. Two were from responses to the pager signals, and two were formed from the paper and pencil tests administered following the participation week.

Contact. Contact was indicated in the pager booklets by checking one or more of fifteen choices in response to the question, "WHO WERE YOU WITH (OR TALKING TO ON THE PHONE)". Answers were coded into two categories for purposes of this study: percentage of time spent with mother and percentage of time spent with friends (out of total times beeped). Time spent with mother included time spent with mother alone, mother and other family members, (father and mother, mother and siblings), non-custodial mother, non-custodial mother and siblings. Time spent with friends included time spent with same-sex or opposite-sex friend, same-sex or mixed-sex group, or friends and family. The latter was
included under time spent with friends since in a previous study, friends had been found to set the tone and activity of mixed friend and family gatherings (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984). For purposes of analysis, the percentage scores were square-rooted in order to reduce skewness in the distribution.

Reliability of self-reports regarding companionship was established in a previous study (Larson and Richards, 1990) by comparing reports from the first half of the week to those from the second half. Patterns of social companionship appeared to be stable for individuals across the week since percentages of time for each category were highly correlated for the first and second half of the week (i.e. time with family: $r(483)=.53$; time with friends: $r(483)=.49$).

Validity of the reports has been established by Larson (1989). When asked at the end of the week, most students stated that they told the truth essentially all of the time, and accurately reported even events that they found uncomfortable.

Affect. Affect is a continuous variable consisting of responses to signals on a set of 7-point semantic differential items. A factor analysis study indicated that three of these items (happy-unhappy, cheerful-irritable, friendly-angry) form a scale with strong internal reliability ($\alpha=.75$) and construct validity (Larson,
The variable, Affect, was created by computing the mean of these three items. For purposes of this study two variables were formed, affect during time spent with mother and affect during time spent with friends. Affect scores were standardized in order to account for substantial differences in individuals' mean response to these items so that differences between contexts could be examined considering only within-individual variation. Each person's $z$-scores are distributed around a mean of 0.0 with a standard deviation of 1.0, with positive scores indicating affect that is more positive.

**Perceived intimacy.** The questionnaire used was developed by Blyth, Hill, & Thiel (1982) and was used in subsequent research by Crockett, Losoff, & Petersen (1984). A variable representing the adolescent's own perception of the quality of his or her relationship with his or her mother was generated by deriving the mean score of 7 questions (i.e. "Do you go to your mother for advice about your relationships with friends?"). Participants were asked to respond on a scale from one to five, with one representing "not at all" and five representing "very much." Perceived quality of peer relationships was derived in the same manner, as a mean score from 7 other responses on the same questionnaire.

**Perceived Contact.** Three questions regarding perceived quantity of time spent with mother and three questions
regarding perceived quantity of time spent with peers were also included (i.e. "How often do you spend time with your mother...1. at home--just the two of you?"). A mean score for the three responses constituted each variable.

Reliability of the paper and pencil measures were checked with Chronbach's alpha. Validity was be determined by examining correlations of Experience Sampling measures with paper and pencil measures.

**Analyses**

Validity of the measures used to represent relationship constructs were examined by obtaining correlation coefficients among variables used in the study. It is expected that the two measures of quantity of relationship (Percent of Time With and Perceived Contact) will correlate positively. It is further expected that the two measures of quality of relationship (Affect With and Perceived Intimacy) will correlate positively.

Hypothesis one (that overall intimacy levels for girls would be higher than for boys in all grades) was tested by two sex (2) by grade (5) Multivariate Analyses of Variance after ascertaining correlations between dependent variables. Level of intimacy with mother consisted of all four maternal relationship variables (Percent of Time with Mother, Perceived Contact with Mother, Affect with Mother, Perceived Intimacy with Mother) while level of intimacy with peers consisted of all four friend relationship variables (Percent
of Time with Friends, Perceived Contact with Friends, Affect with Friends, Perceived Intimacy with Friends) for girls and boys.

Hypothesis two (that girls closest to mother will be more distant from friends while boys most distant from mother will be more distant from friends) was tested with Pearson correlation coefficients. Relationships were examined for girls and boys separately between the following variables: Percentage of Time with Mother and Percentage of Time with Friends; Perceived Contact with Mother and Perceived Contact with Friends; Affect with Mother and Affect with Friends; Perceived Intimacy with Mother and Perceived Intimacy with Friends. Fisher r-to-Z transformations will be used to ascertain differences in correlations between boys and girls.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

Correlations among the variables used in the study can be perused in Table 1, where mother by mother and friend by friend variables are displayed. Validity of the quantity of relationship variables was established; measures of time spent with mother, whether perceived, or obtained in daily reports, correlated in general. Similar correlations were found for friend variables. Unexpectedly, perceived intimacy with mother did not correlate with affect while with mother for boys or girls. Similarly, there was no relationship between perceived intimacy with friends and affect while with friends for friends for either boys or girls. It appears that affective experience and the experience of intimacy in relationships differ.

In general this set of correlations does not reveal sex differences in relationship patterns, or in the reporting of information. For example, perceived intimacy with mother was positively correlated with perceived contact with mother for both girls and boys, possibly indicating that both girls and boys who spent more time with their mothers perceived their relationships as more intimate. The same pattern held for both sexes with their friends. However, the correlation
Table 1

Correlation Coefficients of Variables with Girls Above and Boys Below the Diagonal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Time With</th>
<th>Perceived Affect With</th>
<th>Perceived Intimacy</th>
<th>% Time With</th>
<th>Perceived Affect With</th>
<th>Perceived Intimacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Friend Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl's N = 241 Boy's N = 235</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Girl's N = 243 Boy's N = 239</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Time</td>
<td>.13*</td>
<td>.12*</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived contact</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.12*</td>
<td>.55***</td>
<td>.15*</td>
<td>-.13*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affect with</td>
<td>-.06b</td>
<td>-.01b</td>
<td>.08*</td>
<td>-.12tc</td>
<td>.00c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Intimacy</td>
<td>.15*</td>
<td>.45***</td>
<td>.11b</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.38***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .10
* *p < .05
* **p < .01
* ***p < .001
N = 210-211
N = 198-201
N = 213-214
among girls between percent of time spent with friends, and perceived intimacy with friends differs significantly from the same correlation among boys. It appears that more time spent in a peer relationship is equated with the experience of greater intimacy for girls, while this is not necessarily true for boys. Girls who spent the most time with friends, felt most intimate with them; this pattern did not occur for girls' perceptions of relations with mothers.

Two gender (2) by grade (5) multivariate analyses of variance were performed in order to test hypothesis one, which predicts that the relationships of girls will be more intimate than those of boys at all ages. The first analysis examined quality of maternal relationships, while the second analysis examined quality of peer relationships. "Quality" will now be used to refer to a construct representing the overall nature of relationships. Dependent variables for the first MANOVA were: Percent of Time with Mother, Perceived Contact with Mother, Affect with Mother, and Perceived Intimacy with Mother. Similar dependent variables were used for the second MANOVA: Percent of Time with Friends, Perceived Contact with Friends, Affect with Friends, and Perceived Intimacy with Friends.

The MANOVA examining quality of maternal relationship yielded no interaction for grade and gender, but did reveal multivariate main effects for gender, \( F(1, 398) = 5.02, p = .001 \), and grade, \( F(4, 398) = 2.76, p < .001 \). The lack of an
interaction indicates that, as predicted, gender differences in maternal relationship did not vary between adolescents of different grade levels. The multivariate main effect for grade is presumably due to tendencies for adolescents to spend less time with family members as they grow older (Larson, 1983). Sex differences in maternal relationship were reflected in the multivariate main effect for gender.

Table 2 displays means and standard deviations for girls and boys, along with univariate F statistics. Percent of Time With Mother and Perceived Contact with Mother did not differ significantly between boys and girls. That is, boys did not appear to spend less time with their mothers than girls. However, Affect With Mother was significantly different between boys and girls. Boys appeared to feel somewhat negative when with their mothers, while the feelings of girls when with their mothers were significantly more negative than those of boys. Despite their more negative feelings, girls in the sample reported somewhat greater intimacy with mother than did boys, as is suggested by the trend for Perceived Intimacy. The perception of greater intimacy with mother by girls is consistent with hypothesis one.

Results of the multivariate analysis of variance for quality of peer relationships also revealed main effects for gender, $F(1,438)=24.10$, $p<.000$ and grade, $F(4,438)=2.58$, $p<.001$, with no interaction between gender and grade. The
Table 2

Results of Manovas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother Variables</th>
<th></th>
<th>Friend Variables</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Univariate</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Time with</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>13.17</td>
<td>12.07</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>10.50</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived contact</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affect with</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>8.62²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Intimacy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>3.07¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001
lack of an interaction indicates that sex differences in peer relations did not vary for adolescents at different grade levels. The multivariate main effect for grade is presumably due to tendencies for adolescents to spend more time with peers as they grow older (Larson, 1983). Sex differences in peer relationships were reflected in the multivariate main effect for gender. Percent of Time With Friends, formed from data collected by the Experience Sampling Method, differed significantly between girls and boys, $F(1,438)=5.60, p<.018$. An examination of the means reveals that girls spent a greater percentage of their time with friends than did boys. Questionnaire data offered alternative methodological support for this sex difference, as can be seen in the trend for Perceived Contact with Friends, $F(1,438)=3.72, p<.054$. Results for Affect with Friends suggest that both boys and girls felt good when with friends. However, girls perceived their friendships to be much more intimate than did boys, as reflected in the highly significant difference between boys and girls on Perceived Intimacy $F(1,438)=92.49, p<.000$.

Correlations were obtained for mother and friend variables in order to test hypothesis two (that girls closest to mother will be more distant from friends, while boys closer to mother will be closest to friends). These coefficients are displayed in Table 3. Fisher Z transformations were performed in order to test the
Table 3
Correlation Coefficients of Mother Variables with Friend Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Variables</th>
<th>% Time with</th>
<th>Perceived contact</th>
<th>Affect with</th>
<th>Perceived Intimacy</th>
<th>% Time with</th>
<th>Perceived contact</th>
<th>Affect with</th>
<th>Perceived Intimacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls (N=235)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys (N=231)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Time with</td>
<td>-.21**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.11†</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.06*</td>
<td>-.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived contact</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.25***</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.12†</td>
<td>.23***</td>
<td>-.03b</td>
<td>.16*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affect with</td>
<td>-.20**a</td>
<td>.05a</td>
<td>-.27***a</td>
<td>-.08a</td>
<td>.01b</td>
<td>.00b</td>
<td>-.06b</td>
<td>-.04b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Intimacy</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.20**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.14*</td>
<td>.14*</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.05b</td>
<td>.16*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .10
* * p < .05
* * * p < .01
* * * * p < .001

N⁰ = 208-214  
Nᵇ = 190-205
significance of sex differences between correlated variables and can be found in Table 4.

Support for hypothesis two was found in the differing patterns of correlations between girls and boys for time spent with mother versus time spent with friends. Percent of time spent with mother and percent of time spent with friends were negatively correlated for girls, while no relationship existed between these variables for boys. Girls who spent more time with their mothers tended to spend less time with friends. However, perceived contact with mother and perceived contact with friends for both boys and girls were positively correlated, indicating that both girls and boys who recalled spending more time with their mothers also recalled spending more time with their friends. It appears that what was reported on retrospective questionnaires regarding amount of time spent in relationships differed from what was reported on ESM questionnaires, particularly as relates to time spent with mother.

The positive relationship for boys between amount of time spent with mother and amount of time spent with friends received some measure of support; perceived contact with mother tended to correlate with percent of time spent with friends. No relationship existed between these variables for girls, and this differed significantly from the pattern for boys. In addition, among boys, perceived contact with
Table 4
Comparison of Girls’ to Boys’ Correlation Coefficients of Mother with Friend Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Variables</th>
<th>% Time with</th>
<th>Perceived Contact</th>
<th>Affect with</th>
<th>Perceived Intimacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Time With</td>
<td>2.19*</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Contact</td>
<td>2.04*</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affect with</td>
<td>2.12*</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>2.15*</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Intimacy</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
**p < .01
mother, and level of intimacy reported with friends correlated significantly and positively. Although variables were not correlated for girls, comparison of Fisher r-to-Z transformations did not reveal a significant difference between the boys' and girls' correlations. It appears that boys who perceived themselves as spending more time with their mothers spent more time with their friends, and saw their friendships as more intimate than boys who perceived themselves as spending less time with their mothers. This was not the case for girls. Adding to the picture, perceived intimacy with mother and percent of time spent with friends correlated positively for boys, suggesting that boys who perceived their relationships with their mothers as more intimate spent a greater percentage of their time with friends than boys who perceived their relationships with their mothers as more distant. In addition, a positive relationship between perceived intimacy with mother and perceived intimacy with friends suggests that boys who felt close to their mothers also tended to feel close to their friends.

Girls showed the same positive correlation between perceived intimacy with their mothers and their friends. However, girls appeared to differ from boys in their affective experience of these relationships. Percent of time spent with friends and affect with mother correlated negatively for girls. It appears that girls' feeling
negative while with their mothers is associated with their spending more time with friends. Similarly, affect with mother and affect with friends were negatively correlated, suggesting that girls who felt worse with their mothers were more likely to feel better with their friends. The correlations involving affect differ significantly from those of boys.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

Partial support for the proposed model was found in the testing of both hypotheses. The first hypothesis asserted that girls would have higher quality relationships with both mother and friends than would boys, which would be reflected in more time spent with mother and friends, higher affect levels while with mother and friends, and higher reported levels of intimacy in both kinds of relationships. Partial support for this first hypothesis was found with intimacy; findings indicate that girls tend to be more intimate than boys with their mothers, and are more intimate than boys with their friends. However, boys and girls did not differ in the amount of time they spent with their mothers, and girls felt much worse with their mothers than boys. While both boys and girls appear to feel good with their friends, girls spent more time with their friends.

The model further proposed that girls who were closest to their mothers would report greater distance from their friends, while boys closest to their mothers would report greater closeness with their friends. Hypothesis two posited that these patterns would be reflected in negative correlations between mother and friend variables among
girls, and positive correlations between mother and friend variables among boys. Partial support for this model was found among girls in the negative correlation between time spent with mother and time spent with friends, and in the negative correlation between affect with mother and affect with friends. These patterns differed significantly from the patterns for boys, where no relationships were found. Support was also found in the positive trend between perceived contact with mother and time spent with friends for boys, which differed significantly from the correlation for girls, where no relationship was found. Similarly, perceived contact with mother and intimacy with friends correlated positively for boys, but did not differ significantly from the finding for girls.

Two of the girls' correlations, although weak, contradicted the model. While the positive correlation for boys between perceived contact with mothers and perceived contact with friends was consistent with the model, the same finding for girls failed to support the model. Another contradiction was found in the positive correlation among girls between perceived intimacy with mother and perceived intimacy with friends, suggesting that girls who feel more intimate with their mothers also feel more intimate with their friends. However, these findings were based only on retrospective questionnaire data, suggesting that a response bias may have influenced the outcome.
The finding that girls experience their relationships as more intimate than boys, was expected from the literature (Barth & Kinder, 1988; Blyth, Hill, & Thiel, 1982; Crockett, Losoff, & Petersen, 1984; Hunter et al., 1982; Sharabany, et al., 1981), and from feminist theories (Baker-Miller, 1976; Chodorow, 1978, 1979; Gilligan, 1990). Girls have consistently been found to exhibit a greater degree of expressivity in relationships than boys, which is viewed by feminist object-relations theorists as a reflection of their development of self in relation to others. Therefore, the highly significant difference between girls and boys in the perception of intimacy in friendships, and the tendency for a difference in perception of intimacy with mother, follows characteristic gender patterns. Coinciding with expected gender patterns, girls tend to spend more time with friends than boys do.

Time spent with mothers is experienced by boys as slightly negative, while time spent with mothers is experienced by girls as much more negative. Conflict between mothers and their adolescent children has been found to rise in early adolescence (Hill, 1988; Holmbeck & Hill, 1991b; Steinberg, 1981), perhaps accounting for the negative feelings of both boys and girls while with their mothers. Conflict over everyday occurrences has been theorized to be necessary for adolescents to achieve autonomy from their parents (Montemayor, 1982), but it is possible that greater
autonomy is achieved out of conflictual maternal interactions by males than females because of increased differentiation in sex-role expectations (Hill, 1988; Hill et al., 1985a). Girls may experience more negative feelings than boys while with their mothers due to greater resistance and ambivalence on both sides about the increasing autonomy of daughters versus the increased autonomy of sons. Moreover, mother-son relationships may already be more distant than mother-daughter relationships before approaching adolescence, so the change toward autonomy is not as drastic. Indeed, the mother-daughter relationship has been found to be more affected by approaching pubertal maturation than other relationships in the family (Hill, Holmbeck, Marlow, Green, & Lynch, 1985a, 1985b; Steinberg, 1987). The withdrawal of positive affect and conflictive engagement in the mother-daughter dyad that has been associated with the onset of menarche (Holmbeck & Hill, 1991a) may reflect this struggle and ambivalence about autonomy in both mothers and daughters.

One important finding from this study is that intimacy and positive affect with mother are not equated for girls, since they report higher intimacy, but lower positive affect with their mothers than do boys. Despite the struggles between mothers and daughters in the movement toward adolescence, the relationship is perceived by girls as maintaining a high degree of intimacy. Perhaps level of
involvement is unaffected, even as negative feelings are on the rise. Daughters may still share their feelings, seek advice, wish to be like, and feel understood by their mothers, even though conflict is high. While it appears that daughters do not see this time of rising negative feelings as a threat to intimacy with their mothers, it would be interesting to know if mothers also continue to perceive the relationship as highly intimate. It is possible that mothers see the increasing conflict in the relationship as a greater threat to intimacy, especially in over-involved mother-daughter relationships. It has been suggested that mother-adolescent conflict increases because mothers experience a loss of power and influence with their children as they enter adolescence (Montemayor, 1983). Some mothers may feel this loss more intensely with their daughters than with their sons because of the over-involved quality of their relationships with their daughters. In these mother-daughter relationships, ego boundaries are too diffuse, creating an "immature dependence," as opposed to a "mature dependence," where the capacity exists to recognize differences between self and other (Chodorow 1989). In these relationships, the onset of adolescence may increase the differences perceived by mothers between themselves and their daughters. This in turn may be perceived as a threat to intimacy, causing mothers to resist granting autonomy to their daughters. Daughters may desire greater autonomy, but
feel guilt about their growing wish for a self different and separate from their mother's. The ensuing conflict may provide a way for daughters to struggle for autonomy as it serves to maintain contact and intimacy, sometimes to the extent of over-involvement.

It appears that girls spend more time with their friends than boys do. Moreover, girls who spend more time in friendships, experience them as more intimate, while for boys more time spent is not necessarily equated with greater intimacy. Previous literature has documented the tendency of girls to spend their time talking and engaging in self-disclosure, while boys spend their time in shared activities (Richey & Richey, 1980; Williams, 1985). Support is gleaned here for those who maintain that self-disclosure leads to a sense of intimacy that shared activities do not (Reisman, 1990), since present data indicate that more time spent with friends (presumably in shared activities) is not associated with greater feelings of intimacy for boys. This finding is in contradiction to those who theorize that similar experiences of intimacy are arrived at by different pathways for boys and girls (Berndt, 1982; Camarena, et al., 1990), since these theories would predict similar associations for boys and girls between amount of time spent and level of intimacy achieved. That is, if girls are spending more time with friends, they are spending more time engaged in self-disclosure, which leads to greater feelings of intimacy.
Boys who spend more time with friends, are spending more time in shared activities, which does not lead to greater feelings of intimacy. However, both girls and boys appear to feel good while with their friends, probably due to the sense of openness and freedom in adolescent friendships described by Larson (1983).

As predicted from the model, these girls who spend more time with their friends spend less time with their mothers, and report more negative affect with their mothers. Girls who spend more time with their mothers and/or experience more negative feelings with them may be over-involved with their mothers and less available to spend time with friends. As suggested by Chodorow (1978), girls with over-involved maternal relationships may have difficulty maintaining a sense of autonomy. A lack of autonomy may exist in adolescent girls who spend the most time with their mothers and/or feel worse with them. According to Cooper & Grotevant (1987), a balance of autonomy and intimacy are necessary for healthy peer relationships. They found that girls who exhibited higher connectedness to their families also exhibited lower levels of peer exploration. Girls who spend the most time with their mothers may lack sufficient autonomy to maintain healthy peer relationships. Girls who spend more time away from their mothers may have achieved greater autonomy, which in turn allows them to spend more time with friends.
Two findings do not support the negative association between quantity and quality of mother and friend relationships for girls. First, the finding that both boys and girls who spend more time with their mothers spend more time with their friends was attributed to method variance, since it was found only with the less ecologically valid questionnaire method. A second finding contrary to the model indicated that girls who perceive their maternal relationships as more intimate also perceive their friendships as more intimate. However, this correlation is not powerful, and accounts for very little of the variance.

Also, as expected, boys who spend more time with their mothers spend more time with their friends, and see their relationships with their friends as more intimate than other boys. Alternatively, boys who spend less time with their mothers see their peer relations as less intimate than other boys. This relationship does not exist for girls. These findings are consistent with those of Cooper & Grotevant (1987), where boys highest in familial connectedness were highest in peer exploration. Extrapolating from Chodorow's (1978) theory, boys who tend to report less intimacy in general may have a greater need than other males to define their identity through distance from things female, beginning with their mothers. Boys who spend more time with their mothers may feel more comfortable with a quality of connection in their maternal relationship, and do not have
as great a need to define their identity through separation from feminine qualities. As a result, these boys may be more comfortable with intimacy in general, and carry a better balance of autonomy and intimacy into their peer relations.

Two points regarding the measurement of constructs in the study remain to be made. First, the positive correlations between the two measures of quantity enhance validity of the construct. The same could not be said of the quality construct, represented by the affect with and perceived intimacy variables. The correlations between these variables may demonstrate that two fundamentally different components of the quality of relationships were being measured. Affective experience appears to differ from the experience of intimacy; the data indicate that intimate relationships can be experienced negatively. Moreover, affect with friends reflects the experience of students with all of their friends, while perceived intimacy with friends reflects the experience of students only with their best friends. Therefore, correlations between these and mother variables are comparing different peer networks with the maternal relationship. Second, correlations between perceived contact and perceived intimacy with both mother and friends were consistently positive for both girls and boys. The findings for boys supported the present model, while it appears that the findings for girls failed to
support it. However, reporting bias could offer an alternative explanation for the positive correlations. The positive correlations were consistently found only between scales from retrospective questionnaires, suggesting that a tendency may have existed to respond on the higher end of the scales when asked to recall information about themselves. Because ESM data revealed more variable patterns (i.e., a positive relationship for girls between amount of time spent with friends and perceived intimacy, with no relationship for boys) it appears that reporting bias is less likely to influence ESM responses. Moreover, perceived intimacy was positively correlated only with the retrospective measure of time spent in the relationship, and was not correlated with the ESM measure of time spent in the relationship. Another type of response bias could have influenced the data: it is possible that social prohibitions against feelings of closeness for boys influenced them to under-report the experience of intimacy in their relationships.

To summarize, most findings support the hypothesized positive relationship for boys and the negative relationship for girls between quality of maternal and peer relationships. A noteworthy finding is that girls who feel worse with their mothers identify their relationships as more intimate. A positive relationship for girls between mother and friend intimacy is based on retrospective
questionnaire data only. Limitations of this study include its singular focus on the mother-child relationship. Chodorow (1978) suggests that child care shared between fathers and mothers may remedy the discrepancy in sex-tied patterns of relating. Future studies should examine the impact of the presence of fathers on sex differences in relationship patterns. Also, this study did not differentiate between same and opposite-sex friends. It is possible that intimacy patterns could vary for girls and boys depending on the sex of the friend. In addition, though time spent in relationships appears to be accurately represented by measures used in the study, aspects of the quality of relationships, such as affect and intimacy may have been more elusive. Future investigations into the nature of the experience of intimacy would be helpful in operationalizing quality of relationship constructs.
REFERENCES


The thesis submitted by Joy Huston Rock has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Maryse Richards, Director
Associate Professor, Psychology
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Dr. Grayson Holmbeck
Assistant Professor, Psychology
Loyola University Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date 3-3-93

Director's Signature