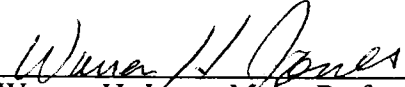


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by A. Celeste Gaia entitled "Gender and Gender Role Orientation in Same-Sex Friendship." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Psychology.


Warren H. Jones, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and
recommend its acceptance:




Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

**GENDER AND GENDER ROLE
ORIENTATION IN SAME-SEX FRIENDSHIP**

**A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**A. Celeste Gaia
December 1995**

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family, particularly my parents

Mr. Raymond Vincent Gaia

and

Mrs. Ameera Pierini Gaia

who have offered their undying love, patience and generosity so that I could do
anything possible.

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ABSTRACT

The present study was conducted to examine the same-sex friendships of women and men. Research has shown that such friendships differ along the dimensions of activity and intimacy orientation. As a partial replication and extension of Wright & Scanlon (1991), participants (n=287) completed several personality and relationship measures, including The Acquaintance Description Form, The Friendship Scale, The Bem Sex Role Inventory, and the Intimacy and Activity Scale. Women indicated more intimacy and support than men, yet no differences were found regarding activity related behaviors. Gender role orientation was found to be associated with these differences, since androgynous individuals usually indicated higher ratings when compared to other types. It is also proposed that there may be a link between femininity and positive friendship dynamics. Results suggested that the expression of friendship may be moderated by gender in combination with socially constructed gender roles.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Without friends no one would choose to live, though he had all other goods.

Aristotle
Nicomachean Ethics, Book VIII, Chapter 1

Research in the area of personal relationships has concluded that social ties are a critical aspect of psychological development and mental health (Blieszner & Adams, 1992; Jones & Carver, 1987). Friendship, in particular, has been identified as a major influence in the lives and behaviors of individuals, and has recently become of interest to relationship researchers (Duck, 1991; Leatham & Duck, 1990; Reis, Senchak, & Solomon, 1985; Verbrugge, 1977; Wheeler, Reis & Nezlek, 1983). From the time of ancient philosophers and into the present, friends have been recognized as a source of warmth, companionship, enjoyment, and social support. As a result, an understanding of the dynamics of friendship has been sought for thousands of years. Scholars have attempted to define friendship, develop methods for its investigation, and explain its processes. Over the last 25 years, researchers have empirically examined variations in friendship, particularly in same- as compared to cross-sex friendships, and have noted some consistent distinctions. It is the purpose of this paper to explore such variations associated with gender in same-sex friendship, specifically, and to examine gender role orientation in friendship patterns. The first section offers a review of the literature, including a history of friendship research, and a description of definitions and methods used in its measurement. Gender role orientation theory will then be described and its relationship with friendship discussed.

Conceptions of Friendship Throughout History

The earliest written ideas of friendship date back to Plato and Aristotle. At this time, questions of friendship stemmed from issues concerning happiness, justice and morality. Plato believed that "true friendship" had its roots in the human drive for goodness and in the search for understanding (Price, 1989). Aristotle continued Plato's work with a commentary on friendship conceiving of three types or levels of friends based on certain functions the friend may serve. The first two functions were utility and pleasure, which tend to benefit the individual. The third possible function of a friend involved mutual benefit. In such situations, each partner experiences comfort, joy, and support as a result of the friendship. This is what Aristotle labeled "perfect friendship" (Snyder & Smith, 1986).

Some researchers have developed ideas of friendship based on historical context. For instance, Lopata (1991) outlined a theory relating conceptions of friendship to historical and commercial development based on the assumption that friendships have traditionally been a product of community. With the increasing popularity of the European marketplace, this location soon became the scene of much socializing, even in medieval times (Lopata, 1991). Where commerce had traditionally taken place at the home or farm, now transactions occurred more frequently in the town square. Social relations outside the home concerned business, thus friendships at first were not limited to one's own sex, age or social class. As families went in town to do business, friends became the people with whom they traded. Success in commerce was largely dependent on social ability and competence.

Since business moved to locations away from the home, the large, extended family became less necessary because the homestead was no longer the only source of income. The formation of a more private, nuclear family came about slowly, bringing with it more practical limitations on contact outside the home. Work came to be viewed as separate from home and family, and it seemed family ties were becoming more crucial than social relations. Whereas before friends had not been limited by similarity, gradually it seemed as if friendships became restricted to those similar in age, sex and class. That is, those individuals with whom contact was greatest and were seen at church, school or the workplace (Lopata, 1991).

In colonial America, religion was a critical influence in the history of friendship. Particularly in the lives of women, but ultimately affecting everyone, Puritan religious doctrine placed restrictions on social gatherings and dyadic relations. Religious restrictions, combined with a gradual shift to a more industrialized society, left little time for the establishment and maintenance of what we know as friendship. Industrialization was thought to be a substantial force towards changes in the intensity of ties outside the home. However, some scholars believe that contemporary society has developed a new conceptualization of friendship that exists within a world of commerce. Blieszner and Adams (1992) note that Lopata (1991) characterized modern friendship as obtaining a compromise between work and social relations outside the home.

Other scholars hold that rather than diminishing the importance of ties outside the home, increased commerce and technology actually aided in the distinction of friendship as an intimate relationship when compared to those relations associated with business (Silver, 1990).

When examining conceptions of friendship, it is recognized that historical patterns of friendship, such as the ones discussed here, existed more often in the lives of men than of women, pointing to gender differences in friendship early on in history. It is suggested that women and men may have had different conceptualizations of friendship because their worlds were so divided (Oliker, 1989). Men more often experienced social interactions in the marketplace, whereas women established intimate relationships with other women to gain support in their family and marriage. Therefore, Oliker (1989) holds that the friendships of women have been especially affectionate. Whatever the case, more than ever, friendship is considered a vital part of our lives.

The Beginnings of Friendship Research

Early friendship research began in the area of child development and has since undergone gradual shifts in focus. Not only have researchers recently begun to assume more of a lifespan approach, but also have started to reconceptualize friendship as a relationship with its own dynamics. The addition of a multidisciplinary approach and an attempt at understanding the nature of friendship are a critical part of these shifts as well..

At first, the majority of research centered on the influence of friendship in the development of children. Although young children's relationships are often heavily monitored and controlled by older adults (e. g. parents, teachers), they still establish and maintain relationships outside the family (Fine, 1981). By adolescence, children have more control over their friendships, and begin to choose for themselves who they prefer to be their closest friends. Friendship choices are a crucial aspect of a child's development. Identity, confidence, and

social skills all largely rely on the adolescent's ability to maintain friendships beyond family ties (Rawlins, 1992).

More recently, researchers in the area of personal relationships have focused on the topic from a lifespan perspective (Duck & Perlman, 1985; Rawlins, 1992). This is one of the first shifts scholars have identified in this area of relationship research. In addition, other critical shifts in research have been noted which may also have contributed to the increased interest in friendship for empirical investigation. For instance, an overall change in the focus of psychology from the study of attraction as the study of personal relationships to the examination of long-term relationships themselves has been noted (Duck & Perlman, 1985). The investigation of friendship as a relationship has allowed scholars to center research more on its relational dynamics rather than the particular characteristics of an individual as friend (Wellman, 1988). In recognizing friendship as a unique relationship, scholars also have identified it as distinctly different from other types of relationships, such as marriage or kinship (Blieszner & Adams, 1992; Rawlins, 1992). Many studies have now investigated friendship as a relationship itself (e. g. Aries & Johnson, 1983; Wright & Scanlon, 1991).

Another shift has been characterized by the acknowledgment that both the quality as well as the quantity of friendship interactions are pertinent in understanding relationships (e. g. Roberto, 1989) (Blieszner & Adams, 1992). Simultaneously, researchers have developed and used new and creative methodologies to investigate the dynamics of friendship (e. g. Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977; Wright & Scanlon, 1991). A move from controlled laboratory studies out

into the field to gather further useful information was also a part of this change (Duck & Perlman, 1985).

The addition of a multidisciplinary approach has also prompted friendship research. The disciplines of sociology and anthropology have long focused on investigations of friendship, but such studies have discussed the relationship as an institution and more in relation to community, than to individuals (Bell, 1981b). Therefore, adult friendship as a relationship, per se, is a relatively new area of research. Within the a broader approach including psychology, increasing interest has been expressed in the influence of personality and socialization in the creation, maintenance, and dissolution of friendship relations.

A final factor in the increasing empirical investigation of friendship may be the recognition of the uniquely voluntary nature of friendship. That is, we choose our friends. Other platonic, or non-romantic relationships in our lives, such as family or in the workplace, are not voluntary in the sense of friendship (Blieszner & Adams, 1992; Hays, 1988). In choosing friends, we can seek out those most like us in age, sex, etc., who may be in the best position to confirm our identities, empathize, and offer advice (Litwak, 1989).

What is Friendship?

Definition

Friendship has been operationalized and defined in several ways. In this paper, the most common conceptions will be discussed. Some scholars have believe friendship can be identified by themes, such as similar age and sex, others have recognized common qualities like altruism and companionship. The comparison of friendship to romantic relationships has also been used to distinguish the two. Furthermore, psychometrically adequate scales have been

created to make a clearer distinction between different types of relationships in an attempt to define what is meant by friendship.

Winstead and Derlega (1986) have proposed that all definitions of friendship include the following items: (1) age: friends are often peers; (2) kinship: friends are usually nonkin; and (3) sexual involvement: friendships are usually platonic. Friendship has also been operationalized and measured on the following three dimensions: empathy, the ability to "project oneself into another's feelings"; altruism, "selfless consideration of another's welfare"; and companionship, "doing things together that are mutually enjoyed and taking pleasure in the other's company (Gibbs, Auerbach, & Fox, 1980; Fox, Gibbs, & Auerbach, 1985). Four similar dimensions of friendship have been identified as common to all ages: (1) Commonality, (2) Reciprocity, (3) Continuity and (4) Proximity. Similarly, Aries and Johnson (1983) found that friendship is typified by similar personalities, similar cognitive construction systems, similar socio-economic status, as well as common attitudes and values.

An additional method of defining friendship has been to compare friendships to romantic relationships (Wright, 1985). It is found that friendships are less exclusive, less permanent, less regulated by social rules and expectations, less passionate, less physical, less committed, less strong, provide less, demand less, and are considered more stable than romantic relationships. By identifying these differences between a friendship and a romantic relationship, Wright concluded that the process of developing, maintaining, and dissolving a friendship is conceptually different from the development, maintenance, and dissolution of a love relationship. It is not asserted that the dynamics of these two relationships are completely different, but it is suggested that we must distinguish between

different types of relationships in order to accurately understand them (Davis & Todd, 1982; Winstead & Derlega, 1986).

In empirical studies, researchers typically address the operationalization of friendship in two ways: (1) by assuming participants "know" what friendship is, and/or (2) limiting the definition of friendship to the definition provided by the researcher. The first method, assuming that participants know what friendship is, allows individuals to answer questions or respond to scales using their own, personal definition of friend (Aries & Johnson, 1983; Aukett, Ritchie, & Mill, 1988; Duck & Wright, 1993; Elkins & Peterson, 1993). Such studies may ask participants to define friendship in open-ended format, then answer questions or respond to instruments pertaining to that definition (Ashton, 1980). In the second method, researchers simply include a brief description of how they conceive of friendship (Caldwell & Peplau, 1982). For instance, Lowenthal, Thurnher and Chiriboga (1975) described friendship as a "voluntary, unique, dyadic relationship" in a study conducted to assess dimensions of friendship. A more recent study explained to participants that they should "think of two specific persons, the individual of each gender who was their closest friend, but with whom they were not romantically involved" (Dolgin, Meyer, & Schwartz, 1991).

Paul Wright (1969, 1974, 1985) has created a psychometrically sound scale and defined friendship as consisting of thirteen components: (1) Voluntary Interdependence, the degree to which the plans and activities of one of the partners are dependent upon those of the other; (2) Person-Qua-Person, a personalized interest in and concern for one's relationship; (these first two components are measures of relationship strength), (3) Ego Support Value, the

degree to which the friend is regarded as encouraging and reassuring; (4) Self-Affirmation Value, the degree to which the friend encourages highly valued self attributes; (5) Stimulation Value, the degree to which the friend is interesting and fosters knowledge expansion; (6) Utility Value, the degree to which the friend uses time/resources to help meet goals; (7) Security Value, the degree to which the friendship is secure and trustworthy; (these five values are classified as interpersonal rewards available in the relationship), (8) Exclusiveness, the degree to which the relationship with the friend is regarded as strictly dyadic; (9) Permanence, degree to which the friendship is permanently binding; (10) Salience of Emotional Expression, degree to which positive affect is essential to the relationship; (11) Degree of Social Regulation, the extent to which the relationship is influenced by social norms and expectations; (12) Maintenance Difficulty, an index of tension or strain in the relationship; (these four components differentiate among types or kinds of relationships), and (13) General Favorability, a measure of the tendency to respond to the friend in a globally favorable or unfavorable manner.

Measurement

The most common measures of "friendship" can be classified into two types: (1) direct measures: such as constructed scales or interviews which may inquire about the frequency and types of interactions of a participant with a best friend and (2) indirect measures: meant to assess the constructs of intimacy and/or self-disclosure within a friendship, because many scholars believe that the relationship between friends actually develops along these lines.

Direct Measures of Friendship

Researchers most often utilize self-report questionnaires or observations of conversation to acquire information about the participants' friend. Questionnaires administered usually include inquiries about demographics, and questions such as "Whom do you think of as being your friends?" or "How many people do you consider to be a close friend?" Sometimes these studies also ask specific questions about each friend (Booth, 1972). Formal interviews, scales, interaction records, and role-playing techniques are often part of these general measures of friendship.

Interviews. Interview techniques and open-ended questions are used to obtain detailed descriptions of participants' friendships (e. g. Roberto & Kimboko, 1989; Powers & Bultena, 1976). For instance, an interviewer may ask questions such as "What does friendship mean to you?" or "Can you tell me about a close friend you have?" Data collected are coded for themes and can be analyzed by gender, age, and other relevant variables.

The Acquaintance Description Form. In the literature on friendship, one particular instrument has been identified as a popular psychometric scale. The Acquaintance Description Form (ADF; revised ADF-F; 1984, 1985), based on Paul Wright's components of friendship which have already been described in the "Definition" section of this paper is often used to assess participants' views of their friendship partners. Other scales that were created specifically for the measurement of friendship are the Friendship Scale (Burdette & Gaia, 1993; Gaia & Burdette, 1993) and the Friendship Questionnaire (Caldwell & Peplau, 1982).

The Social Network Questionnaire. Another popular method of measuring the quantity and quality of friends is the Social Network Questionnaire (Hirsch,

1979). Participants are asked to list up to fifteen significant others with whom they are likely to interact during a two to three week period. They then are asked to indicate whether or not they consider each person to be a friend. In a second part of the questionnaire, labeled the Social Network Rating Scale, participants are asked to consider each listed individual and rate on a 5-point scale the satisfaction they experience with each relationship. Other researchers have extended Hirsch's methodology by asking participants to rate each person in their network on several relationship dimensions (e. g. trust, love, satisfaction) (Jones & Moore, 1987). This method encourages participants to consider more than one friend, and allows them to rate each friend individually on the dimensions specified.

Interaction Records. The "diary-beeper" method, where individuals are given a personal report diary and a beeper that reminds them to record their current activity at designated intervals, allows participants to report whom they are with and what they are doing at designated intervals (McAdams & Constantian, 1983). The Rochester Interaction Record (RIR; Nezlek, Wheeler & Reis, 1983) is one instrument that takes advantage of the alternative approach offered by the diary method (Reisman, 1990). In several studies conducted by Nezlek, et al. (1983), male and female college students kept detailed records of every social contact experienced over a two-week period. Participants were instructed to record quantitative information (e. g. duration and time of interaction), as well as complete measures assessing other dimensions of the relationship (e. g. satisfaction, pleasantness).

Role-Playing. Role-playing has been included in some studies to assess participants' perceptions of how they think each member of a friendship dyad

would interpret certain interactions. For instance, Caldwell & Peplau (1982) used this to examine gender differences in the intimacy of expression in conversation as well as with whom and how many people each participant mentioned during role-play.

Indirect Measures of Friendship

Indirect measures of friendship usually assess intimacy and self-disclosure. One of the most common scales used in this capacity, the Jourard Self-Disclosure Questionnaire (Jourard & Lasakow, 1958), was created to assess the quality and quantity of information disclosed in a relationship. The Jourard Self-Disclosure Questionnaire consists of sixty items classified in groups of ten within six general categories of information about the self (e. g., body, personality, money, tastes, interests). Participants are asked to consider important people in their lives, (e. g., mother, father, female friend, etc.), and rate the extent to which they have talked about each item on the questionnaire with the specified person. Although Jourard constructed this scale as an instrument to measure self-disclosure, many researchers believe it to be helpful in determining intimacy levels between individuals in relationships (Lombardo & Lavine, 1981). For example, Stokes, Fuehrer, Childs (1980) and Walker and Wright (1976) concluded that greater disclosure signified a deeper level of intimacy.

Though all of these methods are helpful in understanding friendship and its particular dynamics, some of them not only demonstrate better reliability and validity, but also address pertinent themes in the study of friendship. For instance, the Acquaintance Description Form (Wright, 1984, 1985) has frequently been used in friendship studies involving gender and gender roles since this instrument includes the assessment of 13 relationship variables. Each of these

variables can be scored to examine a participant's perception of the rewards being derived from the friendship, relationship strength, how the friendship may be distinguished from other relationships, and in general, how the participant responds to the friend in question. The amount of tension or strain the participant experiences in maintaining the relationship, as well as to what degree the friendship is influenced by social norms and regulations can also be measured. The Acquaintance Description Form has also demonstrated consistent reliability and validity (see the Method section of this document for details). Because of this, the Acquaintance Description Form has proven to be an especially useful tool in understanding friendship.

Consistent Findings Throughout the Lifespan

Although a variety of conceptualizations and measurements have been used to examine friendship, consistent findings have been reported. A considerable body of literature in the area of friendship supports the proposition that gender is a highly influential variable, possibly affecting the friendships of women and men throughout the lifespan. Gender differences emerge in friendship during childhood, and continue into older adult life. Moreover, not only do gender differences seem to exist, but particular patterns are quite noticeable regarding gender variations in same-sex friendship, specifically. For example, patterns of gender differences in friendship have been recognized in the play behavior of boys and girls in early childhood (Jacklin & Maccoby, 1978) and reaching far into older adulthood (Fox, et al., 1985; Powers & Bultena, 1976; Weiss & Lowenthal, 1975). First, Jacklin and Maccoby (1978) found that as early as the age of three or four, girls demonstrated the tendency to observe their partner when the partner was a boy, but participate in play when the partner was

another girl. Furthermore, boys were less likely to respond to vocalizations attempting to alter the boy's play made by a girl than by a boy. In elementary school children, it has been found that girls tend to play with one or two children, and boys are more likely to play in groups (c. f. Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Not only do boys play with more children at one time, but their play tends to be more structured, competitive and strategic than that of girls, who engage in play with less competition and role differentiation, such as rope-jumping (Lever, 1978). It is thought that because girls seem to prefer activities with more equity, their descriptions of friendship reflect this belief (Winstead, 1986). For instance, girls as compared to boys yielded descriptions containing more shared feelings about friendship and related behaviors in a study conducted by McAdams and Losoff (1984). Such results suggests that girls may value equity more in friendship than do boys (McAdams & Losoff, 1984).

Second, Fox et al. (1985) have noted that a distinction in how individuals interact in relation to gender is noticeable not only in youth, but also in older adulthood (65+). Although elderly men are reported to have developed greater concern and thoughtfulness related to friendship as they age, they consistently scored lower than older women on empathy, altruism and other intimacy-related qualities of friendship. Powers and Bultena (1976) found that although women over the age of seventy reported fewer friends than men, they still indicated that interactions were more intimate. In the same study, when men and women were interviewed about the number and intimate interactions with friends, older women were found to be more likely to establish new friendships than were men. There were also significant variations in the number of men vs. women who said they did not have any close friends. Forty-two percent of the men, compared to

30 percent of the women, stated that they did not have, and had not lost a close friend at the time of the interview. In another study, though men and women failed to differ on which characteristics they would use to describe a friend, differences did emerge when each was asked to distinguish between a "friend" and a "close friend". Older men were less likely to identify differences between these two categories, whereas women recognized that a "close friend" was indeed somehow more intimate than a "friend" (Roberto & Kimboko, 1989).

Findings Within Same-Sex Friendship

Within adult same-sex friendship a relatively consistent pattern of findings has emerged along the two dimensions of activity and intimacy. That is, reports in the literature of gender and same-sex friendship describe the friendships of men as more instrumental, less emotional, and less intimate than women's same-sex friendships (Reisman, 1990; Williams, 1985). It is uniformly reported that men prefer and participate in more activity-oriented behaviors such as playing sports or talking about their hobbies, whereas women prefer to "just talk" about family, friends, and personal problems, or engage in behaviors that are more intimacy-oriented (Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977; Aukett et al, 1988). As a result, Paul Wright (1982) has suggested that men's friendships are "side by side", whereas women's friendships are "face to face". To better understand how the friendship interactions of women and men may differ, empirical support for the distinction of activity vs. intimacy orientation will be discussed.

Many of articles concerning an activity-intimacy dichotomy among the friendships of women as compared to men mention Tiger (1969) as a possible impetus for research in this area. In a 1969 book describing the dynamics of men in groups, Lionel Tiger proposed that women are not capable of the intimate

bonding of men that results from involvement in athletics, war, hunting and killing. As mentioned earlier, friendship was becoming more popular in psychological research at this time. This relatively new area of research, combined with Tiger's controversial proposition, led to further investigation. Tiger's (1969) book was actually an examination of the relationship between biology and social processes, rather than an empirical investigation. Following his work, an increasing number empirical studies of friendship and gender were conducted. Some psychologists came to believe that, contrary to Tiger's thesis, it is women who have the more intimate friendships. Studies supporting this proposition include Caldwell and Peplau (1982) and Aries and Johnson (1983). Caldwell and Peplau (1982) used a self-report questionnaire to assess the frequency and type of activities in which women and men engage within their same-sex friendships. This study found that men tend to talk more about activities, whereas, women like to "just talk" and talk more about their feelings and problems than do men. It was also found that men exhibit a lower level of emotional and physical intimacy in their same-sex friendships than do women. Though no differences were found between men and women on the number of friends and the value placed on intimate friendships in general, women expressed that the emotional aspects of the friendships were important, whereas men emphasized activities. Aries and Johnson (1983) conducted a study where men and women indicated the frequency and depth of conversations they have with their closest same-sex friend, and consequently, reported that women are more likely to talk about personal problems, doubts and fears, and intimate relationships at a significant rate of at least 94% as compared to 76% to 87% of the male

participants. These researchers also reported that both men and women believe women to be more disclosing.

Additional studies in support of the hypothesis that the friendships of women are more oriented towards intimacy, whereas men's friendships are instrumental that have used the traditional questionnaire methodology are Aukett et al., (1988) who found that men tend to talk more about activity-oriented topics (sports, hobbies), whereas women talked more about personal relationships. As a result, researchers have suggested that the friendships of women are actually therapeutic in nature. Davidson and Packard (1981) had participants respond to questions meant to assess the therapeutic value of same-sex friendship and found that women do indeed view their friendships as more therapeutic than do men.

Using alternative methods to questionnaire techniques, Wheeler and Nezlek (1977), took advantage of the diary method to investigate the social interactions of men and women over a two week period. Data were coded for type of interaction and analyzed for relationships between gender of participant, number and gender of friends, and degree of friendship (intimate vs. non-intimate). It was found that men were more likely to go to the movies or play sports together, while women are more likely to study together, and talk about personal problems and the important people in their lives. Reisman (1990) used a modified version of the Rochester Interaction Record (Nezlek, et al., 1983) along with questions concerning participant's conversations with same sex-friends and a measure of friendliness and found that female participants in both the United States and Hungary indicated women to be more disclosing than men in same-sex friendships.

Understanding Friendship Through Individual Differences

Two approaches useful in understanding how gender may influence friendship interactions are labeled structural and dispositional. These perspectives offer explanations as to how differences in individual's characteristics may affect their relationships. Although the debate between structural and dispositional theorists has been ongoing, it is useful to recognize that though they offer different rationales for behaviors, both approaches tend to predict the same kinds of differences. That is, both perspectives speak to the ways in which gender differences can be explained in part by the socialization of children into particular roles due to social expectations. The focus of the next section will be a description of each of these views and how they may be linked to a useful theory in accounting for gender differences in friendship.

The Dispositional Approach

Dispositional approaches explain gender variations as due to individual differences in personal style, personality, or motivation. Early socialization into what are determined to be socially appropriate gender roles may be one possible explanation of gender differences according to dispositional theories (Aukett et al., 1988; Fischer & Oliner, 1983; Fox et al., 1985). For example, gender differences in same-sex friendships may result from the early socialization of young boys to be more competitive, have an aversion to vulnerability and/or openness (Fox et al., 1985; Lewis, 1978), and fear being thought of as homosexual (Derlega, Lewis, Harrison, Winstead & Constanza, 1989; Fox et al., 1985; Lewis, 1978). It is also speculated that throughout their lives, women are encouraged to participate in more voluntary activities (i.e. charity work, church groups) than are men, and since friendship is a voluntary relationship, women

naturally have more intimate dyads (Booth, 1972). Other dispositional explanations center around genetics and biology. Dispositional approaches are used as the most frequent explanation of gender differences in social interaction.

The Structural Approach

Social structure refers to structural ways in which individuals may differ in their social relations by the positions they occupy in the social system (Caldwell & Peplau, 1982; Fischer & Oliner, 1983; Wright, 1988). A structural perspective would address the influence of variations in power, wealth, and status on personal relationships. According to this view, gender differences might result from variations in behavior due to differing expectations of gender encouraged by social structure.

Structural approaches can also be used to explain how status and power are relevant to friendship variations. The theory of Social Constructionism allows researchers to focus more on the context and equity of the relationships between women and men, rather than on more dispositional factors or states. Social Constructionism, which holds that we actively construct our own reality, offers an alternative to more traditional theories. One aspect of this approach suggests that through language we invent a representation, rather than a copy of what is really there (Watzlawick, 1984). An advantage of the constructionist view is that it can reveal underlying assumptions of what we tend to perceive to be well-known "facts" (Siebrecht & Travis, 1995). In fact, our values and attitudes influence what we consider to be factual information, contrary to the view of the positivists who believe we can objectively observe human behavior. Since meanings of our socially constructed representations of reality are generally controlled by language, and language tends to be controlled by those in power,

our reality, or "facts", inevitably are colored by the powerful ones in society (Barthes, 1972; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1988).

How does this affect psychological research? According to the social constructionists, gender differences may actually be the product of a world constructed by, and for the benefit of those in power. Thus, researchers must examine the context of psychological studies to discover what has been found and what methods have been used (McHugh, Koeske, & Frieze, 1986). For instance, Hare-Mustin & Marecek (1984) asserted that one problem with gender research is that researchers have historically focused on difference, rather than examining what may be similar between the sexes. Another concern is that of Alpha bias, the exaggeration of differences. When researchers fail to look at within gender differences, and focus on between gender ones, this could possibly inflate the perception of the differences.

The Psychology of Gender Differences

Before describing possible influences of gender in relation to friendship, it is first useful to distinguish between what is meant here by sex as compared to gender. Using the distinction of Unger (1979) and Deaux (1985), sex is the way in which humans are divided into female and male categories. Therefore, sex differences can be described as when female and male behaviors differ. For the purposes of this paper, gender will be used in reference to the meanings attributed by society to being either female or male (Eagly, 1987). Though some social roles have nothing to do with gender, Eagly (1987) argues that roles assigned by society for women and men can be referred to as gender roles, and corresponding stereotypes can be called gender stereotypes.

The effects of disposition and social structure cannot be entirely separated. As an individual, one is vulnerable both to outer (society), as well as inner (personality) forces. Although the theory of gender role orientation is considered somewhat a dispositional approach, its links to social structure have made it a unique way to examine what may account for gender differences in friendship.

How then, can gender roles account for some of the variance between men and women in friendship? One idea is that gender differences in behavior have roots in expectations due to socially constructed gender roles. As mentioned, some social roles are based solely on gender, or being socialized as a woman or man. These roles assert an influence that may outweigh that of biology or early childhood socialization. This is not to deny the weight of biological predisposition and childhood experience as influencing adult behavior, however, theories of gender hold that gender roles in adulthood are determined largely by social expectancies and are crucial predictors of sex differences (Eagly, 1987).

Gender Role Orientation

To measure the extent to which individuals endorse characteristics considered stereotypically feminine and/or masculine, Sandra Bem (1974) created a scale for the purpose of assessing what she called sex role, or what is more commonly known as gender role orientation. Gender role orientation has been identified as an influence in the dynamics of friendship and other relationships (Williams, 1985; Wright & Scanlon, 1991). In agreement with Eagly (1987), Bem (1974) does not consider sex and gender to be the same. Children learn of expectations others have of them because of their biological sex at an early age. Boys are encouraged in more "rough and tumble" play than are girls, who are treated in a more gentle manner by parents (DiPietro, 1981). Borrowed from the

ideas of Constantinople (1973), Bem's model of masculinity and femininity was unique in its description of the dimensions as two independent characteristics, rather than poles of a continuum. Depicting masculinity and femininity in this way allows the expression of both feminine and masculine traits by a person. Regardless of biological sex, using Bem's distinction, a person can endorse traditional masculine behaviors, traditional feminine behaviors, a high level of both (androgyny) or a low level of both (undifferentiated). It is suggested by Bem that gender categorized behaviors are used for social adaptation, therefore, it is androgynous individuals who may be best equipped to adjust (Bem, 1975). The characteristics of masculinity and femininity are often considered comparable to the distinction of agentic and communal roles, respectively. Eagly (1987) defines communality as having a concern and/or caring for the welfare of others, a dimension more often believed to be internalized by women. Agency, on the other hand, concerns assertiveness, ambition, confidence, and dominance. Men are considered by society to be encouraged more to manifest this dimension (Eagly, 1987).

Traditional explanations (e. g., biology, socialization) for gender differences in same-sex friendship have been criticized. Siebrecht and Travis (1995) claimed that while using gender socialization as an explanation can be useful, researchers have failed to question why men and women are socialized into the roles they are and who benefits most from this process. Feminist scholars hold that the socialization into traditional gender roles is based on a patriarchal society which values power and status more than intimacy or nurturance. That is, gender differences in friendship may actually be more attributable to inequity in resources, power, and position, than gender (Fiske, 1993; Hyde, 1986), which

results from differing roles. Although the literature concerning same-sex friendship and the dichotomy involving intimacy and instrumentality (activity) seems to uphold the characteristic of intimacy as virtuous, it is possible that this reflects a power differential between women and men. It has been suggested that gender differences in friendship may imply a devaluation of the historically feminine characteristic of women to assume communal (feminine), rather than agentic (masculine) roles (Eagly, 1987). Masculine, or agentic-instrumental (activity-oriented) characteristics are rewarded, whereas more feminine, or communal-expressive (intimacy-oriented) qualities are considered less important (Gilligan, 1982; Hansson, O'Connor, Jones & Milhelich, 1980). Therefore, a study of gender role orientation and its association with relationship patterns may help in an understanding of gender differences in friendship. Moreover, gender role orientation is the reconceptualization of gender as a four-category construct rather than the traditional two-category distinction, and is helpful in understanding variations due to roles that are socially constructed. This alternative conceptualization offers researchers an advantage since it avails more variation in the predictor variable being studied, which in turn allows for greater opportunity to discover relevant associations.

Empirical Support

Many researchers have used Bem's measure to determine the extent of influence that gender role orientation may impose in friendship. For instance, Ickes and Barnes (1978) reported that those persons classified as androgynous have friendships with the other sex at a higher rate than sex-typed (traditional) men or women. In addition, androgynous women are more likely to participate in other-sex friendships than sex-typed women, and androgynous women disclose

equally to male and female friends, though sex-typed women share more with female friends (Lavine & Lombardo, 1984). Androgynous individuals reported greater involvement in friendship than their sex-typed counterparts (Barth & Kinder, 1988) and have also been reported to express more characteristics that enhance the development and maintenance of close friendship than other gender role types (Jones, Bloys & Wood, 1990). Other researchers have examined the influence of gender role orientation in friendship choice (Banikiotes, Neimeyer, & Lepkowsky, (1981), and emotional intimacy (Walker, 1994; Williams, 1985).

Wright (1982; Duck & Wright, 1993; Wright & Scanlon, 1991) is another researcher who, with others, has added the measure of gender role orientation to his investigations of friendship to assess the influence of this personality variable on interactions. Wright and Scanlon (1991) reported an examination of gender differences in friendship and the degree to which gender role orientation would moderate differences found in the same- and other-sex friendships of women and men. To assess gender role orientation, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem 1974) was used, along with the revised Acquaintance Description Form (Wright, 1985) to attain a description of the participants' best male and female friend. Wright and Scanlon (1991) concluded that the same-sex relationships of women are "strong and rewarding" as compared to the same- and other-sex friendships of men. That is, women rated their same-sex friends higher than men on variables of relationship strength as well as three of five interpersonal rewards, and an overall measure of friendship, General Favorability. Women as compared to men also rated their same-sex friends as lower on the variable of Social Regulation, which measures the degree a person feels constrained by social norms in the friendship. As for differences due to gender role orientation, Wright and Scanlon found that

the responses to the Acquaintance Description Form of undifferentiated and masculine women were similar to those of the average male participant, whereas some of the means of the feminine men were similar to those of the average female participant, and some were not. However, Wright failed to report gender role orientation differences that may have been found within gender.

The Problem

With few exceptions, much friendship research has found that women's same-sex friendships are somehow more satisfying and intimate than the same-sex friendships of men (Davidson & Packard, 1981; Lewis, 1978; Winstead, 1986). A considerable body of literature has been built on the empirical finding that there exists a distinction between the same-sex friendships of men and women along the dimensions of intimacy and activity. Specifically, researchers have found that women give higher ratings to same-sex friends on most relationship dimensions (e. g. intimacy, satisfaction) than do men. Also, whereas women's friendship are found to be more intimacy oriented, the friendships of men are thought to be more activity oriented.

Though gender and gender role orientation have been investigated as possibly responsible for the differences between the same-sex friendships of men and women, few of these studies have examined differences and similarities due to gender role orientation in relation to an explicit measure of intimacy and activity. Following the lead of Wright (1992; Wright & Scanlon, 1991) and others, who have attempted to examine the specific association of gender and gender role orientation in the relations between friends, the present study sought to improve upon previous methods by offering a more balanced and complete design by including such a measure.

The following additions to previous research are intended. First, many studies have reported differences in friendship related to gender and gender role orientation, but few have examined relationship variables across gender that may influence overall friendship patterns. In the present study, not only will between gender differences be examined, but gender role differences for both men and women combined will be as well. Second, although much research has found women's friendships to be more intimacy oriented, and the friendships of men to be centered around activity, most studies have failed to include an explicit measure of intimacy and activity. Such studies measure activity interactions of friends, but lack assessment of intimacy, whereas other research addresses intimacy, and fails to address activity. Nevertheless, these studies maintain that the intimacy-activity dichotomy exists, and base their claims on measures of self-disclosure or interaction diaries which were not designed to assess the distinction in question. Third, to better assess the validity of assigning gender role categories, this study added to the BSRI another measure of gender role orientation, the Personal Attribute Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974). Using these two measures, variations within gender can be systematically examined. By comparing those individuals classified into the four categories by each individual instrument, classification could be verified through similarity in categorization.

Paul Wright has been at the forefront in this investigation (Duck & Wright, 1993; Wright & Scanlon, 1991). His use of the ADF, an instrument that primarily involves intimacy-related qualities of friendship, is noted as not being designed to measure the intimacy-activity dichotomy (Duck & Wright, 1993). The present study was designed to partially replicate and extend Wright & Scanlon (1991) by

making the changes specified above. In the following study two questions were addressed: (1) Are ratings of same-sex friends on the friendship measures and frequency of intimacy and activity engagement associated with gender? and (2) Is gender role orientation related to ratings on these measures?

Chapter II

METHOD

Participants

Participants consisted of 287 college undergraduates enrolled at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville (165 females and 122 males), with a mean age of 21.1 years.

Procedure

Participants completed a questionnaire consisting of several measures including the Acquaintance Description Form (Wright, 1984, 1985, 1991), the Friendship Scale (Burdette & Gaia, 1993; Gaia & Burdette, 1993; Jones, 1984), The Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), and the Personal Attribute Questionnaire (Spence, et al., 1974). Also, items assessing the frequency of two patterns of friendship related to intimacy and activity, one theoretically associated with females, one with males, that were experienced with same- and other-sex friends were included in the questionnaire. Participants completed questionnaires in "out-of-class" sessions in exchange for nominal extra credit in their psychology classes.

Measures

Acquaintance Description Form

To assess perceptions of the participants' best same-sex friend, two instruments were used. First, the Acquaintance Description Form (ADF; Wright, 1984; 1985) was used to measure the participants' ratings of her/his best same-sex friend on 13 variables included in Wright's relationship model. The ADF is a self-report measure for which the participant indicates on a 6-point scale the

frequency or probability of occurrence of each of a series of statements about a particular target person (friend). This scale was chosen for its consistent reliability and validity and also because the present study was a replication and extension of Wright (1991) where the ADF was used. The ADF includes the following subscales, each consisting of five items: (1) Voluntary Interdependence (unconstrained or nonobligatory interaction); (2) Person-qua-person (a personalized interest in and concern for one's target person); (3) Ego Support Value (the degree to which friend is regarded as encouraging and reassuring); (4) Self-Affirmation Value (the degree to which friend encourages highly valued self attributes); (5) Stimulation Value (the degree to which friend is interesting and fosters knowledge expansion); (6) Utility Value (the degree to which friend uses time/resources to help participant meet goals); (7) Security Value (the degree to which the friendship is secure and trustworthy); (8) Exclusiveness (the degree to which the participant regards the relationship with the friend as strictly dyadic); (9) Permanence (the degree to which the participant regards the relationship with the friend to be permanently binding); (10) Salience of Emotional Expression (the degree to which participant regards positive affect as essential to the relationship); (11) Degree of Social Regulation (the extent to which the relationship is influenced by social norms and expectations); (12) Maintenance Difficulty (an index of tension or strain in the relationship; and (13) General Favorability (a measure of the participant's tendency to respond to his or her friend in a globally favorable or unfavorable manner).

In addition, Wright (1985) considers Voluntary Interdependence and Person-qua-person to be measures of relationship strength, whereas Utility Value, Stimulation Value, Ego Support Value, Self-Affirmation Value, and Security Value

are classified as Interpersonal Rewards available in the relationship. Furthermore, the ADF purportedly differentiates among types or kinds of relationships along the dimensions of Exclusiveness, Permanence, Salience of Emotional Expression, and Degree of Social Regulation.

Test-retest correlations for the ADF subscales consistently center around and above .85 for most scales, with some scales for male participants dipping to .72. Correlations are as follows with those for women listed first: Voluntary Interdependence ($r = .97$, $r = .93$); Person-qua-person ($r = .96$, $r = .94$); Utility Value ($r = .94$, $r = .89$); Stimulation Value ($r = .88$, $r = .85$); Ego Support Value ($r = .94$, $r = .90$); Self-Affirmation Value ($r = .92$, $r = .92$); Security Value ($r = .89$, $r = .79$); Maintenance Difficulty ($r = .84$, $r = .72$); Exclusiveness ($r = .96$, $r = .94$); Permanence ($r = .93$, $r = .85$); Degree of Social Regulation ($r = .83$, $r = .78$); Salience of Emotional Expression ($r = .89$, $r = .87$); General Favorability ($r = .96$, $r = .94$) (Wright, 1985). Cronbach's coefficient alpha across various samples range from .72 to .94. Validity analyses using vignette studies support the construct validity of the basic scales (Wright, 1991).

The Friendship Scale

The Friendship Scale (FS; Burdette & Gaia, 1993; Carpenter & Jones, 1983; Gaia & Burdette, 1993) was used to obtain the participants' rating of his/her best same-sex friend on the global dimension of friendship. The FS requires participants to rate on a 5-point scale the degree to which her or his specified friend possesses each of the 40 dimensions (e.g. is affectionate, is easy to talk to), with 5 indicating a greater amount of the characteristic described. Coefficient alpha (.97) and the mean inter-item correlation ($r = .46$) demonstrate adequate levels of internal consistency (Carpenter & Jones, 1983).

The Bem Sex Role Inventory

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) yields scores for femininity defined as the extent to which a person endorses "feminine" personality characteristics; masculinity defined as the extent to which a person endorses "masculine" personality characteristics; and a neutral category with items determined to be neither masculine or feminine. The feminine-masculine distinction here is similar to the "communal" vs. "agentic" role division which was first described by Bakan (1966). Participants indicate using a 7-point response format the extent to which they endorse each of the 20 masculine, 20 feminine, and 20 neutral characteristics. The long-form scoring procedure was used which entails the summation of each participant's responses to the feminine items and to the masculine items. The scores were then divided by 20 to yield the mean per item (Wright & Scanlon, 1991). Scores can be computed for masculinity, femininity and also a social desirability score can be calculated using undesirable and neutral items, which indicates the extent to which a person describes oneself in a socially desirable direction on items that are neutral with respect to sex. According to the author, these scores are statistically independent of one another and show high stability over the course of time (Bem, 1974).

For internal consistency, coefficient alpha was computed for each scale, including social desirability. Bem (1974) reported that such scores were highly reliable (Masculinity $\alpha = .86$; Femininity $\alpha = .81$; Social Desirability $\alpha = .73$). Studies of reliability report test-retest reliability correlations for scores indicating masculinity to be .90, for femininity .90, for androgyny .93, and for social desirability .89. Scores were reliable over a four-week period (Bem, 1974). Analyses showed that masculinity and femininity scales are empirically

independent in two normative samples (#1: women $r = -.14$; men $r = .11$; #2: women $r = -.07$; women $r = -.02$). Further analyses showed that, as expected, both masculinity (men $r = .38$, women $r = .19$) and femininity (men $r = .28$, women $r = .22$) scores were correlated with social desirability, whereas correlations between the social desirability scores and androgyny scores were near zero (men $r = .08$, women $r = .04$). This indicates that the androgyny scores are not contaminated with socially desirable responses (Bem, 1974).

The Personal Attribute Questionnaire

The Personal Attribute Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence, et al., 1974) is another measure of femininity and masculinity where participants indicate the degree to which they possess each of the 55 characteristics listed. Participants are often asked to complete the PAQ twice, once rating themselves on a 5-point scale with bipolar items (Self Scale), and then completing a similar form with a 5-point scale consisting of only one pole from the Self Scale on which they are to rate the typical man or woman (Stereotype Scale). On this scale, poles run from an extreme of "much more characteristic of the male" to "much more characteristic of the female". Because of limited time, the short form of the PAQ is often used which consists of 24 items selected from the original 55. A strong correlation has been found between the full PAQ form and the short form ($r = .92$) on the total self score (Spence, et al., 1974)

To measure internal consistency, alpha coefficients were computed. Coefficients for the Self Scale were .73 for men and .91 for women, and .91 and .90 for the Stereotype Scale. Test-retest data on the Total Self Scale showed correlations of .80 and .91 for men and women, respectively. The values for the self-subcales varied from .65 to .91 (Spence, et al., 1974).

Intimacy and Activity Orientation

In order to assess intimacy vs. activity orientations, 20 items were generated falling into each of the two categories. For example, intimacy items included "talk about family issues or concerns", whereas activity items included "walk, hike or jog together". Next, items were evaluated for category placement by asking 10 male and female graduate students to independently categorize each of the 20 items into the two classifications. These 20 items considered by the majority to represent either "intimate" or "activity" orientation were selected and these items were pilot tested in a study for which respondents were asked to rate the frequency with which men and women experienced such interactions with their same- and other-sex best friend. Twenty-five female and male graduate students from the psychology and management departments were used in the pilot study. Items were selected for the final version of this instrument on the basis of the frequency with which participants reported engaging in the particular pattern. That is, if all participants did not report engaging in a specific exchange at least three times with their friend, the category was eliminated. These procedures were used in an effort to eliminate intimacy or activity items in which one gender or the other was more likely to engage.

In the present study, respondents were instructed to indicate on 14 items (7 intimacy oriented, 7 activity oriented) using a 5-point scale the frequency with which they engage in the pattern described on the final list with their best same-sex friend. Cronbach's alpha coefficient was calculated to determine the internal consistency of the intimacy and activity scale, consistently demonstrating reliability. For the intimacy scale, coefficient alpha was .86 for participants responding to same-sex friends, .88 for other-sex friends; for activity ratings in

response to same-sex friends, .78; and for other-sex, .86. The mean inter-item correlation also shows consistency (same-sex intimacy and activity $r > .33$; other-sex $r = .47$).

Chapter III

RESULTS

Results were analyzed using series of 2 (gender) x 4 (gender role orientation) analysis of variance (ANOVA's) with gender and gender role orientation as independent variables and each friendship variable as a dependent measure. Many significant main effects were found for gender and gender role orientation. In addition, two interactions were discovered between these variables. To examine the main effects, responses were subjected to a series of post hoc comparisons. Specifically, one-way analysis of variance was used to investigate significant effects and interactions. The following is a more detailed description of the results yielded by responses to the Acquaintance Description Form, the Friendship Scale and the Intimacy and Activity Scale in relation to gender and gender role orientation.

Gender Role Categorization

The PAQ and the BSRI were measured for consistency, showing a strong relationship (femininity, $r = .60$; masculinity, $r = .59$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, Chi Square Analyses demonstrated that the percentage of respondents categorized into four types for both the PAQ and BSRI were similar ($\chi^2 = 533$, $p < .0001$). Therefore, for simplicity, results are reported only for the BSRI.

Participant's gender role classification was determined using the common procedure of categorizing gender role orientation based on median masculinity and femininity scores yielded by ratings on the Bem Sex Role Inventory. In this study, median scores were 4.95 for masculinity and 4.75 for femininity. The original scores reported for femininity and masculinity by Bem (1981) were 4.9

and 4.95 respectively. Wright and Scanlon (1991) found similar medians. Participants with scores above the median on masculinity and below the median on femininity were classified as masculine; those with scores above the median on femininity and below on masculinity were classified as feminine; those scoring above the median on both were categorized as androgynous, and those scoring below the median on both were classified as undifferentiated.

The approximate percentage of male participants falling into each gender role category was as follows: sex typed (masculine) , 38.5%; other-sex typed (feminine), 16.4%; androgynous, 22.1%; undifferentiated, 20.5%. The distribution of gender role orientation for women was sex typed (feminine), 32.7%; other-sex typed (masculine), 16.4%; androgynous 28.5%, undifferentiated, 18.8%. Overall, all participants were classified into the following categories: masculine, 27.7%; feminine, 26.0%; androgynous, 26.0%; undifferentiated, 20.4% (Due to rounding error and missing values, percentages do not add exactly to 100%).

Interpreting Main Effects and Interactions

Acquaintance Description Form

Stimulation Value

Results indicated a main effect for gender whereby women ($M=12.0$) reported their friends were more interesting and stimulating than did men ($M=11.1$), $F(1,251)=4.38$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.02$). Furthermore, a main effect for gender role orientation was found on this variable such that androgynous women and men ($M=12.7$) indicated a higher level of stimulation value from their friends than either masculine ($M=11.2$) or undifferentiated ($M=10.9$) participants, $F(3,262)=3.65$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.04$) . These results can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Stimulation Value

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	11.0	11.1	12.0	10.5	11.1
Women	11.7	11.6	13.1	11.4	12.0
Column	11.2 _b	11.5 _{ab}	12.7 _a	10.9 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Utility Value

Results for this variable are shown in Table 2. As can be seen, a main effect for gender indicated that women ($M=18.6$) reported that their friends more often used their time to help meet the goals and execute the plans of the participant than did men ($M=16.6$), $F(1,262)=13.3$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.05$). A main effect for gender role orientation was also found, with androgynous ($M=18.7$) and feminine individuals ($M=18.3$) indicating higher ratings on this variable than did those classified as undifferentiated ($M=16.4$), $F(3,262)=3$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.03$).

Self-Affirmation Value

Results indicated a significant main effect for gender such that women ($M=19.1$) reported that their friends encouraged highly valued self-attributes in them to a significantly greater degree than did men ($M=16.5$), $F(1,258)=27.3$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.09$). Also, a main effect was found for gender role orientation

Table 2

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Utility Value

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	16.9	16.2	17.3	15.4	16.6
Women	17.2	19.0	19.6	17.3	18.6
Column	17.0 _{ab}	18.3 _a	18.7 _a	16.4 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

whereby androgynous ($M=19.2$) and feminine participants ($M=18.5$) both indicated higher levels of this variable with friends than did their undifferentiated counterparts ($M=16.7$). Androgynous women and men also reported higher ratings of friends on self-affirmation value than did those classified as masculine ($M=17.3$), $F(3,258)=4.2$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.04$). These results can be seen in Table 3.

Security Value

As can be seen in Table 4, results indicated main effects for gender and gender role orientation on this variable. For gender, women ($M=13.6$) reported a significantly higher level of security and trustworthiness with friends than did their male counterparts ($M=12.0$), $F(1,259)=14.1$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.05$). The main effect for gender role orientation was demonstrated by feminine ($M=13.9$) respondents reporting a significantly greater degree of security with friends than undifferentiated participants ($M=11.7$), $F(3,259)=3.65$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.04$). Furthermore, a significant interaction was found $F(3,259)=2.63$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.03$)

Table 3

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Self-Affirmation Value

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	16.8	15.5	17.5	15.7	16.5
Women	18.1	19.5	20.1	17.5	19.1
Column	17.3 _{bc}	18.5 _{ac}	19.2 _a	16.7 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Table 4

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Security Value

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	12.9	11.8	11.9	10.4	12.0
Women	12.8	14.7	13.2	12.8	13.6
Column	12.9 _{ab}	13.9 _a	12.8 _{ab}	11.7 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

as can be seen in Figure 4.1. Post hoc analyses showed that feminine, or sex-typed women ($M=14.7$) indicated higher ratings of friends than did feminine, or other-sex typed men ($M=11.8$), $F(1,69)=13.6, p < .05$, and undifferentiated men ($M=11.8$), $F(1,50)=7.40, p < .05$. Furthermore, within men, masculine participants ($M=12.9$) reported significantly higher levels of security in their friendships than did their undifferentiated counterparts ($M=10.4$), $F(3,114)=3.23, p < .05$.

Ego-Support Value

Results demonstrated a main effect for gender whereby women ($M=19.2$) indicated their friends to be significantly more encouraging and reassuring than did men ($M=16.6$), $F(1,255)=34.7, p < .05, (\eta^2=0.11)$. A significant main effect for

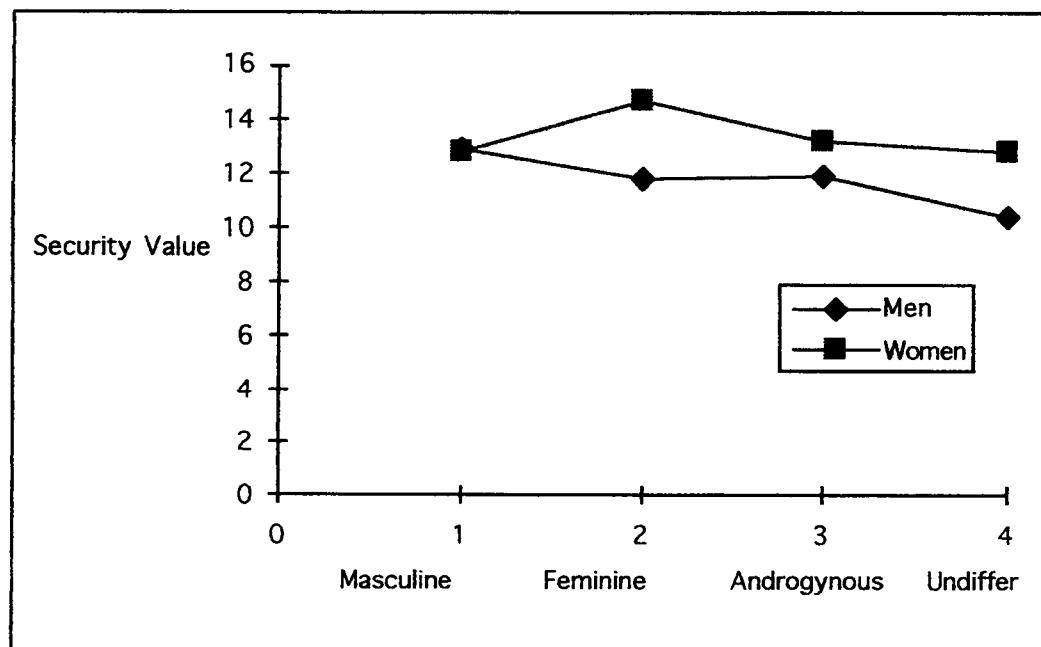


Figure 4.1. Interaction: Gender x GRO.

gender role orientation was also found, with androgynous ($\bar{M}=19.0$) and feminine ($\bar{M}=19.1$) participants reporting higher ratings of friends than those classified as undifferentiated ($\bar{M}=16.2$), $F(3.255)=8.3$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.08$). In addition, feminine individuals reported significantly more encouragement from friends than did masculine ones. Table 5 shows these results.

Voluntary Interdependence

As can be seen in Table 6, results indicated a main effect for gender only. Women ($\bar{M}=17.8$) reported higher levels of nonobligatory interaction than did men ($\bar{M}=15.9$), $F(1,255)=10.7$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.04$).

Person-Qua-Person

On this variable, a main effect was found for both gender and gender role orientation as is shown in Table 7. For gender, women ($\bar{M}=19.0$) indicated more of a personalized concern for their friends than did men ($\bar{M}=17.1$), $F(1,256)=13.6$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.05$). The main effect for gender role orientation was demonstrated

Table 5

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Ego-Support Value

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	16.8	16.2	17.6	15.5	22.9
Women	18.9	20.3	19.8	16.8	23.0
Column	23.9 _c	21.3 _a	23.9 _{ac}	22.5 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Table 6

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Voluntary Interdependence

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	16.3	14.9	17.2	14.9	15.9
Women	16.9	18.2	18.3	16.9	17.8
Column	16.5	17.3	17.9	16.0	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Table 7

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Person-Qua-Person

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	17.8	17.0	17.7	15.1	17.1
Women	17.9	19.6	20.1	17.4	19.0
Column	17.9 _{ab}	18.9 _a	19.1 _a	16.4 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

with androgynous ($\underline{M}=19.1$) and feminine ($\underline{M}=18.9$) participants yielding higher ratings than those classified as undifferentiated ($\underline{M}=16.4$), $\underline{F}(3,256)=5.6$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.06$).

Maintenance Difficulty

A main effect was found on this variable for gender role orientation whereby androgynous men and women ($\underline{M}=6.7$) indicated a greater degree of tension or strain in the friendship than feminine individuals ($\underline{M}=6.3$), $\underline{F}(3,252)=5.6$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.04$). Moreover, a significant interaction $\underline{F}(3,252)=4.23$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.05$) was found between gender and gender role orientation on this variable with feminine, or other-sex typed men ($\underline{M}=9.0$) reporting more difficulty maintaining their friendships than feminine, or sex-typed women ($\underline{M}=5.2$), $\underline{F}(1,71)=16.5$, $p < .05$. Similarly, within gender, feminine men ($\underline{M}=9.0$) reported a greater level of this variable than masculine men ($\underline{M}=6.2$), $\underline{F}(3,107)=3.32$, $p < .05$. Within women, those classified as undifferentiated ($\underline{M}=8.6$) reported more maintenance difficulty than their feminine, or sex-typed counterparts ($\underline{M}=5.2$), $\underline{F}(3,145)=4.24$, $p < .05$. These results are shown in Table 8, whereas Figure 8.1 illustrates the significant interaction.

Exclusiveness

No significant differences were found on Exclusiveness as is shown in Table 9.

Permanence

As can be seen in Table 10, a main effect for gender role orientation was found on this variables with androgynous individuals ($\underline{M}=12.2$) rating their friendships as more permanently binding than both masculine ($\underline{M}=10.6$) and feminine participants ($\underline{M}=11.5$), $\underline{F}(3,137)=4.24$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.06$).

Table 8

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Maintenance Difficulty

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	6.20	9.00	7.00	8.70	7.40
Women	7.60	5.20	6.40	8.60	6.60
Column	6.70 _{ab}	6.30 _b	6.70 _a	8.60 _{ab}	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

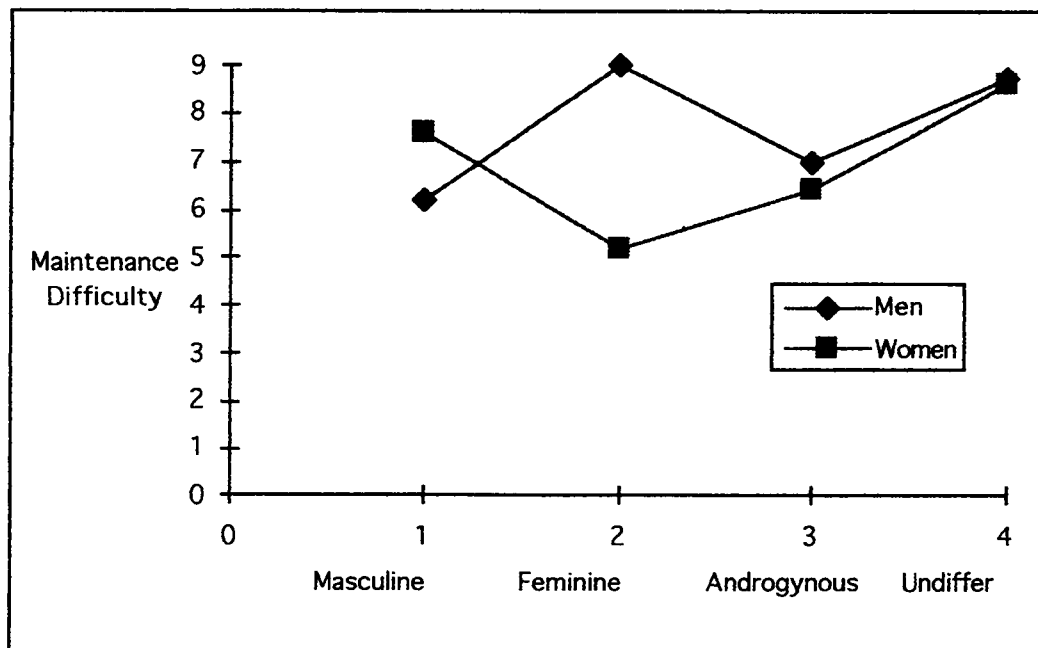


Figure 8.1. Interaction: Gender x GRO.

Table 9

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Exclusiveness

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	7.60	8.00	8.40	7.10	7.70
Women	8.00	6.90	9.00	8.70	8.10
Column	7.70	7.20	8.80	7.90	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Table 10

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Permanence

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	10.5	10.9	13.1	11.5	11.3
Women	10.8	11.7	13.3	12.6	12.1
Column	10.6 _b	11.5 _b	12.2 _a	12.1 _{ab}	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Social Regulation

A significant main effect was found for gender role orientation whereby undifferentiated participants ($M=8.3$) rated their friendships as being more influenced by social norms and expectations than either masculine ($M=6.1$) or feminine individuals ($M=5.6$), $F(3, 227)=4.68$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.06$). These results are shown in Table 11.

Salience of Emotional Expression

Table 12 shows the results on this variable. A significant main effect for gender was found with women ($M=12.1$) indicating that they regard positive affect as essential to the friendship to a significantly greater degree than do men ($M=9.8$), $F(1,242)=31.8$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.10$). For gender role orientation, a significant main effect was also found with androgynous men and women ($M=13.1$) reporting higher ratings than masculine ($M=10.3$) feminine ($M=10.6$), and undifferentiated individuals ($M=10.5$), $F(3,242)=31.8$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.10$).

Table 11

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Social Regulation

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	6.00	6.20	6.50	7.30	6.40
Women	6.20	5.40	6.80	9.10	6.70
Column	6.10 _b	5.60 _b	6.60 _{ab}	8.30 _a	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Table 12

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Salience of Emotional Expression

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	9.50	8.60	11.5	9.90	9.80
Women	11.8	11.4	13.9	11.0	12.1
Column	10.3 _b	10.6 _b	13.1 _a	10.5 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

General Favorability

Results indicated a significant main effect for gender and gender role orientation on this variable. Women ($M=14.4$) indicated significantly higher ratings of the tendency to respond to the friend in a globally favorable manner than did men ($M=12.9$), $F(1,263)=14.3$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.05$). For gender role orientation, androgynous ($M=14.4$) men and women reported higher ratings on this variable than did those classified as undifferentiated ($M=12.7$), $F(3,263)=2.79$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.03$). These results can be seen in Table 13.

The Friendship Scale

As can be seen in Table 14, significant main effects were found for both gender and gender role orientation on this variable. Women ($M=168.9$) gave significantly higher ratings of friends on this overall measure of friendship when compared to men ($M=156.3$), $F(1,255)=19.6$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.06$). Furthermore,

Table 13

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

General Favorability

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	13.3	12.6	13.0	12.2	12.9
Women	14.0	14.5	15.3	13.2	14.4
Column	13.5 _{ab}	14.0 _{ab}	14.4 _a	12.7 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Table 14

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Friendship Scale

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	154.5	152.8	169.2	148.0	156.3
Women	164.1	171.3	178.0	155.0	168.9
Column	158.1 _{bc}	166.3 _{ac}	174.7 _a	151.8 _b	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

androgynous individuals ($M=174.7$) rated friends higher than did either masculine ($M=158.1$) or undifferentiated participants ($M=151.8$). Similarly, those classified as feminine gave higher ratings to friends than did their undifferentiated counterparts ($M=151.8$), $F(3,255)=14.0$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.13$).

The Intimacy and Activity Scale

Intimacy

Results are shown in Table 15. A significant main effect was indicated for gender and gender role orientation on the variable of intimacy. Women ($M=30.2$) gave significantly higher ratings to friends than did their male counterparts ($M=24.8$), $F(1,268)=72.8$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.20$). Moreover, masculine individuals ($M=25.8$) reported significantly lower ratings of the frequency with which they engage in intimacy with their same-sex friends than did either androgynous ($M=29.3$) or feminine participants ($M=29.1$), $F(3,268)=3.0$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.02$).

Table 15

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Same-Sex Intimacy

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	24.1	20.6	22.7	22.6	24.8
Women	23.6	21.5	24.6	22.3	30.2
Column	25.8 _b	29.1 _a	29.3 _a	27.3 _{ab}	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Activity

Results indicated a significant main effect for gender role orientation on this variable whereby androgynous ($M=23.9$) and masculine ($M=23.9$) participants reported that they participated in a greater degree of activity-oriented behaviors with their same-sex friends than did their feminine counterparts ($M=21.3$), $F(3,270)=4.37$, $p < .05$, ($\eta^2=0.05$). These results can be seen in Table 16.

Table 16

Main Effect Means: Gender and Gender Role Orientation

Same-Sex Activity

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Undifferentiated	
Mean					Row
Men	24.4	24.2	26.1	24.7	22.9
Women	28.1	30.8	31.2	29.5	23.0
Column	23.9 _a	21.3 _b	23.9 _a	22.5 _{ab}	

Note: Means in a given row not having the same subscript differ significantly ($p < .05$) according to the Tukey Multiple Range Test.

Chapter IV

DISCUSSION

Ratings of Friends and Gender

In summary, results indicated a differential pattern for ratings of friends associated with gender. Women rated their friendships with other women as more rewarding and supportive than men rated their friendships with other men. On 11 out of 16, or 68.8% of the variables measured, women gave their female friends significantly higher ratings (i. e. more positive) than did men on the same variables. These findings are similar to Wright and Scanlon (1991), Duck & Wright (1993), and others (Walker, 1994; Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977; Williams, 1985) who have reported that the same-sex friendships of women are stronger, more intimate and offer greater rewards when compared to the same-sex friendships of men.

Specifically, variables measured by the Acquaintance Description Form, such as Stimulation Value, Utility Value, Self-Affirmation Value, Ego-Support Value, and Security Value are all related to the interpersonal rewards one derives from a relationship. On all of such variables, women gave their friends significantly higher ratings than did men. Furthermore, women also rated friends higher on Voluntary Interdependence and Person-Qua-Person, two measures of relationship strength. The variable of General Favorability, or globally favorable responsiveness, was another variable on which women yielded higher ratings. This variable is similar to the Friendship Scale, which assesses the overall

impression one has of a friend. Women also yielded higher ratings on the Friendship Scale.

No significant differences were found on three of four variables thought to differentiate among relationship types, such as friendships vs. romantic relationships, but women did rate their friendships as higher on the fourth of such variables, Salience of Emotional Expression, or the degree to which the participant regards positive affect as essential to the relationship. Overall, differences related to gender suggest that women have friendships characterized by more strength and interpersonal rewards as measured by the Acquaintance Description Form and Friendship Scale, when compared to those of men.

Although a considerable amount of research characterizes the same-sex friendships of women as more intimate than men's, while claiming that men's friendships tend to be centered more on instrumentality or activity (Aries & Johnson, 1983; Aukett, et al., 1988; Derlega, et al., 1989), most of these studies have failed to include an instrument developed to assess this dichotomy directly. In the present study, a measure was included to examine the popular assumption ascribing gender differences in friendship to gender differences in activity and intimacy orientation. Findings here showed that, contrary to previous suggestions, the difference between the frequency with which men and women participate in activities in their same-sex friendships was not significant. However, on the measure of intimacy used in this study, women reported significantly more intimacy in their friendships than their male counterparts, as expected.

Ratings of Friends and Gender Role Orientation

A consistent pattern was found among participants concerning ratings of friends and gender role orientation. In almost every case where significant differences existed between gender role groups, the more favorable rating was observed for either the androgynous or feminine participants. Specifically, not once did women and men categorized as undifferentiated report a higher rating on positive characteristics than those classified as androgynous or feminine. In fact, in only one case did masculine individuals report significantly higher ratings than another type. This occurred on the variable of same-sex activity, whereby masculine women and men indicated a greater frequency of instrumental behaviors than their feminine counterparts. But, overall, the more common pattern was for androgynous and feminine individuals to rate their friends as higher than either masculine or undifferentiated participants. An alternative perspective of the results is that the undifferentiated group consistently offered lower ratings than the other types on positive friendship variables. If this group were removed from analyses, the number of main effects due to gender role orientation would be reduced from 26 to 11.

Androgynous individuals, who endorsed both masculine and feminine characteristics, consistently reported more rewards from their friendships than those classified as masculine or undifferentiated. When compared to the masculine group, androgynous persons rated their friends higher on two interpersonal rewards, Permanence, Salience of Emotional Expression, the Friendship Scale and intimacy. Similarly, undifferentiated participants offered significantly lower ratings of friends than androgynous respondents on four of five reward variables, General Favorability, the Friendship Scale, Salience of

Emotional Expression and a measure of relationship strength. Feminine individuals, however, seemed to have more in common with those who were classified as androgynous, and only rated friends as lower than this group on four variables: Permanence, Salience of Emotional Expression, Maintenance Difficulty, and activity-orientation. It appeared that androgynous and feminine participants possessed similar attributes since they both rated friends higher than undifferentiated individuals on similar variables, including three rewards, a measure of relationship strength and the Friendship Scale.

Undifferentiated men and women reported significantly higher ratings than masculine and feminine participants on the variables of Maintenance Difficulty and Social Regulation, implying a greater amount of difficulty and social constraints involved in maintaining their friendships. Overall, this category of men and women seemed to be more likely to possess a lower rating than other groups if there was a significant difference.

On the measure of intimacy and activity frequency specifically created for use in this study, results followed a pattern similar to the ones identified above. On both intimacy and activity, androgynous women yielded significantly higher scores than at least one other gender role group. On activity, this group and the masculine group scored higher than feminine participants; on intimacy, both androgynous and feminine individuals scored higher than those classified as masculine. This finding supports the common belief that masculinity is associated with activity orientation whereas femininity is related to expressiveness or intimacy.

Post hoc comparisons used to interpret the interaction on the variable of Maintenance Difficulty indicated that it is more difficult for other-sex typed

(feminine) men to maintain their friendships when compared to sex-typed (masculine) men. Furthermore, it was found that other-sex typed (feminine) men experienced more difficulty in the maintenance of their friendships than did sex-typed (feminine) women. Similarly, sex-typed (feminine) women had a lesser degree of tension and strain in the friendship than did those women classified as undifferentiated.

On the variable of Security Value, results showed a pattern of responses related to a significant interaction of gender and gender role orientation. For instance, within gender analyses indicated that sex-typed, or masculine men reported more of a sense of security and trustworthiness in their friend than did their undifferentiated counterparts. Also, both feminine (sex-typed) and undifferentiated women gave significantly higher ratings on this variable than did men in these categories.

These results raise particular questions about the association among gender, gender role orientation and the friendship variables measured by the instruments administered. For instance, what is it about the friendships of women that yield higher ratings on friendship variables? And, what proportion, if any, of these gender differences can be explained by conceptualizing of gender in the form of gender role orientation?

General Discussion

Do women actually have more supportive and rewarding friendships than men? This question is continually addressed in the research regarding gender and friendship. In the present study, at least, it is acknowledged that women, when compared to men, reported a higher rate of security, rewards, strength, support,

and emotional expression in their same-sex friendships. Therefore, one interpretation of the present findings is that women do have friendships that can be characterized by more intimacy, support, and rewards when compared to those of men.

A question that remains is "Why?" The process of socialization may be responsible for how these differences develop. From birth, male and female children experience differing expectations as to what roles each must play in society. It has been suggested, that over a lifetime, women are encouraged to be emotionally expressive, nurturing, and intimate, whereas men are expected to be emotionally strong, restrictive and non-expressive (Williams, 1985). Stereotypes are prevalent characterizing the masculine male, or feminine female. Social pressures influence men and women to conform to these stereotypes in order to be accepted in many arenas. Socialization, then, could determine how men and women interact in their friendships. It is frequently thought that boys are socialized to be more emotionally guarded, competitive (Fox et al, 1985; Lewis, 1978) and homophobic in relationships (Derlega, et al., 1989; Fox et al., 1985; Lewis, 1978), whereas young girls are encouraged to be more intimate, community oriented and nurturing (Booth, 1972).

Although these ideas may explain how women and men assume and conform to what have been deemed socially appropriate roles, they do not actually address the question of at hand. That is, why is it that men and women have differential perceptions of intimacy, and how could personality in the form of gender role orientation be responsible? Some alternatives include the notion that the conversations between male friends and female friends are similar in content and intimacy, but because of social norms, women and men find different

aspects of the conversation to be more memorable. For example, men remember more about sports or hobbies, while women remember more about emotional content. Because of social stereotypes, men may be more reluctant than women to report personal and intimate elements of same-sex friendships to experimenters. It is also proposed that men can talk as intimately as can women, yet, because of role expectations, choose not to do so (Winstead, 1986). Wood (in press) suggests another stimulating idea. Perhaps society possesses a limited view of the meaning of intimacy and caring, and feminine ways of expressing closeness have been interpreted as closeness itself, rather than ways of expressing closeness. Therefore, men's instrumental expressions are not considered intimate. It is also plausible that because of such variations, men and women may actually define intimacy differently. Furthermore, since women have historically assumed the responsibility for intimacy and nurturance in relationships, this could explain why women report more intimacy and support in their friendships and other relationships than do men (McHugh, et al., 1986).

Because it is often speculated that gender differences are due either directly or indirectly to the process of socialization, studies of friendship have investigated variations related to gender role orientation. Some theorists assert that since gender roles are largely socially constructed, variations between men's and women's friendships may be more attributable to gender roles than to gender itself (Hyde, 1986). To investigate this hypothesis, the present study was designed to assess the possible influence of individuals' gender role orientation on their same-sex friendships.

Sandra Bem (1974, 1975) suggested that androgynous individuals, who are comfortable expressing either expressive (feminine) or instrumental

(masculine) characteristics, should be the most adaptable and adjusted of all sex role categories. In a series of studies Bem (1975; Bem & Lenney, 1976) found that it is androgynous women and men who are most at ease in performing behaviors labeled as "cross-sex", or tasks that are considered most appropriate for the other sex. Persons categorized as androgynous were able to demonstrate masculine, or instrumental behaviors when needed, and more feminine, or intimacy oriented characteristics if such were appropriate for the situation. This concept of androgyny helps in understanding some findings of the present study. When rating friends on variables related to friendship, androgynous individuals reported a significantly higher level of interpersonal rewards, Salience of Emotional expression, and overall favorable impression of friends in their friendships when compared to the masculine and undifferentiated categories. Although it appeared that feminine participants were more similar to those in the androgynous category, the former still gave significantly lower ratings of friends on variables related to Permanence, Salience of Emotional Expression and activity when the two groups were compared. According to Bem's theory of androgyny, the results of this study conform to expectations. Still, would Bem have predicted that feminine persons also reported more significantly higher ratings than the other types? In addition, why is it that though androgynous participants reported more positive ratings than at least one other gender role type on almost all variables, they still reported greater difficulty in maintaining their friendships than their feminine counterparts?

The present study suggested that in the same-sex friendships of men and women, there are variations regarding gender role orientation that might illuminate the differences between women and men in friendship. Bem (1974)

challenged the idea that sex-typed, or those people who conform to socially appropriate gender roles, experience better psychological adjustment. In the present study, it is not always sex-typed individuals who have the most satisfying friendships, which is what Bem would have predicted. Rather, it is androgynous individuals, who have access to both characteristics considered feminine (expressive) and masculine (instrumental) in social situations who reported more support and intimacy in their friendships when compared to the other three types. Still, in many instances those classified as feminine reported more rewarding friendships than the masculine or undifferentiated participants. It is suggested, then, that although in many instances androgynous respondents reported higher ratings than the other types, there seems to be a link between femininity and higher ratings on friendship variables. It is proposed that femininity in itself is not responsible for higher ratings, since feminine men often yield lower ratings than masculine men, but that the relationship between gender and femininity is more complex. That is, higher ratings of friends tend to depend on the combination of femininity and gender. It appeared that when women highly endorsed feminine characteristics they reported more security and less difficulty in maintaining the friendship, when compared to feminine men.

When examining the interaction between gender and role orientation on the variable of Security Value, sex-typed, or feminine women reported more of a sense of trustworthiness in their friend than did feminine, or other-sex typed men. On Maintenance Difficulty, a variable on which a higher score indicates more tension and strain in the friendship, other-sex typed, or feminine men indicated more difficulty than did sex-typed women, as would be expected. In addition, other-sex typed (feminine) men gave higher scores on this variable to their friends

than did traditional men. Such results point to the idea that those who cling to traditional roles may experience more security and less tension than those who endorse characteristics not deemed socially appropriate. This leads one to believe that though Bem's (1974, 1975) theory of androgyny is helpful in explaining some results of this study, it does not address the finding that those who assume gender-appropriate sex roles experienced highly intimate and rewarding friendships. Therefore, it is speculated that regardless of the gradual reconstruction of gender roles, society still rewards those people who, to some extent, conform to gender stereotypes.

As mentioned before, results from the Intimacy and Activity Scale also lead one to believe that masculinity is related to activity or instrumental behaviors, whereas femininity is associated with intimacy. As was expected, masculine men and women alike reported a higher frequency of activity-oriented behaviors than did those categorized as feminine. Conversely, feminine participants indicated that they experienced more intimacy with their same-sex friends than did their masculine counterparts, as the literature on friendship would predict. Androgynous persons also reported higher rates of activity than feminine ones, and higher rates of intimacy than masculine persons. Androgyny, it seems, allowed individuals to transcend stereotypical behaviors and enjoy the benefits of both expressive and instrumental orientations.

As stated, the undifferentiated group of individuals consistently reported lower ratings than other role types on the friendship variables. Such a finding is not unique to this study. For instance, Small, Gross, Erdwins and Gessner (1979) reported similar findings regarding the undifferentiated category. Specifically, Small, et al. (1979) found that this group of women and men scored significantly

lower than all others on the Liking and Loving Scale (Rubin, 1970) when rating best same-sex friends. Similarly, Kelly and Worrell (1977) have remarked about the limitations of the undifferentiated group and Bem (1977) has commented that differences between the undifferentiated group and the other gender role types may warrant its study as a entity in itself. In 14 out of 26 cases or 53.8% of the time when significant differences were found for gender role orientation, it was either the androgynous or feminine respondents reported higher ratings of friends than the undifferentiated group. It is proposed that these results may be linked to the similarity (Aries & Johnson, 1983) or commonality (Fox, et al., 1985) component of friendship thought to be crucial to forming ties. Since the undifferentiated group contains the smallest number (~19.9%) of respondents than all other groups, perhaps it is more difficult for them to find others who are similar to them in attitudes and values. The findings of this study suggested that the experience of friendship for this group is qualitatively different than that of the remaining categories and issues related to self-esteem and role identity should be explored.

Caution should be used in the interpretation of results regarding the undifferentiated group since this gender role type reported lower scores (14 times) than another type almost as many times as the androgynous group indicated significantly higher scores than other types (18 times). As mentioned earlier, the removal of this category from analyses would result in the absence of approximately half of the significant differences found. While the androgynous group may have reported more satisfying friendships than other types overall, at the same time, undifferentiated individuals indicated less rewarding and strong relationships than any other type. This may be further evidence that

undifferentiated people tend to have a different experience of friendship when compared to the other three gender role categories.

It is also suggested that caution be used in the interpretation of main effects since the highest amount of variance accounted for by the independent variables was 20%. For the main effect of gender, η^2 values ranged from .02 to .20, whereas the range of η^2 for the effect of gender role orientation was .02 to .13. In 6 out of 11, or 55% of the instances where main effects were found for both independent variables, the effect for gender accounted for the higher amount of variance explained. In fact, on the dependent variable of same-sex intimacy, gender accounted for 20% of the variance, whereas gender role orientation only accounted for 2%. On the Friendship Scale, however, gender role explained 13% of the variance, with gender only offering 6%. Specifically, gender accounted for more variance than gender role orientation on four of the five ADF variables thought to measure the interpersonal rewards in a friendship, as well as General Favorability and intimacy. Gender role orientation, though, explained more variance than gender on the two ADF variables measuring relationship strength, as well as the Friendship Scale. On Salience of Emotional Expression, both independent variables accounted for 10% of the variance. These results suggested that although the independent variables explain only a small amount of variance in the responses in this study, gender is perhaps linked to the rewards one derives from a friendship and intimate interactions, whereas gender role orientation may be connected to how strong the relationship tends to be. Furthermore, the variance in the value of positive affect in the friendship (Salience of Emotional Expression) is equally accounted for by both one's gender and gender role orientation.

The amount of variance accounted for by the interaction of gender and gender role orientation is relatively small as well. For the ADF variable of Security Value, three percent of the variance is explained by the interaction, whereas the interaction accounts for five percent of the variance on the ADF variable of Maintenance Difficulty.

Limitations and Implications for Future Research

This study contains several limitations that must be addressed. First, a sample of college students may produce a bias in that the friendships of this sample are likely to be unique. That is, students may label someone a "friend" even if they have only been acquainted for a month. Therefore, the length of the friendship may have influenced what participants reported. However, if the purpose is to generalize to the friendships of college students, this sample is appropriate. Second, another limitation lies in the fact that in this study only one member of a friendship dyad was examined. It would be important to discover whether or not the "best friend" that the participant had in mind when responding to these scales would consider the participant a "best friend" as well.

There are a variety of ways this study could be strengthened. Longitudinal studies would avail the opportunity to observe friendships on more than one occasion. Such methods could afford the researcher a chance to identify variations due to the duration of relationships and stages in friendship development. Another productive route for future research could include the addition of interviews or videotapes of actual friendship interactions. The identification of themes indicated by participants in interviews could open the researcher to new ideas about friendship. Using friendship dyads in videotapes and interviews would also permit the experimenter to observe and interpret body

language data that is not available with pencil and paper methods. The investigation of cross-sex, in addition to same-sex friendships, could add to the study of dominance, hierarchy, and the influence of stereotypes that may mediate differences in these relationships. Knowledge of subordinate characteristics and dominant behaviors would be helpful in observing similarities and differences in same- and cross-sex friendship pairs. Understanding different aspects of not only how, but why roles have been differentially assigned to each gender may help to identify the differences in intimacy and instrumentality found in this study. Distinguishing between romantic and non-romantic relationships is another important concern.

The investigation of cross-cultural populations would be especially helpful in understanding the relationship of friends. For instance, Cohen, D'Heurle, and Widmark-Petersson (1980) found differences between Swedish and American children in that gender differences did not surface in the Swedish sample. Combining more qualitative methods with quantitative ones would lead to a much more well-rounded understanding of the friendships of men and women.

Summary

It is concluded that one consistent pattern associated with gender exists for ratings of friends. Specifically, women reported more intimate, supportive and emotionally expressive same-sex friendships than do men, consistent with research in this area. However, contrary to most research on the topic, no significant differences were found between men and women on the frequency with which they participate in activities. Interestingly, some of these differences mirror stereotypical differences between men and women, therefore, it is proposed

that these differences may be minimized if traditional sex-roles are minimized in the future (Aukett et al, 1988; Fox et al, 1985).

The pattern emerging from main effects of gender role orientation was a bit more complicated. In no cases did the undifferentiated group yield higher ratings of friends than the other three groups. Instead, it was most frequently the androgynous individuals who expressed significantly greater degree of rewards stemming from their friendships than those classified as masculine and undifferentiated. It must be noted, however, that the majority of the main effects was due to the undifferentiated category consistently reporting significantly lower scores than the other types. Still, only once did masculine persons rate their friends as significantly higher than another type; masculine women and men reported a greater frequency of activity than feminine participants, as was expected. Moreover, feminine and androgynous participants often gave similar ratings to friends. In only 4 out of 19 (21%) instances where androgynous persons scored higher than other groups was this rating in comparison to feminine participants. It is suggested that personality in the form of gender role orientation may play an important role in the relational dynamics within friendship, including interpersonal rewards, strength, overall friendship, and intimacy-activity oriented behaviors. Androgyny, it appears, allows both men and women to go beyond stereotypical behaviors by having comfortable access to feminine and masculine characteristics. A connection between femininity and higher ratings on the friendship variables measured in this study is proposed, since only once did masculine individuals report higher ratings than their feminine counterparts. It is also possible, as this study indicated, that in some cases the

interaction between gender and gender role orientation may account for some of the variance in friendship dynamics.

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