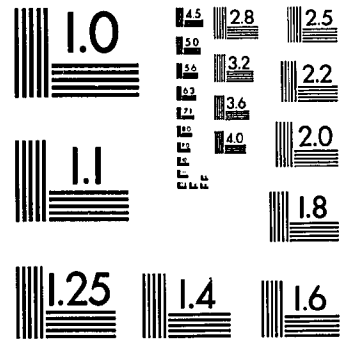
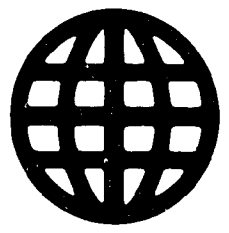


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**SAME-SEX PEER INTIMACY IN ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND THE
INDIVIDUATION OF THE YOUNG ADULT WOMAN**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1985

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**SAME-SEX PEER INTIMACY IN ADOLESCENT GIRLS
AND THE INDIVIDUATION OF THE YOUNG ADULT WOMAN**

by

Elizabeth A. Harris

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

1985

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1985

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement of Doctor of Philosophy.

7/18/85
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Abstract

SAME-SEX PEER INTIMACY IN ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND THE
INDIVIDUATION OF THE YOUNG ADULT WOMAN

by

Elizabeth A. Harris

Advisor: Anderson J. Franklin, Ph.D.

The study explored the relationship of best girlfriends in mid-adolescence as it pertained to the individuation of the late adolescent/young adult woman.

Two groups of young adult women, 20-22 years old, were studied. Each group consisted of twenty-two women. The Best Friends group was comprised of those women who had a relationship considered to be a best friend during mid-adolescence. The Not Best Friends group included those women who had had either no best friend or a boy for a best friend during mid-adolescence. A semi-structured interview was administered to each subject. The interviews consisted of questions pertaining to four topics: Parents and Family, Friends and Friendships, Romantic Relationships and Self-Worth. The responses were examined in terms of attitudes in high school compared to present attitudes. The responses were evaluated by two raters on a set of scales created for this study. The results were then analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Hypotheses that were tested compared the two groups on the above variables. It was expected that the Best Friends group would evidence more individuation than the Not Best Friends group.

Major findings were as follows:

1. Statistically there were very few differences between the two groups.
2. When the groups were compared in a qualitative analysis the responses pointed to more individuation:
 - a. The Best Friends group appeared more individuated than the Not Best Friends group regarding the development of attitudes towards parents and family.
 - b. The Best Friends group appeared more individuated than those in the Not Best Friends group regarding sense of self in relation to friends and friendships.
 - c. There were few qualitative differences between the two groups regarding attitudes towards romantic relationship.
 - d. The Best Friends group revealed a more consolidated sense of identity, than the Not Best Friends group, although there were no other differences between the groups regarding other areas of self-worth.

The findings were not conclusive. There was a trend towards greater individuation for the members of the Best Friends group compared to the Not Best Friends group. The data raised questions concerning the development of the capacity for intimacy as well as how friendships develop through adulthood.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to those women in my life who have helped me to understand the importance of close friendship while being able to be a separate, yet caring adult.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Intimate friendship in adolescence is unique in that it is the first intense extrafamilial dyad which differs qualitatively from prior friendships. Friendships can be seen in young children as early as the second year of life (Rubin, 1980). During middle childhood, peer relations help the child orient himself away from the family. It is only in adolescence, however, that friendships take on a new quality, with fluctuations of egocentricity and the growth of empathy, along with a phase of identity consolidation that results in intimate friendships among peers.

Same-sex peer intimacy in adolescence can be seen as a transitional, although potentially lasting relationship, that aids in identity consolidation and the formation of mature interpersonal relations. By weaning the youth even more from parental ties, it continues the individuation process, begun in infancy, of self and other differentiation. This further individuation process for the adolescent entails a break from family dependencies and infantile object ties in order to become a member of the adult world. Bocknek (1980) states, "This separation serves to offset the obvious continuity of (the adolescents') lives as children and family members. The purpose (of peer relations) here is nothing less than driving enough of a wedge between adolescent and family so that one can see oneself as a person apart from familial context, yet not cut off from it" (p. 70). Peer intimacy enables the adolescent to find the intensity of a family relationship outside of the family. The loosening of the family ties not only makes way for more mature, age appropriate relationships but also devalues the re-establishment of the outmoded gratifications of childhood. This process ideally facilitates the creation of a more

autonomous young adult who is capable of accepting the benefits of interdependent relationships without the fear of regression to a childlike state.

The development of intimacy and identity occurs concomitantly, and is part and parcel of the psychosocial development of the adolescent. Intimacy contributes to a feeling of self-worth and importance, and aids in the realization that a mature relationship is based on that which two people bring to it. Adolescence is the first time this important quality is seen. The adolescent is able to step outside of himself and take the viewpoint of another in understanding the components of a relationship. This ability to take another's perspective continues to delineate a clearer sense of identity. As this quality further develops, it helps the adolescent see himself in relation to the world around him.

The capacity and growth of intimacy begins, of course, with the first experiences of the parent and child. All relationships that follow are dependent on these early interactions (including individual temperamental matching, etc.) of parent and child. For the purposes of this study there is a tacit assumption that any given person is able to form meaningful interpersonal relationships. This assumption will receive only indirect attention in the course of this study.

The purpose of this study is to examine the individuation of the late-adolescent woman, focusing specifically on the interrelated areas of identity and self-esteem. I will address some of the issues of individuation and identity formation as the bridge between adolescence and young adulthood, and how this is facilitated by the growth of intimacy as seen in same-sex peer relations (commonly referred to as "best friends") in young women. I will approach these issues by studying same-sex intimate friendships in young women and how these relation-

ships are important in facilitating the occurrence of what Blos (1967) calls "the second individuation process of adolescence."

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Individuation of the Adolescent

Adolescence is often thought of as a transitional stage of development, bridging childhood and adulthood. It is another stage of psychic separation from parents and individuation of the person and results in a fairly consolidated identity belonging to the young adult within society. Josselson (1980) calls adolescence the phase in which work on individuation is renewed and dominant; it ends when the tasks of individuation become less central. Blos (1967) says, "Individuation implies that the growing person takes increasing responsibility for what he does and what he is, rather than depositing this responsibility on the shoulders of those under whose influence and tutelage he has grown up" (p. 168). These achievements of separation and individuation are accomplished within an interpersonal framework in adolescence. As the separation-individuation task of the infant is facilitated by the transitional object (Winnicott, 1951) to bridge the gap of self-other discovery, so does the adolescent have such a transitional object to aid in his development. Intimate friendship serves as that transitional and potentially lasting relationship to aid in the identity formation of the young adult.

Some authors (Erikson, 1965, Marcia, 1980) feel that intimacy can only result once a person has developed a solid identity. Mitchell (1975) states, "Genuine intimacy rarely takes hold in an insecure or immature personality because it requires more than receiving affection from others -- it demands selfless giving and genuine sharing" (p. 75). He feels that this durable intimacy only occurs in late adolescence and early adulthood. Erikson (1965) states, "Only as a person begins

to feel more secure in his identity is he able to establish intimacy with himself and with others, both in friendships and eventually in a love based, mutually satisfying sexual relationship with a member of the opposite sex. A person who cannot enter into an intimate relationship because of the fear of losing his identity may develop a deep sense of isolation" (p. 328). Erikson (1968) also says, "It is only when identity formation is well on its way that true intimacy, which is really a counterpointing as well as fusing of identities, is possible . . . where a youth does not accomplish such intimate relationships with others, and I would add, with his own inner resources, in late adolescence or early adulthood, he may settle for highly stereotyped interpersonal relations and come to retain a deep sense of isolation" (p. 196). Staples and Smarr (1980), too, feel that it is during adolescence and its last phase, youth, that the psychosexual identification as male or female and capacity for intimacy must be basically established for adulthood to occur.

It is my view that identity and intimacy develop concomitantly and not as cause and effect. Intimate friendships act as a type of sounding board and testing ground in which the adolescent can define and refine his self image both sexually and psychosocially, thereby entering society with an identity of his own, an individuated adult.

In this chapter I will focus on those areas of individuation and identity formation that are strengthened by peer intimacy in adolescence. A brief description of identity formation in late adolescence and the development of friendships in general will precede the discussion of adolescent intimacy and its impact on the individuation process of the adolescent.

Identity Formation

Marcia (1980) defines identity in adolescence as "an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs and individual history. The better developed this structure is, the more aware individuals appear to be of their own uniqueness and similarity to others and of their own strengths and weaknesses in making their way in the world" (p. 159). Josselson (1980) adds that the ego has two tasks in addition to its defensive functions: (1) to consolidate autonomy through individuation and internalization; and (2) to integrate identity. During adolescence, identification as both a defensive and an adaptive maneuver, produces a variety of identifications that serve many functions. Josselson states, "In the process of identity formation the array of primitive, narcissistic and totalistic identifications as well as the more mature and recent identifications are subjected to a selection process that preserves those partial identifications that are in harmony with the reality-ego core" (p. 202). He goes one step further and states that identity formation goes beyond the tasks of individuation and reorganization of internal experience. It requires congruence between one's sense of inner sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others. In other words, identity formation can not stand by itself but must exist within a relational schema.

Identity begins with self-object differentiation and Marcia (1980) feels that "what is important about identity in adolescence, especially late adolescence is that this is the first time that physical development, cognitive skills and social expectations coincide to enable young persons to sort through and synthesize their childhood identifications in order to construct a viable pathway toward their adulthood (p. 160). A well developed identity is flexible. Synthesizing components of identity is as much a process of negation as well as one of affirmation. Offer and

Offer (1971) state, "The process of defining oneself does not terminate with the termination of adolescence; what does happen is that the areas of focus and the meaningful interpersonal relationships of the future become manifest. If the passage through adolescence has been accomplished successfully, this focusing becomes . . . a freedom to express oneself" (p. 43). Mitchell (1975) reminds us that adolescence isn't the only time in the life cycle when crises of identity are experienced; it is merely the first time they are dwelt upon at length and articulated in the presence of adults. "One's personal identity is formed (almost created) by the adolescent as he interacts with his environment and introspects within himself" (p. 51). Erikson (1965), too, feels that, "Identity expresses (such) a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (p. 57).

To summarize, identity is a result of the individual's interaction with the environment as exemplified by the following statement of an older adolescent girl, cited by Blos (1967), "If you continue to . . . bump into the world around you often enough, then an outline of yourself gets drawn in your mind" (p. 161). For the purpose of this thesis, the concept of identity in late adolescence will mean the beginning of a development of a sense of continuity or inner consistency of the self in society. The concept of identity will be used to describe an outgrowth of interactions with others in a way that delineates and differentiates the self from others. In the following section I will explore these ideas as influenced by adolescents' interactions among peers to define themselves as members of an extrafamilial society.

Friendships in Early and Mid-Adolescence

In order to understand intimate friendships in adolescence it is important to have an overview of peer relations up to this point. The importance of the peer group is that it orients a child toward society. Dunphy (1963) discusses the importance of the peer group as it reinforces the child's learning of sex role, which takes place at the pre-adolescent stage through identification with the same-sex parent.

The adolescent need for recognition receives gratification when other adolescents notice, acknowledge and verify one's presence and importance. Mitchell (1975) sees recognition as the building block of all social development because in its absence a person has no sense of unique identity, no social import and no interpersonal consequence. During early childhood, recognition comes from parents; during middle childhood it comes from teachers and peers; in adolescence it comes primarily from peers. Mitchell (1976) states, "The need for intimacy is not satisfied in group settings nearly as efficiently as are the needs for recognition, belonging and esteem" (p. 276). It is within groups, which provide the meeting places, a trial ground, or experimental arenas, that tentatively formed bonds hopefully lead to intimate exchanges.

Douvan and Adelson (1966) in their nationwide study of adolescent friendships, found the following developmental trends in girls' friendships. In pre-adolescence and early adolescence (11-13 years old) a girl is oriented to the 'real world', not her inner world. There is little preoccupation with internal qualities, either in the self or others. The need for friendship arises out of the need to practice newly acquired and developing social skills. At mid-adolescence (14-16 years old) girls are less tied to their families and spend more time with friends.

Douvan and Adelson found this age group more articulate regarding the nature and conditions of friendship. The 'vocabulary' of friendship had more abstract qualities. A friend was a confidant who gave emotional support and understanding. She was a loyal, trustworthy and a reliable source of support in any emotional crisis. A friend did not abandon another or gossip behind her back. It seems that at this stage a friend becomes an idealized object, one who can do no wrong. This has the quality of a symbiotic relationship and implies that to lose a friend is to lose a part of oneself. During late adolescence (17-18 years old) calmer, more modulated friendships occur. Girls are more secure regarding defenses against impulses and can now allow themselves to discharge them in more direct experimentations in sexuality with boys. As skills in dating grow, friendship is needed less as a retreat, a source of learning or a cushion for disappointment. This passionate quality of friendship recedes and is replaced by more equal ties. Although Sullivan (1953) is discussing friendship in the pre-juvenile era in the following thought, I believe it to be more applicable to late adolescence. In discussing the chum relationship, he equates it with the beginning of interpersonal love when the peer makes "adjustments of (his) behavior to expressed needs of the other person in the pursuit of increasingly identical (and) more and more mutual satisfactions" (p. 246). He believes that eventually friends move toward supplying each other with satisfactions and taking on each others' successes.

To summarize, friendships in adolescence serve to bridge the adolescent's tie to his family with his place in the adult world. This is accomplished by increased feelings of self-worth, importance and recognition from interactions with peers. The further development of individuation and separation from the family occurs as a result of peer group acceptance of the adolescent as an individual.

The adolescent can then begin to identify himself as being influenced by the family, but no longer quite as inextricably bound up with it.

Intimacy Leading to the Attainment of Individuation

Marcia (1980) feels that synthesizing components of identity is as much a process of negation as it is of affirmation. The adolescent relinquishes the parents as objects, the position as a "taker", and fantasies of multiple, glamorous life styles. Offer and Offer (1971) found in their study of adolescents that instead of turning to parents in times of stress, girls reported that they would either become introspective or turn to close girlfriends with whom they could gain emotional satisfaction from hours of intimate discussions. Moriarty (1976) feels, as does Erikson (1968) that the adolescent must go through identity diffusion in order to accomplish the goal of ego identity. During ego diffusion, the adolescent expands the boundaries of the self to "include a wider identity with compensatory gains in emotional tones, cognitive certainty and ideological conviction. This diffusion occurs in states of love, sexual union, friendship, of discipleship and followership, and of creative inspiration" (p. 150). Douvan (1966) says, "If the girl for some reason misses her chance for working through her negative feelings toward her mother, she will come to her own daughters with only a competitive model of feminine relationships, a model inappropriately burdened with undiminished infantile hostility" (p. 216). It can be inferred from this statement that a close friendship will provide an opportunity for this working through process. A. Freud (1958) said that the withdrawal of cathexis from parents has the most decisive consequences for the rest of the defensive processes. Once infantile objects are stripped of their importance, the pregenital and genital impulses cease to be

threatening to the same degree. The guilt and anxiety decrease and the ego becomes more tolerant. Formerly repressed sexual and aggressive wishes rise to the surface and are acted on outside the family. Those upon whom these wishes are foisted include intimate friends and heterosexual partners.

Erikson (1956) states, "True engagement with others is the result and the test of firm self-delineation. As the young individual seeks at least tentative forms of playful intimacy in friendship and competition, in sex play and love, in argument and gossip, he is apt to experience a peculiar strain, as if such tentative engagement might turn into an interpersonal fusion amounting to a loss of identity, and requiring, therefore, a tense inner reservation, a caution in commitment. Where a youth does not resolve such strain he may isolate himself and enter, at best, only stereotyped and formalized interpersonal relations . . . For where an assured sense of identity is missing even friendships and affairs become desperate attempts at delineating the fuzzy outlines of identity by mutual narcissistic mirroring . . . The ego thus loses its flexible capacity for abandoning itself to sexual and affectual sensations, in a fusion with another individual who is both partner to the sensation and guarantor of one's continuing identity; fusion with another becomes identity loss" (p. 81).

Speigel (1951) discusses the defense mechanisms directed against the incestuous fantasies of pre-adolescence as the adolescent turns away from childhood objects. This rejection transforms significant amounts of object libido into narcissistic libido and a feeling of isolation. In other words, in place of childhood objects, new relationships are formed. Speigel feels that adolescent object relations generally bear the character of restitution phenomena: They are narcissistic attempts at regaining contact following the renunciation of incestuous objects.

He feels that it is possible that these identification or narcissistic relationships also have the defensive purpose of insuring against the "return of the repressed", the longing for the abandoned incestuous objects. Intimacy is experienced as a type of regression in the service of growth in that the adolescent needs intense contact with a trustworthy friend in order to go out into the world. A. Freud (1946) feels that friendships at this stage become highly idealized and that this aspect of friendship is a response to the fragility of the newly acquired relationship. This is rather like the emotional refuelling of the toddler cited by Mahler (1975).

Deutsch (1944) believes that identification plays an important part in the process of individuation. It comes about by devaluing previous objects regardless of earlier relations. Although the adolescent's personality is in large part due to parental influences, it must now be influenced by new identifications. This leads to an abandonment of infantile overestimation of the parents. The pendulum swings and the parents become underestimated. This devaluation loosens the ties to formerly loved objects and gives a rational motive to the adolescent's newly arisen aggressive tendencies. Once the dangers of puberty are overcome, adolescents often resume the love for their parents and may even be proud to be similar to them. To continue the adolescent girl's quote cited in the beginning of this chapter, "Maybe, when you know who you are, you don't have to be different from those who know, or think they know, who you should be." Deutsch believes that in the attempt to rescue a floundering ego ideal, the place of the parents is filled by others who better fulfill the requirements of the young. She believes that as adolescents mature, the newer objects begin to be critically devalued as well, and an abstract ideal fills the place of a concrete person. "Only such a relation, and not

a substitute for it, can give the emotional life the character of a real object relation" (p. 109). The task of the adolescent then, is to develop from the phase of intensified narcissism to that of object relations and to achieve in these a favorable unification of the affections and instinctual drives. Shortly before new objects are found, the rising instinctual drives turn for a time to the old objects, creating a characteristic difficulty of adolescence. The major affective struggle very simply consists of wanting to get away and wanting to go back.

Strengthening of Trust and Emotional Security

Intimacy in adolescence helps the youth develop emotional security and the capacity to trust another person. Marcia (1980) believes that identity contributes to intimacy the sense of a secure self necessary to enable one to risk the vulnerability inherent in a temporary merger with another. "It is the paradox of intimacy that it is a strength that can be acquired only through vulnerability; and vulnerability is possible only with the internal assurance of a firm identity, an identity that begins with the self-object differentiation in infancy" (p. 160).

In Douvan and Adelson's study (1966) they observed, ". . . feminine girls, those who are actively building a feminine identity, place great value on interpersonal relationships and have highly developed attitudes about personal ties . . . they are more sophisticated and subtle than non-feminine girls in handling conflicts that arise in personal relationships. They bring highly differentiated thought and skills to bear on solving such conflicts and they show how strongly they value existing relationships in the fact that they choose to resolve problems within the relationship rather than withdrawing or breaking out of its nexus. By this choice they also reveal a deeper and more complex conception of friendship, for them

such a tie holds the potential for resolving conflicts; it is not simply a tenuous alliance that exists only so long as no problems and no tensions arise" (p. 240.)

Honesty is the attribute most essential to intimacy. Authentic self-disclosure requires that the individual show himself without pretense or facade. Mitchell (1975) also feels that the search for intimacy which offers little opportunity for deceptive camouflage, leaves the adolescent highly vulnerable to the pain of rejection; practically nothing inflicts deeper pain than rejection after an honest exposure of inner feelings. The adolescent girl is careful in selecting an intimate friend as someone who is not going to take her lightly, exploit those feelings.

The Wane of Egocentricity and the Growth of Empathy

During adolescence there is often a more intense intolerance and contempt for those of a different bent of character or talent than at any other stage of the life cycle. This arises from the need to affirm one's self. The adolescent needs reassurance and the mirroring offered by others of the same disposition. This may develop into an intense pair relationship, with the two mirroring each other and experiencing mutual identifications. Adolescent friendships begin by being based on complementarity within a framework of similarity. Douvan and Adelson see that "the qualities of personality must vary between friends enough to give the relations the zest, tension and enrichment that comes out of differences" (p. 184).

Deutsch (1944) believes that the young girl's relationship with a girlfriend is narcissistic; the ego draws advantages for itself from its love for the other. By the process of identification with a friend, the girl's weak ego extends its own limits and gains some self-confidence. The positive aspects of narcissism at this

time are twofold. First, it has a certain unifying force that prevents dissolution of the young girl's personality as a result of too many identifications. Second, by increasing self-confidence it contributes to the strengthening of the maturing ego. Deutsch believes that identification with a girlfriend strengthens the growing ego of the young girl. Gradually, the almost desperate quality of identification with the girlfriend lessens as her own sense of self becomes more secure. As this occurs, a greater emphasis is placed on the personality and talents of the friend, a stress on what she can bring to the relation in the way of interest and stimulation. She becomes aware of and interested in her friend's individuality. She develops a greater capacity to tolerate differences and to value the uniqueness of that friend. Erikson (1956) states that "the young individual must learn to be most himself where he means most to others . . . who have come to mean most to him" (p. 57).

Self-Worth

In discussing the functions of identification in adolescence, Schafer (1968) stresses the importance of weakening object ties by substituting the self for the object, or enhancing them, as in intimacy, or bolstering self-esteem where identification serves the ego ideal. Josselson (1980) believes that the ego's work in relation to the internal world of adolescence is to become the guardian of self-esteem. To do this it must make peace with the introjects of childhood, rework narcissistic investments, and test the self in reality. In conjunction with this, Mitchell (1975) has identified the quest for self-importance in adolescence as among the most powerful impulses blending with the needs for self assertion, intimacy, belonging and self-esteem. Self-importance means to do things of relevance, contribute to the significant events in one's peer group and family and

achieve accomplishments thought important by oneself and one's close associates. It further means to be essential, thought highly of and missed when away. This confirmation of personal worth requires acknowledgement by others, especially significant others. It is rarely articulated by youth this way and it comes about, in part, by self-validation through the intimate relationship. Mitchell feels that the self is impotent when it can't acknowledge responses from others. It is an intolerable state. Acknowledgement is a gesture of acceptance which verifies that someone has taken notice and admits to one's uniqueness and primacy. Acknowledgement is more complex than affection. It requires interpretation by the recipient, clarity on the part of the sender and intuitive understanding by both partners that sincerity permeates the exchange. This intimate friend provides a constant source of acknowledgement.

Douvan (1966) sums up this area of self-worth and friendship in the following passage. "Surely much of what goes into being a friend and being befriended is so much a part of character as to be somewhat removed from learning. Warmth, grace and integrity, these qualities and others like them are too deeply woven into the fabric of personality to be susceptible to change. Although they are tempered and polished within the framework of personal relations . . . (the adolescent) must learn, or sharpen his discretion, tact and sensitivity, all that goes into knowing the limits of the other's privacy, acquiring a sense of the implicit. He must learn how to get what he needs from the other while taking into account (and serving) the other's own needs. He must come to know the tolerable limits of his own aggression, and how much hostility he is prepared to accept without endangering his self-regard; and how to stand up for his rights without guilt and without abusing

the rights of the other . . . This results in a growing capacity for disinterested appreciation of the friend, and greater tolerance of differences within the relationship" (p. 185).

Summary

Peer intimacy increases self-other differentiation by demonstrating that intimacy can occur beyond the narcissistic-mirroring type of relationship. This is where intimacy begins to help consolidate the identity of the adolescent. This identity consolidation of the late adolescent/young adult, demonstrated by a sense of self-sameness or inner continuity, results from varying degrees of selective identifications with others which leads to further self-other differentiation. The growing sense of identity derived at this stage also enables the progression to the following level of intimacy. The adolescent becomes able to tolerate differences in an intimate friend, and has the ability to see that complementarity rather than similarity is the source of the pleasure of an intimate relationship.

The new perspective that will be presented in this study is that peer intimacy in adolescence is a major factor in the development of identity consolidation. Peer intimacy allows the adolescent to continue the development of object relations while becoming more independent from family ties. In other words, intimacy concurrently facilitates the individuation of the young adult, as well as allowing for mature interpersonal interdependence. Since one of the more difficult tasks in adolescence is separating from the parents, the intimate friend provides an emotional 'home base' -- a sense of security, trust and support -- the source of which had formerly been the domain of the parents only. Peer intimacy leads to the realization that security, feeling of self-worth and importance can be

achieved in an extra-familial milieu. The best friend in adolescence paves the way for more mature relationships, leading towards an understanding that the benefits of a relationship are not so much based on what one can take from another, but what each person brings to the relationship.

HYPOTHESES

The major hypothesis to be tested is that women who experienced same-sex peer intimacy during mid-adolescence (high school) will have a more developed sense of identity and appear more individuated as a young adult (junior or senior in college) than those women who experienced either no peer intimacy or opposite-sex intimacy only at that time.

A more developed sense of individuation and identity will be examined by testing the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1

The young adult woman who experienced same-sex intimacy as an adolescent will have attained a more realistic attitude towards her parents, seeing them in neither an idealized nor devalued manner, than those women who have not experienced same-sex peer intimacy during mid-adolescence.

Hypothesis 2

The young adult woman who experienced same-sex intimacy as an adolescent will be able to appreciate and tolerate differences in current friendships as well as feeling that a friendship can provide an intimacy heretofore experienced within the family.

Hypothesis 3

The young woman who experienced same-sex intimacy in mid-adolescence will be able to conceptualize a long lasting romantic relationship in a realis-

tic, adult-like manner in terms of awareness of what the two people bring to the relationship, rather than what can be taken from it.

Hypothesis 4

The young woman who experienced same-sex intimacy in mid-adolescence will have a more developed sense of self-worth than those women who have not had that experience. This will be seen through a sense of accomplishment, most likely in an interpersonal context, as well as realistic future goals, in a societal context.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The main focus of this research is the examination of the phase of individuation and identity consolidation occurring at late adolescence/early adulthood and the role of intimacy in the achievement of this phase. This was accomplished through analyzing the responses of young women between the ages of 20-22 years old to questions concerning family, friends, romantic relationships and self-worth.

Subjects

The subjects included young women in their junior or senior year of college. The sample was drawn from colleges with a predominantly female population in the New York City metropolitan area. The women were living at the college, not with their parents. The sample was relatively homogeneous with respect to socioeconomic status as well as level of intellectual functioning. It was a self-selected group (See Instruments) from psychology and women's studies classes at the undergraduate level. The sample size was 44 women who were interviewed and then divided into two groups of 22 subjects per group. The division was the Best Friends Group (BF group) and the Not Best Friends group (NBF group).

Instruments

The instruments used for this research have been adapted from a nationwide study by Douvan and Adelson (1966). The two instruments consist of:

1. The Friendship-Screening Questionnaire
2. The In-Depth Interview

1. The Friendship-Screening Questionnaire

(See Appendix A for Questionnaire)

The purpose of this questionnaire was to divide the subjects into two groups: 1) those who report to have had a girl for a best friend in high school and 2) those who report having either: a) not had a best friend; or b) had a boy for a best friend in high school (not a boyfriend).

This one-page questionnaire was completed at the beginning or end of a class session. The examiner informed the students that she was conducting a study in which she would be examining the attitudes of friends and friendships people experienced in high school and the effects of that/those relationship(s) on the development of the young adult woman. Students were then told that an in-depth interview to be conducted at the college and taking approximately 90 minutes would follow, and those wishing to participate should mark the appropriate space on the questionnaire. The students then had approximately 5 minutes to complete and return the questionnaires.

Analysis of Friendship-Screening Questionnaire

The criteria that were to determine the subjects for the Best Friends group were as follows:

1. Must answer "yes" to question #1 (Did you have a best friend in high school?)
2. Must check #1.a. (Best friend was a girl.)
3. Must circle 3, 4, or 5 on at least 4 out of the 7 questions in #2.

The criteria for those to be in the Not Best Friends group were as follows:

1. Must answer "no" to question #1 (Did you have a best friend in high school?) OR
2. Answer "yes" to question #1, followed by checking #1.b. (Best friend was a boy).

Those who responded to question 1 by answering: d. (A group, more than 3, of us were best friends) were not interviewed at length.

2. In-Depth Interview

(See Appendix B for Interview.)

Subjects were interviewed in the small "study rooms" in the college library. The interviewer introduced the questionnaire by explaining that it was comprised of five main sections: 1. Situational Dilemmas, 2. Parents and Family, 3. Friends and Friendships, 4. Romantic Relationships and 5. Self-Worth. The subjects were told that these were open-ended questions with no correct or incorrect answers. The interviews were tape-recorded. The subjects were also asked a few questions about their academic work, e.g., amount of credits for which she was enrolled and Grade Point Average.

The general description and rationale for each section of the In-Depth Interview is followed by a rationale for each question in the interview.

I. Situational Dilemmas

The purpose of this section is twofold. First, the questions are posed in the third person to enable the woman to "warm up", by attempting to put the situations in an imagined, rather than personal sphere. This technique allowed them to respond in an open manner. The other purpose of this section was to begin to

focus on the individuation process of the young woman. The questions in this section are comprised of interpersonal dilemmas covering the areas of: relationship to parents, relationship to peers, trust and identity consolidation.

The dilemmas described are an indication of the individuation each subject is experiencing. This becomes apparent in the subject's experience of past and present relationships with parents. According to Schafer (1976), the late adolescent should be able to see parents in an increasingly realistic sense, noting some failings and being able to tolerate these qualities. The person who sees their parents as all-knowing and all-powerful may be emotionally tied to her parents in an infantile way.

The interpersonal dilemmas related to same-sex friends are another index of development of individuation. It is Douvan's position (1966) that it is important for the adolescent to come to assess the limits of hostility and aggression she is prepared to accept without endangering her self-regard, as well as standing up for her rights without guilt and without abusing the rights of others.

The dilemmas around heterosexual relations point to how the young woman views herself as an individual in relation to men. Erikson (1956) discusses identity as flexible in addition to the sense of self-sameness. The dilemmas posed indicate the willingness of a woman to examine aspects of her personality which may cause some difficulty in relationships with men (as well as women).

II. Parents and Family

There are two areas of focus in this section. One area addresses household responsibilities and financial matters, such as working to earn spending money. These questions facilitated understanding of the degree independence was encour-

aged by the parents. The second section includes the subject's descriptions of her relationships to family members as experienced in high school, compared to the current status of these relationships.

The second section includes direct questions of the young woman's experiences with her family. It is a well known fact that the relationship between a person and her parents influences how she will interact with others. Although self-reported, some of the questions elicited a baseline description of the woman's mid-adolescent experience, as well as the current status of the relationships. Also included in this section are two questions about family members and their influence on the subject.

The GAP Report (1968) stated that one of the primary tasks of the adolescent is to attain a high degree of independence from his/her parents. There should therefore be a more independent quality in some of the attitudes currently held by the young woman compared to the same attitudes she held while living at home. This, of course, implies (but will not be explored in this study) that the parents were concerned with providing an environment in which independence could grow. This implicit factor became apparent during the course of the interviews.

III. Friends and Friendships

The purpose of this section is to understand and assess the current status of the young woman in relation to her peers as well as the qualitative changes in her peer relationships since high school. The young woman's sense of identity was examined in terms of qualities about friendship deemed important.

Selman and Selman (1979), in their studies of the developmental stages of friendships, stated that the highest level of friendship included mutuality, as well as trust in a continuing relationship. This implies that basic trust (Erikson, 1950) has been established. Freud (1946) and Deutsch (1944) believed that during adolescence the intimate friend becomes the new object of intense affection, a position that was previously occupied by the parents. The same-sex friend also serves to strengthen the sexual identity of the young woman. Offer and Offer (1971) discuss that the friend supercedes the parents as the one in whom the adolescent can confide. Erikson (1956) believes that only with an increasing sense of identity are friends able to become something other than attempts at self-definition by narcissistic mirroring. This mirroring quality should be more apparent in the subject in high school than in college. Sullivan's position (1953) is that one gets a good look at oneself through a friend's eyes and that helps to establish consensual validation. He believed that only through becoming intimate can one be freed from "the often illusory, usually morbid feelings of being different, which is such a striking part of rationalizations of insecurity in later life" (p. 256).

IV. Romantic Relationships

This section explored romantic relationships with respect to their expectations, fantasies, and worries. The subjects were asked to discuss their views of romantic relationships, both in high school and in college.

The GAP Report stated that another task of adolescence is the establishment of a sexual identity which should lead to the capacity for lasting relationships. Deutsch (1944) believes that the continuation of sexual identification once the realm of the family has been left, takes place by means of the girlfriend.

Only through the experience of this type of relationship can a romantic relationship develop in the future. This view is shared by Sullivan (1953).

V. Self-Worth

The purpose of this section was to explore the effects of same-sex intimacy and its possible relationship to feelings of self-worth experienced by the subjects. (Clearly in this area, too, initial family relations have a major effect on the sense of self-worth.) The ideal sense of self will be examined through looking at admired adults in the young woman's world who possess valued qualities which she presumably would like to incorporate into her way of life. A sense of the subjects' ideas of valued accomplishments and disappointments will also be described, as well as goals for becoming a contributing member to the society in which she envisions herself. Another area to be examined is the positive and negative attributes the subject uses to describe herself, ways to improve herself, including attributes that she values and sees as positive and integral to her identity.

Bell (1981) states that "one of the most important psychological functions of friendship is the positive support it can give to self-image and self-esteem" (p. 47). It is Gilligan's view (1982) that for women a sense of integrity and self-worth is entwined with an ethic of care, so that to see themselves as women is to see themselves in a relationship of connection. It is likely that self-worth will be experienced by young women in a relational way. Miller (1976) believes that women's sense of self becomes very much organized around being able to make, and then maintain affiliations and relationships. Development and individuation include the value of ongoing attachment and the continuing importance of care in the relationship.

Rationale for Individual Questions

In this section, the rationale for each specific question will be presented.

I. Situational Dilemmas

1. When Jane was in high school she wished her parents were different, more like the parents of friends. What did she have in mind?

Rationale: In high school, the adolescent should be able to see parents with failings, in a critical manner, a step towards de-idealization of the parents, a necessary step towards individuation (Schafer, 1964; Blos, 1970; Deutsch, 1944).

2. A woman has heard that a close friend of hers has said unkind things about her. What does she do?

Rationale: The young adult should know how to stand up for her rights without guilt and without abusing the rights of others (Adelson and Douvan, 1966).

3. A woman's been dating someone for a while who asks her to change certain habits and mannerisms. What does she do?

Rationale: Identity is flexible, with room for self-appraisal and evaluation which leads to growth (Erikson, 1956).

4. A woman's been dating a man for a while when she notices that he's paying attention to a close friend of hers with whom they often spend a great deal of time. What does she do?

Rationale: Same as #2. This question also reflects attitudes of trust as well as the concept of self-worth.

5. A woman has a very good job away from home. She gets a letter from her mother saying her mother is very lonely and asking her daughter to move back home. What does she do and how does she feel?

Rationale: Same as #2. This question also reflects the degree to which a young woman may view herself as independent from her mother.

6. A woman has promised her best friend to help her with some work on a certain evening. She's later asked by another friend to go on a blind date with someone who's supposed to be terrific. What does she do and how does she feel?

Rationale: "If a young girl expresses her emotional needs only in relation to a boyfriend, she is also foregoing . . . a chance for intimate contact with other females that normally intervenes between a girl's tie to her mother" (Douvan, 1966).

7. Debby told Alice, her best friend, something very personal that she didn't want to get around but did not say so explicitly. A few days later Debby heard that information from a third person. What does she do and how does she feel?

Rationale: The late adolescent/young adult must learn to develop discretion, tact and sensitivity, all that goes into knowing the limits of the other's privacy, acquiring the sense of the implicit. As well as the fact that a growing sense of identity and trust implies being able to tolerate others' mistakes or errors in judgement.

8. Peggy and Sarah are close friends. They both want to date a certain man. He asks Sarah out for a date. How do both Sarah and Peggy feel?

Rationale: Same as #2.

II. Parents and Family

2. When you were growing up did you earn your own spending money?
3. Did you have any regular work to do at home? Were there some jobs that were your responsibility?

Rationale: These questions assess the degree to which financial independence was valued by the subject's family, as well as a sense of responsibility towards the environment (family). These attitudes may continue to appear at the time of young adulthood, with a continuing sense of responsibility towards others.

4. Most parent have some ideas about how they want their children to behave. What are the most important things your parents expected of you?
 - 4A. Have any of the expectations or rules changed since you no longer live at home?
5. Did you have any expectations of your parents in terms of their behavior towards you during high school?
 - 5A. Have your expectations towards your parents changed since you no longer live with them?

Rationale: These questions assess idealization towards parents and the change that should be occurring with development, by comparing high school attitudes and college-age attitudes. The descriptions of these should also give a sense of the types of interpersonal behaviors that influence extra-familial relationships.

7. Who do you feel you were the closest to in your family? In what ways?

8. From all your family members, who do you feel has had the biggest influence on you?

Rationale: These questions pertain to sexual identification, as well as values and other behaviors and attitudes adopted by the subject from her parent(s) and other family members. An inherent problem with these two questions is that with the high divorce rate many subjects may be living with only one parent and be naturally influenced more by her/him, rather than having a choice between the two parents.

III. Friends and Friendships

1. What are the most important things a friend should be?

Rationale: This question should elicit criteria of mutuality and trust as found in Selman's (1979) most mature developmental stage of friendship.

2. Do you think a person can be as close to a friend as she can be to a member of her own family?

Rationale: This question examines the shift in intensity of a relationship developing from the family to an extra-familial relationship, which should pave the way to more adult-like relationships. These relationships should be imbued with a sense of mutual giving and sharing, and not have as much of the taking-only quality.

3. Can friends disagree about things? What kinds of things?
4. What must friends agree on in order to be close friends?

Rationale: Friends in the adult stages of development should feel enough of an identity that they can tolerate differences and not be

close because of similarities only. As individuation continues to occur, the young woman should be able to stand alone vis-a-vis opinions about anything, with the exception of the terms of a relationship.

5. When you were in high school was there one person who you considered to be your best friend? Please describe the relationship.

6. How do you feel this relationship (or lack thereof) has affected you?

Rationale: These questions assess the quality of best friendship and close peer relations experienced by the subject during high school.

Also examined are the effects of these relationships (or lack thereof) on the young-adult.

7. Do you feel the quality of friendships you experience now with women differs from the friendships you experienced in high school? Please explain.

Rationale: This question compares and contrasts the current friendships with earlier ones for qualitative differences with the emphasis on the attributes of those mentioned in #1.

IV. Romantic Relationships

1. How important is a romantic relationship to you at this time of your life?

Rationale: For the adult, a romantic relationship should be viewed as important, but exist in a context of other important facets of life, such as work and friendship.

2. How important was a romantic relationship to you in high school?

Rationale: A young adolescent is often engrossed with the idea of boyfriends, for reasons of status/peer acceptance. This may also be

viewed as being dependent on masculine attention for a sense of self-worth (Miller, 1976).

3. What are your expectations for a romantic relationship . . . what would you want in one?

Rationale: Current expectations should include many attributes ascribed to mature friendships, including mutuality, a sense of give-and-take, among others.

4. What were your expectations for a romantic relationship in high school?

Rationale: Expectations of a romantic relationship in early adolescence exist on a more superficial level and in a "what can I get from this person", e.g. status, context.

V. Self-Worth

1. What are some things you do either on your own or with others that make you feel important or useful?

Rationale: This question examines the subject's feelings of self-worth, viewing them in either context of self-oriented or other-oriented activities.

2. Is there an older adult whom you admire?

Rationale: This question assesses ego ideals or attributes the subject values and might like to incorporate with her already existing repertoire of accomplishments and characteristics.

4. What's the most wonderful thing that's happened to you that you felt responsible for?

Rationale: This question assesses the subject's sense of accomplishment, again within the context of self or other directedness. A sense of accomplishment should be experienced with a growing sense of identity.

6. How would you describe yourself, what kind of person would you say you are?
7. If you could, what are some things you'd want to change about yourself?
8. What are some things you'd never want to change about yourself?

Rationale: These questions directly address the subject's sense of self, including an appraisal of the valued and unvalued aspects experienced, as well as areas of striving and growth.

9. Looking ahead in the next couple of years what do you think are some things you're going to have to decide or make up your mind about?
10. What kind of work do you envision yourself doing? What is it that appeals to you about that?

Rationale: These questions assess the types of goals the subject envisions which include the decisions necessary to accomplish these goals. The questions will also assess the subject's view of her position as a contributing member of society.

Data Analysis

The taped interviews were transcribed and each interview was rated by the examiner and another rater according to the Categories of Responses (See Appendix C). These categories were developed according to trends of responses derived from interviews that were not considered for the study. The raters scored each protocol on the Scoring Sheet (See Appendix C-1).

The responses were then analyzed according to Positively Valued Responses, or those responses that demonstrated identity consolidation/individuation according to the norms described in Chapter II. The Negatively Valued Responses were those that indicated delayed identity consolidation/individuation according to the same developmental norms. The Evaluation of Responses follows each Categories of Response page in Appendix C.

The protocols were divided into the two groups: Best Friends and Not Best Friends. The responses to each question were evaluated according to the specific area to which it pertained (II. Parents and Family, III. Friends and Friendships, IV. Romantic Relationships, and V. Self-Worth).

A Chi-Square analysis of these responses was used to determine whether there was, in fact, a significant difference between the groups in terms of the Best Friends group being more individuated than the Not Best Friends group.

Due to the richness of material acquired from the interviews a qualitative analysis was performed to examine the differences between the two groups.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Friendship Screening Interview was distributed and collected as described in the previous section. Those who wished to participate in the In-Depth Interview were then divided into two groups: the Best Friends group and the Not Best Friends group which included those who had had a boy for a best friend in high school, as well as those who answered that they had had no best friend in high school. Also included in the Not Best Friends group were those who had said they had had a best friend in high school, but when describing the relationship, it did not meet the criteria for Best Friend. These so-called best friends were actually friendships at a superficial level, meaning that they liked doing the same things together, or that the friendship lasted briefly. In other words, the Not Best Friends group was not entirely homogeneous. This lack of homogeneity will be addressed in the discussion of each hypothesis.

The In-Depth interviews were collected and scored as described in the Methods section. In order to analyze the results, the categories of responses were collapsed so that any response that was Positively Valued was assigned a numerical value of 1. Any response which was considered Negatively Valued was assigned a numerical value of 2. The Positively Valued responses included those responses that indicated the subject displaying signs of individuation. The Negatively Valued responses were those that indicated individuation was not occurring. A Chi Square analysis was then used to examine if there were significant differences between the two groups in terms of more individuated responses from the Best Friends

group. The results are addressed by hypotheses in two ways. The first is a statistical analysis of each hypothesis; the second is a discussion of each hypothesis by a qualitative analysis between the two groups. There are two tables that follow each hypothesis. The first is a list of the questions pertaining to the hypothesis; the second table represents the distribution of positively and negatively valued responses to each question by each group. The qualitative analysis of each hypothesis follows the statistical analysis. This discussion addresses the differences between the BF and the NBF groups in terms of individuation, which also includes a more consolidated sense of identity.

TABLE 1

List of Questions Pertaining to
Parents and Family

- I.5 A woman has a very good job away from home. She gets a letter from her mother saying that her mother is very lonely and asking her daughter to move back home. What does she do and how does she feel?
- I.1 When Jane was in high school she wished her parents were different, more like the parents of friends. What did she have in mind?
- II.2 When you were growing up did you earn your own spending money?
- II.4 Most parents have some ideas about how they want their children to behave. What are the most important things yours parents expected of you?
- II.7 Who do you feel you were the closest to in your family? In what ways?
- II.8 From all your family members, who do you feel has had the biggest influence on you?
- II.3 Did you have any regular work to do at home? Were there any jobs that were your responsibility?
- II.4A Have any of the expectations (of your parents towards your behavior) changed since you no longer live at home?
- II.5 Did you have any expectations of your parents in terms of their behavior towards you during high school?
- II.5A Have your expectations towards your parents changed since you no longer live with them?

TABLE 2
 Analysis of Positively and Negatively Valued Responses
 to Questions about Parents and Family

Question	Best Fiends n=22		Not Best Friends n=22	
	Positively Valued	Negatively Valued	Positively Valued	Negatively Valued
I.5	20	2	13	9*
I.1	17	5	16	6
II.2	18	4	19	3
II.3	20	2	18	4
II.4	20	2	20	2
II.4A	20	1	17	4
II.5	17	5	18	4
II.5A	12	10	10	10
II.7	22	0	20	2
II.8	15	7	12	10

p. < .03

HYPOTHESIS 1

The young adult woman who experienced same-sex peer intimacy as an adolescent will have attained a more realistic attitude towards her parents, seeing them in neither an idealized nor devalued manner, than those women who have not experienced same-sex peer intimacy during mid-adolescence.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis of the data does not support Hypothesis 1.

Question I.5 (Table 1) was significant in that the BF group was more individuated than the NBF group (Chi Square = 4.36, $p < .03$). There was a cluster of questions (I.1, II.2, II.4, II.7, II.8) which showed a slight trend towards the BF group being more individuated, or responding with more Positively Valued responses, than the NBF group. There was also a cluster of questions (II.3, II.4A, II.5, II.5.A) that indicated a slight trend for the BF group being less individuated than the NBF group, which is to say that the BF group answered questions pertaining to Parents and Family with more Negatively Valued responses than did the NBF group.

As the actual numbers of Positively and Negatively Valued responses indicate, (Table 2), the above-mentioned trends towards individuation or the lack thereof are slight. In fact, with the exception of question I.5, the difference between the two groups in terms of one group appearing more or less individuated than the other is negligible.

Qualitative Analysis

In the area of the young adults' experiences and views towards their parents, the Best Friends group showed significantly more individuated attitudes when

answering question I.5. For this question the lack of homogeneity within the Not Best Friends group apparently did not affect the distribution of positive and negative responses. In this case those who had a boy for a best friend responded in a more similar manner to those who had had no best friend in high school. Here one may hypothesize that there may be a tie between having an intimate relationship outside the family boundaries and individuation. Those in the Best Friends group responded in a very clear-cut, straightforward way in terms of still having loving feelings towards their parents, yet appreciating the importance of attending to one's own life. This was stated not in an abandoning way, but in a related, caring sense. Note the following responses from the Best Friends group.

Judy, 21: "I certainly would not go home to mother. I would try very hard to explain to her my situation and how she had to let go of me and how I couldn't be responsible for her happiness, even though I was capable of making her less lonely. Because it would mean sacrificing my work. And it would be tricky, because she had made the choice upon having me . . . to raise me. But she is not my child, and I didn't choose to make that sacrifice . . . I would certainly want to make the effort of talking to her and find out if there is anything that she does enjoy, if there are ways she can pursue those enjoyments. But I would have to stress that it was really up to her."

Peggy, 22: "Look at the situation and think about ways the mother can learn to help herself, maybe. Or she can help her mother not be lonely and find other things, but not necessarily think that she was the one to have to fill in that particular space, because that is not the answer . . . the mother has to learn how to do that for herself. And I think the daughter can help her mother do that."

Susan, 21: "I would keep the job. Unless my mother needed me seriously to be there . . . I would keep in contact . . . but would not rearrange my life. I would be concerned about her, and how she was doing, but don't think I'd feel guilty, but would think it was the best thing for both of us for me to keep the job."

In sharp contrast to the above responses, note the following responses from the NBF group, which show an inability to decide, or show a rejecting or frightening

reaction to a potentially manageable situation. Some women in the NBF group found this question very threatening and imagined the worst possible scenario.

Maxine, 21: "I think I would talk to my mother and tell her, explain the situation, then I might suggest she move, if I was really close to her (geographically) I could have her live with me . . . I could understand, I would feel, you know, sort of sorry for her."

Helen, 22: "I consider myself very liberated, independent from my mother . . . but it is a very big problem for me . . . to know when to stop being obligated to a parent, especially if it is a mother . . . I would say that the mother is probably a widow . . . and it would make her (daughter) feel very angry at her mother for hindering her life and her style and her career . . . I think the best thing to do would be to flatter her and show her you appreciate her and everything she has done, but that you can absolutely not uproot yourself like that and that she cannot make you feel guilty because it would be a very destructive thing . . . but you do love her and have to grow up sometime . . ."

Jean, 22: "Permanently or a visit? . . . Are there any job possibilities around the home area? Going by my connection with my mom I would probably go. I might try to make a deal where I stayed with her in the summers and stayed with my job in the winter. Or moved to an area closer to her, but not with her. I am not sure I would move in with her."

These women are clearly not able to conceptualize their relationship with their mothers in an individuated way.

The findings from this significant difference between groups underscore Douvan and Adelson's (1966) view that with a consolidating sense of identity the young adult will be able to stand up for her rights without guilt and without abusing the rights of others. The more individuated adult will understand this and have little or no difficulty in confronting someone she is close to in a friendly way. Another issue to consider is that those women who feel the most independent are able to do so primarily because they were provided with a nurturing environment.

This prepared them with the opportunity to develop a sense of individuation that was not threatened by parental influence but rather facilitated by it.

The questions and responses which indicated that the BF group was more individuated than the NBF group did so only marginally statistically. One factor that may have contributed to this was the lack of homogeneity of the NBF group. The NBF group was comprised of two sub-groups: Those who had had a boy for a best friend in high school (the BBF group), and those who had had truly no best friend in high school (the TNBF group).

Although statistically the Best Friends group did not differ from the NBF group, further qualitative differences between the two groups were seen in regard to this hypothesis. Women on the BF group felt that their parents provided an environment with firm enough boundaries and limits for her to experience a strong family context/identity from which she could separate. Further, the BF group felt that the expectations and rules established by their parents were necessary and important and those who felt that the expectations and rules were lacking expressed that deficit. For example, Kathy, age 22, said this of her mother, "I don't think there were a lot of explicit rules around the house. When I first started to date, I asked her for a curfew and she didn't give me one. She felt like I should figure that out for myself." Jane, another member of the BF group, felt that her parents did provide some guidelines but expressed that perhaps she wanted more. "They didn't set up any time frame for us to do our work, so sometimes that was hard . . . it wasn't like my mother to say, 'come right home after field hockey and be here and do your work'. So I would end up doing my work by staying up really late . . . other parents would put boundaries on it; and it would have worked better for us at times . . . If our parents were helping us make the decisions perhaps it

would have been easiest . . . But it was nice to not have her nagging . . . because I knew I was working very hard." With Jane it is clear that there were certain limits being imposed and that during adolescence she was struggling between her growing sense of autonomy and the regressive yearning to be told what to do.

Compare Jane to Lucy, age 21, a member of the NBF group who says in response to the same question about rules and curfews, "Oh God no! When I was 14 I was coming home at 3 in the morning and she (mother) thought it was good. When she was younger she didn't have a very active social life, and so she liked it." She then continues by responding to the following question about expectations of her mother, "At times I saw her as intellectually deficient . . . in a philosophical way." Sally, another member of the NBF group said of her mother, "She never did any of the 'mother' things, tell me what I should be doing . . . like study and wash your face . . . I was kinda hurt that she didn't . . . When I was in high school I think I liked the respect . . . but I didn't think I deserved it . . . or quite knew what to do with all the responsibility." Susie, 22: "I was never given, as a child, proper limits of any kind except I knew I was supposed to fulfill, but never sure what they were."

With no limits to butt up against, it becomes difficult for an identity to form (Blos, 1976). There is clearly a questioning within both groups of the roles and responsibilities of parents at the height of adolescence and within both groups there is an abandonment of infantile overestimation of the parents, a step that Deutsch (1944) feels is important in the individuation process. The responses from the women in the NBF group have more of a defensive as well as aggressive quality to them. Lucy feels at first that her mother was quite appropriate in setting no boundaries and then turns right around and devalues her. In the BF group there appears to be more of a struggle at integrating the idealization and devaluing of

the parents with the aim being separation and individuation in a non-defensive way.

In terms of differences between how the two groups view their parents at the time of the interview, the BF group had apparently devalued their parents "enough" during mid-adolescence, so that having positive feelings towards them did not represent a threat of regression. Note Michele's response to how her expectations towards her parents have changed.

Michele, 21: "Now I'm a lot closer to my mother and I expect a great deal more from her than I did before. I didn't even care if she was there or not . . . and now I do."

Peggy can be seen to be assuming the responsibilities of her expectations and not blaming her parents as she did in the past. This is one of the major criteria for the second individuation (Blos, 1976) to occur.

Peggy, 22: "I expect them to see me in a different way. I expect them to see me not as Peggy, the baby, but as a person. I am having battles with that, too, not seeing myself that way . . . I expect them to allow me to go through my phases . . . without worrying too much."

Judy, 20: "I expected them to get along, which is not often the case . . . to be a lot smarter . . . more understanding . . . I think I can see her more clearly now, with a little less anger."

Within the NBF group, where a more realistic attitude towards their parents was expressed at the outset of the responses, there is a tone of depression and loss at the realization that their parents are flawed.

Sally, 21: "I don't expect as much from her. I see her more as a person. I see her limits . . . instead of see her as my mother . . . this person you want to be a certain way, I had always hoped that would be that way. Now she is Elyse . . . as a person . . . kinda sad."

Lucy: "As I've gotten older I've learned to give her a lot more credit . . . not that she's not a strong person . . . I want her to be more self-assured, more assertive, and have more confidence."

As examples, these two young women can be seen as not able to avoid what Bocknek (1980) described as seeing oneself as a person apart from familial context, yet not cut off from it. The sense from their statements is one of isolation, not of the hoped-for equality that begins to be achieved as adolescence draws to an end.

In summary then, the above qualitative analysis of responses to questions pertaining to attitudes towards Parents and Family indicates differences between the BF and the NBF group. The BF group, by and large, responded in a manner that indicates more individuation than the NBF group demonstrated. The qualitative analysis therefore suggests support for Hypothesis 1.

TABLE 3

List of Questions Pertaining to
Friends and Friendships

- III.7 Do you feel the quality of friendships you experience now with women differs from the quality of friendships you experienced in high school?
- I.6 A woman has promised her best friend to help her with some work on a certain evening. She's later asked by another friend to go on a blind date with someone who's supposed to be terrific. What does she do?
- I.7 Debby told Alice, her best friend, something very personal that she didn't want to get around, but did not say so explicitly. A few days later she heard that personal information from a third person. What does she do?
- I.8 Peggy and Sarah are close friends. They both want to date a certain man. He asked Sarah out for a date. How do both Peggy and Sarah feel?
- III.6 How do you feel this relationship (or lack of) (a best friend) has affected you?
- III.2 Do you think a person can be as close to a friend as she can be to a member of her own family?
- III.1 What are the most important things a friend should be?
- III.2 Can friends disagree on things? What kinds of things?
- III.4 What kinds of things must friends agree on?

TABLE 4

Analysis of Positively and Negatively Valued Responses
to Questions about Friends and Friendships

Question	Best Fiends n=22		Not Best Friends n=22	
	Positively Valued	Negatively Valued	Positively Valued	Negatively Valued
III.7	11	10	1	21 *
I.6	20	2	17	5
I.7	15	7	14	8
I.8	16	6	11	10
III.6	17	1	10	4
III.2	11	11	12	10
III.1	22	0	22	0
III.3	22	0	22	0
III.4	8	14	8	14

*p. < .01

HYPOTHESIS 2

The young adult woman who experienced same-sex intimacy as an adolescent will be able to appreciate and tolerate differences in current friendships as well as feeling that a friendship can provide an intimacy heretofore experienced only in the family.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis of the data does not support Hypothesis 2.

Question III.7 (Table 3) was significant in that the BF group was more individuated than the NBF group (Chi Square = 9.95, $p < .01$). The remaining questions pertaining to Friends and Friendships fell into three other groupings. One cluster (I.6, I.7, I.8, III.6) represents responses to questions in which the BF group indicated a slight trend towards more individuation than the NBF group. One question (III.2) indicated the NBF group responding in a slightly more individuated manner than the BF group. The third cluster of questions represents those questions to which all subjects responded in a positively valued manner; both groups appeared as if they were equally individuated.

Again, the actual numbers of Positively Valued and Negatively Valued Responses (Table 4) indicate that, other than Question III.7, the quantitative differences between the BF and the NBF groups are slight, at best. The differences only suggest slight tendencies towards trends, at best.

Qualitative Analysis

The question in which there was clearly the greatest difference between groups in terms of the BF group responding in a more individuated manner was

question III.7. This question examined the quality of friendships in high school compared to those in college. An important function of the best friend relationship is to allow more modulated friendships to occur in late adolescence. Douvan (1966) believes that as girls become more secure regarding defenses against impulses they can allow themselves to discharge them in more direct experimentations in sexuality with boys. Friendship is needed less as a retreat. The passionate quality of friendship recedes and is replaced by a more equal tie to the other.

The following are responses from members of the BF group to question III.7.

Diana, 22: "(my friendships are) more realistic in terms of boundaries. Friendship was that unconditional love, support, parenting, sisterhood -- everything that a friendship or relationship should be. We were mother/-daughter, daughter/mother . . . I don't find it to happen so much anymore . . . that kind of dramaticism (sic) doesn't enter into it. As you get older, you don't need that kind of stuff."

Julie, 21: "Yes, it is not as intense now as when I was in high school . . . I am not as dependent on my friends now as I was then . . . I don't have to be with her every single second of the day . . . I just remember getting my hair cut and I had to call L. up and . . . talk about it for 3 hours whether I should get my hair cut or not. I don't do that anymore . . . I make those decisions for myself . . . I'm a different person now . . . I don't have that need to have to be so dependent on somebody else."

With both of these women it is quite likely that the narcissistic fusion and mirroring (Erikson, 1966) was necessary in the same way that the infant and parent pass through a normal symbiotic phase before self and other differentiation can occur. This illustrates Speigel's (1951) point that adolescent object relations bear the character of restitution phenomena: the relationships are the attempt to regain contact with new objects following the renunciation of incestuous ones. These women may have accomplished this through their relationships with their best girlfriends. It is clear that their current friendships do not have such an intensity

but, as the women said themselves, they don't feel a need for it as much as they approach adulthood. One can infer from this that they experience a more delineated sense of self on which they feel they can rely.

Within the NBF group, the above-mentioned qualities are absent. These women do not experience the intimacy and emotional refuelling of the best girlfriend which would then enable her to feel more secure about venturing out into the world as emotionally individuated from her parents.

Roz, 21: "The quality's the same . . . it is not a real close quality . . . if they left, I wouldn't really miss them that much."

Jean, 22: "Now I have girlfriends . . . it was hard for me because I didn't know how to be friends with a girl . . . I think I had less trust of women than I did of men . . . I just hated women for a long time . . . So I wouldn't let anybody get too close . . . and usually guys didn't pressure me for that."

Helen, 22: "I never thought women were even intelligent before I came here . . . the girls I went to high school with were very immature and narrowminded . . . and I wasn't willing to change myself and my goals for them . . . I'm sure I had something to do with it, too . . . I'm sure I needed men, or thought I needed male companionship more than I did female . . . Now I have some very close women friends, so it has changed a bit."

Jean and Helen expressed an inability to relate to girls in high school. The purpose of this study was not to understand why that may have been so. One may suggest that it was due, in part, to their tenuous sense of identity at that time which could not allow for the temporary merger or blurring of boundaries with another in order to evolve with a more consolidated sense of identity. There is a defensive quality to all three examples from the NBF group which implies a brittle sense of self beneath the defended exterior.

The questions indicating a slight trend towards more individuation within the BF group are those that address the intimacy achieved through the relationship of the best friend. Mitchell (1976) pointed out that genuine intimacy rarely occurs in an underdeveloped personality because intimacy requires selfless giving and genuine sharing rather than just receiving affection. It is Douvan's (1966) view that with the attainment of more mature friendships a friend will not abandon another. This was demonstrated through question I.6. Most women in the BF group felt that honoring a commitment to a friend was much more important than a blind date. The loyalty they described in what made up a good friendship did not waiver. Those women in the NBF group did not seem to value the friendship and commitment when put to the test of the promise of a blind date. This should not have represented much of a dilemma given the close friendship stated.

The following are responses from two women in the NBF group.

Eileen, 21: "I would go. If I felt like this person who I was supposed to help was a really good friend, I would tell her what was going on and ask her to accommodate me a little."

Marty, 22: "It would be very hard to call up a friend and say, 'I can't help you out'. I have experienced that on quite a number of occasions and been torn between the absolute comfort you can have with another woman and the excitedness of being with a man . . . they are both wonderful . . . sometimes one seems more necessary than the other one at one specific moment in your life . . . so I guess it would depend on what exactly I needed at the moment."

With both of these women, selfless giving is not a consideration and they are both reacting in a very egocentric "what's in it for me" attitude. This behavior does not fit with criteria of mature friendships which describes that which is important is what two people bring to the relationship, not just what one can get from it.

In regard to question I.7 the women in the BF group seemed to be more able to take another person's point of view and to tolerate errors in judgment. They were more able to try to resolve problems within the relationship rather than simply withdrawing. This is a criteria for Douvan (1966) in terms of those girls who are building a feminine identity and who place a high value on interpersonal relationships. The following comments are in response to question I.7 from two subjects from the BF group.

Sally, 20: "I would really bend over backwards trying to understand."

Dana, 21: "Try to talk it out, to understand why . . . confront it . . . if people mean that much to each other they'll try to work it out."

The women in the NBF group were not as forgiving and responded in a much more critical manner.

Heidi, 22: "I would be furious and would not be afraid to say so. I certainly would not be so willing to tell her personal information in the future."

This was a typical response that indicated how quickly women in this group would retreat and not try to resolve the conflict within the relationship. Their sense of self and trust in another was not great enough to imagine this as a solution.

The differences between the two groups which made up the NBF group was quite apparent. The BBF group (those with a boy for a best friend in high school) responded in a more similar manner to the BF group rather than to the TNBF group (those who had had truly no best friend in high school).

The following are responses from two women in the BF group to question III.6.

Cally, 22: "Life would have been hell without her . . . very lonely . . . I would have had low self-esteem . . . because it is through these people that I realized who I am and who they are . . . and I realize that I can have good relationships with people."

Judi, 21: "I really think it helped me through high school . . . when I was having problems with my family I had someone there who I could turn to who was not in that whole web of relationships . . . who I knew was going to be there . . . without this I would have been very lonely."

Cynthia, 22: "I think it has given me a lot of security, because when I was with her I realized the good things about myself."

These are examples of women who felt secure enough within themselves to become vulnerable in order to experience intimacy.

The following are examples of responses from women in the BBF group. They are more similar in quality to those women from the BF group than they are to those women from the TNBF group.

Wanda, 21: "I valued his opinion more than anyone else . . . he thinks like I do, but won't tell me what I want to hear . . . he taught me."

Eileen, 21: "I think when I felt the worst about myself, I would have felt even worse if I did not feel there was someone who was bad to other people no matter what and how . . . more tolerant."

The following are responses to the same question from women in the TNBF group.

Robby, 21: "My tendency would be to say no because in some ways my sister fulfilled the function of a best friend and although that meant that it didn't take me out of the environment home . . . if I'd had a best friend in high school it would have been someone very much in the same position as I, very peripheral . . . so I don't think it would have had a big impact in terms of changing what I did with my free time."

Helen, 22: "My mother was always my best friend . . . and I would say that most of my relationships with people were very businesslike and very professional . . . I mostly talked about academic things . . . "

There is a defensive quality to these responses which is in sharp contrast to how the BF group viewed the importance of having a best friend.

What is also interesting regarding responses from members of the BBF group is that several women felt that they valued the fact that their best friends provided a "male perspective" or a "man's point of view". This attitude seems to bypass a necessary developmental stage in the development of a feminine sense of identity. These women, as a group, indicated that although they felt closest to their mothers while growing up, they felt that their fathers had the biggest influence on them. It seems that perhaps, for various reasons, these women felt threatened by the intimacy. It is possible, as Erikson (1965) stated, that only as a person becomes more secure in his identity is he able to establish intimacy with himself and with others.

The last cluster of questions (III.1, III.3, III.4) pertaining to Friends and Friendships are those questions to which both groups appeared to respond in a quite similar manner. Neither group presented themselves as more or less individuated. This can be explained, in part, by the types of questions that comprised the cluster. These questions address the developmental stage of friendship (Douvan, 1966; Selman and Selman, 1966). Apparently every subject has intellectually achieved this level of friendship. The subjects knew that the important qualities are abstract in nature, including trust, respect and loyalty. Upon further examination, however, there were qualitative differences between the BF and NBF groups even to question III.1 (What are the most important things a good friend should be?). Some responses from the BF group follow.

Judy: "I think they should be . . . someone you have potential with in growing and not a person who had potential of turning into you or having everything alike . . . A friend doesn't have to be totally doing the same things . . . but the most important thing is someone that you grow with, that kinda moves you to change and deal with things and open up . . . (she) moves you along and you move her along . . . you change together."

Bobby: "Genuine . . . funny . . . accepting . . . being spontaneous . . . just honestly accepting their feelings and able to criticize me when I need it."

Diane: "They should be understanding, definitely able to listen . . . trusting and honest, which is I guess the reason why you'd pick a friend because you felt they were."

A common thread that runs among these quotes and others from this group is the potential for growth and adaptation in an interpersonal sense/context. This is very much in line with how Erikson (1966) describes his definition of identity formation at this stage of life. These young women feel certain enough of their identity and sense of self that they welcome and actively look for the challenge of growth.

In contrast, note the following examples from the NBF group in their answers to the same question.

Sally: "Understanding . . . able to listen . . . most important, trustworthy . . . I like friends to read my mind . . . (I feel bad about that) . . . I just sit there, and if they don't notice, I feel betrayed. I feel like they don't care, which is good and bad . . . to expect them to read minds is a little strange, but I do."

Lucy: "Feedback . . . be able to stimulate each other's mind . . . that is the way you develop rapport . . . that is the most important . . . I won't say honesty, because no one is really honest . . . respect . . . if you don't respect someone, just forget it."

Susie: "Should be there . . . understanding, constructively critical, a good listener, demanding . . . a friend should push you a little if you are to grow . . . have a high tolerance . . . I lose patience with some friends, for instance, this one who I help with spelling, I get pissed with her . . . and it has to do with my insecurities because she may be thinner than I am and have a steady boyfriend, but I do know how to spell."

These young women clearly understand what is appropriate for a friendship to be in terms of their level of cognitive development. When they personalize these definitions, however, the "appropriateness" of meaning does not hold up. The very qualities these women deem important are those areas in which they are lacking. Perhaps at some level these are goals for which they are striving; but at present they are stumbling blocks for them. This may be related to the fact that the above responses come from women who have not had an intimate friendship. Those in the BF group are able to operationalize their definitions of "friends".

The second question in this cluster saw no qualitative differences between the two groups. Every woman said that it was possible for friends to disagree and saw it as a desirable attribute within a friendship. Only one person out of all the subjects, Carol, age 22, had a different view on the topic. "Usually issues are safer to disagree on because you don't get into personal . . . it's certainly better to disagree on (political) issues than something that is really more important to you . . . if friends agree on most things it makes for a more harmonious relationship."

In summary, within the topic of Friends and Friendships there were clearly differences between the quality of responses of those in the BF group and those in the NBF group. By and large those in the BF group responded in a more individualized manner than those in the NBF group to many of the questions. This suggests support for Hypothesis 2.

TABLE 5

List of Questions Pertaining to
Romantic Relationships

- IV.1 How important is a romantic relationship to you now at this time of your life?
- IV.2 How important was a romantic relationship to you in high school?
- IV.3 What are your expectations for a romantic relationship now? What would you want in one?
- IV.4 What were your expectations for a romantic relationship in high school?
- IV.5 What are some of your worries or concerns about a long-term relationship?
- I.3 A woman's been dating someone for a while who asks her to change certain habits and mannerisms. What does she do?

TABLE 6

Analysis of Positively and Negatively Valued Responses
to Questions about Romantic Relationships

Question	Best Fiends n=22		Not Best Friends n=22	
	Positively Valued	Negatively Valued	Positively Valued	Negatively Valued
I.3	15	7	17	4
IV.1	16	6	15	6
IV.2	15	6	16	5
IV.3	22	0	19	2
IV.4	15	6	11	8
IV.5	12	9	11	10

HYPOTHESIS 3

The young woman who experienced same-sex intimacy in mid-adolescence will be able to conceptualize a long-lasting heterosexual relationship in a realistic, adult-like manner in terms of awareness of what the two people bring to the relationship, rather than what can be taken from it.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis of the data does not support Hypothesis 3.

There were no questions that were statistically significant. There was a trend in a group of questions to which the BF group responded in a slightly more individuated manner than the NBF group (Table 5, IV.1, IV.2, IV.3, IV.4, IV.5).

There was one question (I.3) to which the NBF group responded in a slightly more individuated manner than the BF group. Table 6 represents the responses of both groups according to Positively Valued (those indicating more individuation) and Negatively Valued (those indicating less individuation) Responses. The differences between the BF group and the NBF group in terms of Positively and Negatively Valued responses represent a very slight trend in either direction.

Qualitative Analysis

The two groups did not seem to differ qualitatively in terms of their responses to questions relating to this hypothesis.

Regarding the importance of romantic relationships in high school and in college there seemed to be a similar breakdown in types of responses in both groups. Some women were defensive about the fact that romantic relationships were unimportant because they didn't have the time for them, or that they saw such relation-

ships as 'interfering' with their work. More women felt that romantic relationships were important in terms of status in high school. Their view as young adults was that romantic relationships were important but the importance lay in the area of support and understanding. Clearly this is appropriate in terms of development, and what one would expect in terms of adult-like, rather than child-like relationships.

Another theme that was common in both groups was in expectations for romantic relationships in high school. Those who had had boyfriends really had no expectations about demands on the boyfriend or the relationship. A common sentiment in both groups was, "I didn't know enough to have expectations." It was the rare person who did have expectations other than, "I wanted to have one." Several women, again in both groups, stated, "I wanted to be taken care of." It was also interesting that those women in the BBF group had boyfriends who were not the boys who were the best friends. Forays were made into sexual relationships with the boy best friends, but they were short-lived. The sexual aspect put a strain on their friendship which was a more valued aspect of the relationship. These young women were unable to articulate why this was so.

The sexual aspects of friendship were also interesting in the BF group. Several of the women described that their best friendship had had homosexual explorations. Some of those girls then developed into thinking of themselves as homosexual. Although this particular phenomenon will be addressed at greater length later, the sexual aspect of intimacy relates to Douvan's (1966) view that in defining one's identity . . . means to know the relation between the erotic and the interpersonal.

Another commonality between the two groups related to expectations for a long-term romantic relationship. Within the BF group most women explicitly stated that they would want the same qualities in a romantic relationship as they described in a friendship. This was also true, for the most part, in the NBF group. There were some glaring exceptions to this expectation and these exceptions were seen equally in the BBF group as well as the TNBF group.

Hilary, 21: "Now I want someone who is intelligent and good looking . . . someone who has similar interests."

Kelly, 21: "I don't think much about why I want one . . . it just seems like a good thing to have . . . I'd want adoration and fawning, of course . . . someone who gives energy and support, sort of like a well you can dip into."

Eileen, 21: "I don't have any thought of getting into a serious relationship now. I don't want to . . . I want to be young."

These types of responses indicated an immaturity in interpersonal relationships. These women are still thinking about what another can do for them. There's no sense of what each of them brings to the relationship, no sense of mutuality. In fact, Hilary is looking for qualities in a friendship that is reminiscent of a much younger developmental state of friendship. Perhaps Eileen does not have enough of a sense of self to be able to image herself in a long-term relationship.

In terms of thoughts about potential areas of conflict, basically the two groups had similar types of worries. The basic areas concerned maintaining autonomy, fears of separation and worries about trusting a commitment. Everyone in the BBF group was able to conceptualize themselves in a relationship and could also conceptualize problems therein.

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In the NBF group several women had difficulty with that, as well as fears of dependency. The following are some examples from the NBF group in response to question IV.5.

Kelly, 21: "The fact that I don't know that anybody would want to stay with me particularly a long amount of time . . . it can be a little hard to take, I understand (being around me)."

Roz, 22: "Because my self-concept is down in terms of my appearance and desirability in the feminine areas . . . I really need to feel that the person thinks I'm attractive and that they care about me . . . also my fear of me feeling that I'm of value to that person beyond just being 'Mommy' . . . I'd like to be appreciated for other things."

Robby, 21: "Needing the person too much . . . and not being truthful with him . . . but mostly getting too dependent . . . like I couldn't do things by myself."

These women's feelings about themselves within the context of a relationship, as well as their concerns about a relationship illustrate in a concrete way Erikson's (1965) view that intimacy can not be achieved without a firm sense of identity or such a poor sense of self that it is difficult for them to imagine themselves in a relationship.

With the exception of the above-mentioned qualitative responses to question IV.5 there were no differences between the BF and the NBF groups in terms of one being more (or less) individuated than the other. Therefore, the qualitative analysis of responses to questions pertaining to Romantic Relationships does not support Hypothesis 3.

TABLE 7

List of Questions Pertaining to
Self-Worth

- V.8 What are some things you'd never want to change about yourself?
- I.4 A woman's been dating a man for a while when she notices that he's paying attention to a close friend of hers with whom they often double date. What does she do?
- V.1 What are some things you do either on your own or with others that make you feel important or useful?
- V.2 Is there an older adult you admire?
- V.6 How would you describe yourself? What kind of person would you say you are?
- V.9 Looking ahead in the next couple of years, what do you think are some things you're going to have to decide or make up your mind about?
- V.4 What's the most wonderful thing that's happened to you that you've felt responsible for?
- V.7 If you could, what would you want to change about yourself?
- V.10 What kind of work do you envision yourself doing? What is it about that that appeals to you?

TABLE 8
 Analysis of Positively and Negatively Valued Responses
 to Questions about Self-Worth

Question	Best Fiends n=22		Not Best Friends n=22	
	Positively Valued	Negatively Valued	Positively Valued	Negatively Valued
V.8	15	7	21	1 *
I.4	18	4	16	6
V.1	21	1	19	2
V.2	15	6	12	9
V.6	17	5	16	6
V.9	22	0	20	2
V.4	19	3	18	2
V.7	19	3	20	2
V.10	19	3	19	2

*p. < .05

HYPOTHESIS 4

The young woman who experienced same-sex intimacy in mid-adolescence will have a more developed sense of self-worth than those women who have not had that experience. This will be seen through a sense of accomplishment, most likely in a relational context, as well as realistic future goals.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis of the data does not support Hypothesis 4.

Question V.8 (Table 7) was significant in that the BF group was more individuated than the NBF group (Chi Square = 3.81 $p < .05$). There was a cluster of questions (I.4, V.1, V.2, V.6) which showed a trend towards the BF group being more individuated than the NBF group. There was a cluster of questions (V.4, V.7) in which the NBF group showed a trend towards more individuation than the BF group. There was a third cluster in which neither group appeared more or less individuated (V.9, V.10).

Once again, the actual numbers of Positively and Negatively Valued responses by group (Table 8) indicate that the trends are merely suggestive of differences between the BF and the NBF groups. The exception to this is question V.8.

Qualitative Analysis

The questions that indicated the greatest differences between the two groups were those in which the subjects were asked to describe themselves and qualities they both liked and disliked about themselves (V.6, 7, 8). Those women in the BF group appear to have a fairly balanced sense of self which includes strengths, weaknesses and ideals for which to strive.

Rose, 22: "I would like to know more about myself . . . more about why I act sometimes the way I do . . . How much of myself I want to keep, kind of . . . I wouldn't want to change anything . . . I think I would explore what I am and be able to look at it . . . maybe that is what I would change . . . my ability to really not be afraid and to look at myself would want to keep going in that direction."

Many of the women in the NBF group described themselves with far more negative than positive qualities. This was articulated most poignantly when subjects responded to V.7, "What would you like to change about yourself?"

Kelly: "I would like to know how to make myself more likeable probably . . . sometimes there are things that I do and other people are upset with me and I don't really know what it is that I have done."

Helen: "I wish I wasn't so difficult to get along with, and I think that comes from being such a perfectionist that I can't stand it when someone . . . I just can't seem to ignore petty, little things."

Obviously not every subject in the NBF group felt exactly the way the above two women did. They were at the extreme. Many of the women had difficulty finding characteristics to change about themselves. This may be due to the fact that they feel uncertain enough about their identities that any self-reflection may be too threatening to them. The BF group contrasted this attitude by being willing to look inwardly at flaws. Women such as Rose felt that their basic sense of self was developed enough that it could withstand and even welcome the scrutiny that would lead to growth.

It was interesting that several questions in this section yielded more similar responses across the board, for example, question V.1. Most women felt that they were most important when they were involved in an interpersonal context. This is very much in keeping with Gilligan's view that for women a sense of integrity and

self-worth is entwined with an ethic of care, so that to see themselves as women is to see themselves in a relationship of connection. Several women in both groups were not able to think of anything that made them feel useful or important. In reading those interviews in their entirety it became clear that in these cases it was more an indication of difficulty with object relations in general, rather than a trend within either group.

In terms of role models (V.2) both groups of women seemed to have ideals which they hoped to attain in describing these models. In each group there seemed to be similarities in tone regarding that which was admired about these people. Many felt that the ability to achieve meaningful goals was admirable. These goals included autonomy within close relationships and successful careers. There were several women in the NBF group who admired qualities about certain adults but it was at the expense of devaluing another close adult in their lives. The following two women provide examples of this.

Roz, 22: "I admire my father most of all . . . for having the courage to marry a black woman, coming out of his family which was very WASP."

Lucy, 22: "I admire something about my mother that I don't think is too healthy . . . her independence from men . . . and in a lot of ways it has taught me to resent men."

These two women seemed to be the exception, not the rule, in the NBF group, who, by and large were seeking to expand and add to their identity in a healthy manner, similar to the BF group.

Apparently at this stage of development, regardless of level of individuation, the young adult experiences her identity as somewhat flexible concomitantly with her sense of self-sameness (Erikson, 1956).

Most of the women in the BF group felt responsible for an accomplishment that related to furthering their sense of individuation and identity. Many felt that getting into college was important to them, in spite of a perceived struggle in overcoming obstacles, such as self-doubt or parental attitudes.

Many of the women in the BF group described a sense of drive for achievement, like Rose, "I always have that thing that still pushes me to go further, no matter what I do, I think 'Well, where can I go from here?'"

Women in the NBF group also had some sense of accomplishment as noted by responses to V.4. However, for the most part they were only able to articulate a sense of inadequacy and were unable to find one accomplishment they felt proud of.

Laura, 22: "There is nothing that is the most wonderful thing that ever happened to me . . . people change . . . what is wonderful one minute may not be now."

Kelly, 21: "I've not been having such good luck lately . . . I don't think of myself in terms of wonderful things happening."

Janine, 20: "That's a hard one . . . can we skip this one?"

Most of the women in both groups however, mentioned an event that did do something in terms of fostering a sense of self, albeit not necessarily an individuated self.

In terms of future goals, there was very little difference between the two groups of women. The women in both groups had goals that were for the most part related to interpersonal activities such as teaching, psychology, performance and the arts. Gilligan's (1982) view that women will feel the most useful and im-

portant when they are in a relational context applies here. This may transcend the development of an individuated identity.

In terms of the qualitative analysis of responses to questions pertaining to Self-Worth, in some cases the BF group indicated more individuation than the NBF group. In other instances the NBF group responded in a more individuated manner. Therefore, the qualitative analysis supports Hypothesis 4 only marginally.

Limitations of the Study

The subjects in the sample do not represent a random sample of the larger population of women in late adolescence/young adulthood. The population from which they were selected was from a fairly homogeneous middle-income socioeconomic status. Although it is my view that the importance of friendships transcends socioeconomic status, further study would be necessary to validate this view.

Another limitation is that the parent-child relationships were not studied in depth. These relationships are likely to effect the ensuing relations with others. The family structure of the subjects was not uniform. Many women grew up with single parents due to either divorce or death. Some families included parents who both worked as well as only one parent working. These factors would also effect the quality of object relations.

A final limitation to the study was the composition of the Not Best Friends group. As mentioned previously this group was comprised of women who had either a boy for a best friend in high school or no best friend. In fact, those women who had a boy for a best friend did have an experience of peer intimacy with similar characteristics to those women in the Best Friends group. Therefore, the control

group was not homogeneous and not as completely adequate as a proper comparison group as had been anticipated.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The statistical analysis of the data collected in this study did not support any of the four hypotheses in terms of significance with the exception of the three questions mentioned in the previous section. Each hypothesis was somewhat supported when the responses of the two groups were examined qualitatively. Those women who had had a best girlfriend in high school, the BF group, by and large appeared to be further along in the second individuation process (Blos, 1976) than those women who had not had a best girlfriend in high school, the NBF group.

Regarding Hypothesis 1, women in the BF group would have a more realistic attitude towards their parents than the women in the NBF group, viewing them in neither an idealized nor devalued manner), the BF group, for the most part did have an appreciation for the boundaries and limits established by their families. There was a sense that they had a more realistic attitude towards their parents, viewing them as people with strengths and weaknesses. Their ability to do so was stated in such a way as to indicate there was still a sense of caring and belonging. Those women in the NBF group espoused that they viewed their parents in a more realistic manner than they had in high school. However, when elaborating on the matter there was a sense of disdain and isolation about where the women stood in relation to their families.

It would be unfair to suggest that the experience of a best girlfriend in high school caused this sense of separation-individuation. However, it is striking that the two groups were quite different in their attitudes towards their parents, both in high school and in college. The NBF group, by and large, appeared more con-

nected to their families in an almost infantile manner. This difference between groups is congruent with Bocknek's view that the purpose of peer intimacy is "to drive enough of a wedge between the adolescent and the family so that one can see oneself as a person apart from familial context, yet not cut off from it."

In listening to the women in both groups it became apparent that it was very likely that the parents of the women in the BF group had provided a strong, supportive environment. These parents, through establishing limits and boundaries, contributed to a developing sense of identity, so that the subjects as mid-adolescents felt the ability to risk being vulnerable in an intimate relationship. This is very much in keeping with Marcia's view that, "it is the paradox of intimacy that it is a strength that can be acquired only through vulnerability; and vulnerability is possible only with the internal assurance of a firm identity -- an identity that begins with the self-object differentiation in infancy." It would stand to reason, therefore, that those women in the BF group are in that group, in part, as a function of "good enough" object relations/parenting.

Regarding Hypothesis 2 (the women in the BF group would be better able to tolerate and appreciate differences in current friendships, as well as having a more adult-like attitude towards friendship in terms of what the two people bring to the relationship, rather than what one can only get), the BF group and the NBF group looked very similar in terms of the first part of the hypothesis. At this age, the women in both groups were aware cognitively of what should be significant characteristics for close friendships. However, upon closer scrutiny, when the women in both groups elaborated, it became evident that the women in the BF group were appreciative of qualities which would challenge them and promote growth. The women in the NBF group began by describing similar qualities but

then indicated in elaboration that they were not convinced that friends could be trustworthy. This lack of basic trust (Erikson, 1966), is significant since it is a quality imperative for true intimacy to flourish.

The BF group, by and large, was able to understand the need for the intensity that characterizes the best friendship (Douvan, 1966; Mitchell, 1974; Bocknek, 1981). This idealization of the other, and the almost symbiotic quality seen with child and parent re-emerges vis-a-vis the friend. The women in the BF group articulated that they no longer had a need for that intensity in a friendship. The relationships with friends had become more modulated in college (Deutsch, 1944; A. Freud, 1946; Douvan, 1966).

Many women in the NBF group felt that their friendships with other women were more intense in college than in high school. In the case of this group it may be that they did not feel secure enough about their sense of identity. As that developed they were more willing to risk the vulnerability that Erikson (1956) spoke about as necessary for true engagement with another. This engagement presupposes a sense of firm self-delineation. These women were perhaps threatened by the fear of interpersonal fusion which might have been experienced as a potential loss of a perceived fragile identity.

Hypothesis 3 (the BF group will be more able than the NBF group to conceptualize a romantic relationship in a realistic, adult-like manner, in terms of what two people bring to the relationship, rather than what can be taken from it) yielded very few differences between the BF and NBF groups. Both groups had similar attitudes towards the importance of romantic relationships in high school in terms of expectations. The expectations were consistent with theory and were in terms of what they could take from the relationship, e.g. status, and/or secu-

rity. This is developmentally appropriate (Douvan, 1966; Sullivan, 1954; Douvan, 1966).

What was striking was that within the NBF group, those who had had a boy for a best friend in high school, the BBF group, avoided both intimacy with women and sexual intimacy with boys (as they were not romantically involved with the boy best friend. Although the question was not addressed as to why these women chose to have boys as best friends rather than girls, they may have been avoiding actively building a feminine identity (Douvan, 1966). It was interesting that for the most part these young women felt most influenced by their fathers, or felt influenced by their mother in negative ways only. One might suppose that they were somehow threatened by the regressive/symbiotic pull to their mothers that closeness with a girlfriend might have suggested to them.

Hypothesis 4 (the BF group will have a more developed sense of self-worth than the NBF group as seen through a sense of accomplishment, in a relational context and realistic future goals in a societal context) yielded no differences between groups in the two areas mentioned in the hypothesis. Most women in both groups felt the import of their accomplishments when they were interacting with others (talking to a friend, doing something for someone else). This supports Gilligan's (1982) view that for women a sense of integrity and self-worth is entwined with an ethic of care, so that to see themselves as women is to see themselves in a relationship of connection. Apparently this value is strong enough so that it transcends the differences the two groups displayed heretofore in the above hypotheses. There were also no differences between the two groups in terms of future goals. By and large most of the women in both groups were able to envision themselves with careers that included "self-directed" (creative arts) as well

as "other-directed" (e.g. teaching, psychology) careers. There were only a couple of women who were not able to envision themselves in a career, but they were found in both the BF and NBF groups. Apparently, sense of self or degree of individuation has little bearing on whether or not one can anticipate oneself as a contributing member of society.

There were differences between the two groups in the series of questions that asked directly about how the women viewed themselves, both positively and negatively. By and large the women in the BF group described themselves in a more positive manner than those in the NBF group. The BF group felt that their sense of self-sameness was able to withstand scrutiny as well as being flexible enough to want to change certain aspects of themselves. One may attribute the experience of the best friend as a contributing factor to this more consolidated sense of self in addition to the other influences described in Hypothesis 1.

Those women in the NBF group described themselves more negatively than positively and were either unwilling or unable to feel certain enough about their core of identity to consider change. When changes about themselves were mentioned, they represented radical overhauls rather than modifying aspects of their personalities.

Issues for Further Study

The hypotheses set forth in this study raise more questions to be considered in future research. One area for further examination is the capacity for intimacy and how it differs in adolescents in terms of those who seek out and benefit from same-sex peer intimacy and who look for intimacy from a member of the opposite sex. This question might be addressed in terms of psychosexual identifications

with respect to whom the adolescent identifies herself, a feminine or non-feminine model.

Another question raised by interviewing women who were self-proclaimed as homosexual is how that decision is made in terms of identification of role models and experiences of intimacy. Although in mid-adolescence there is an erotic and passionate quality to the best friendship, for the most part it remains a component and not the most salient feature. It would be interesting to understand identity diffusion and consolidation more completely in the context of homosexuality in women. In fact, in this study several women felt that their sexuality was an issue to be explored and understood and implied that it was a phase of their development and not the final product.

The most obvious area for further study is friendships in adulthood. One of the foci of this study was friendship as a means to an end, that of one more stage of identity consolidation and the second individuation of the young adult woman, a type of transitional-object type of relationship. On reaching adulthood, friendships assume another role and once marriage occurs, still another. It would be quite interesting to study friendship and its implications as an important relationship that exists concomitantly with marriage and the families of the respective adults. It would also be interesting to study the reactions of spouses and friends to each other, tracing the developmental stages of those relationships which change over time.

APPENDIX C-1

Name:
Age of Parents:
Ages of Siblings:

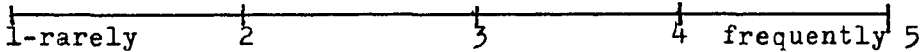
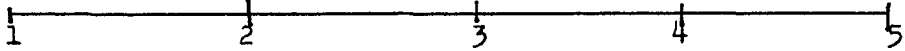
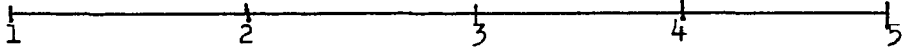
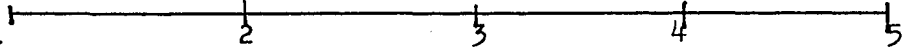
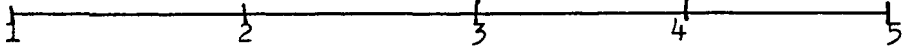
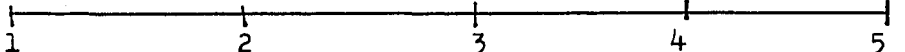
Age:
Mother:
Sisters:

Father:
Brothers:

Phone Number:

Unless otherwise specified, the following questions refer to when you were in high school.

1. Did you have a best friend? (check one) yes no
If yes:
 - a. Best friend was a girl.
 - b. Best friend was a boy.
 - c. Had a couple of friends.
 - d. A group (more than 3) of us were best friends.
 - e. Other (please describe)

2. For the following statements please circle the number that you feel applied to you and your best friends.
 - a. Talking about school work.

 - b. Talking about parents/family.

 - c. Talking about dating.

 - d. Talking about sex.

 - e. Talking about other people (gossiping).

 - f. Talking about personal and career goals.


APPENDIX C-1
(Continued)

g. Talking about current events (politics, etc.).

1-rarely 2 3 4 frequently 5

I am interested in participating in an in-depth (1 hour) interview about friends and friendship.

Times I can be reached by phone: _____

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX C-2
SCORING SHEET

Subject Code Number _____

Circle the letter that corresponds to the response category for each question.
 (The bracketed Roman numerals are for the use of the examiner, not the rater.)

I. Situational Dilemmas

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|-------|
| 1. | a | b | c | d | (II) |
| 2. | a | b | c | d | (III) |
| 3. | a | b | c | | (IV) |
| 4. | a | b | c | d | (V) |
| 5. | a | b | c | d | (II) |
| 6. | a | b | c | d | (III) |
| 7. | a | b | c | d | (III) |
| 8. | a | b | c | d | (III) |

II. Parents and Family

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | a | b | c | |
| 2. | a | b | c | |
| 3. | a | b | c | |
| 4. | a | b | c | d |
| 4A. | a | b | c | d |
| 5. | a | b | c | d |
| 5A. | a | b | c | d |
| 7. | a | b | c | d |
| 8. | a | b | c | d |

III. Friends and Friendships

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | a | b | c | | | |
| 2. | a | b | c | d | e | |
| 3. | a | b | | | | |
| 4. | a | b | c | | | |
| 5. | a | b | c | d | | |
| 6. | a | b | c | d | e | f |
| 7. | a | b | c | d | | |

IV. Romantic Relationships

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 1. | a | b | c | | | |
| 2. | a | b | c | | | |
| 3. | a | b | c | | | |
| 4. | a | b | c | d | | |
| 5. | a | b | c | d | e | |

V. Self-Worth

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | a | b | c | | | | |
| 2. | a | b | c | d | e | f | |
| 3. | a | b | c | d | e | | |
| 4. | a | b | c | d | | | |
| 5. | a | b | c | d | e | f | g |
| 6. | a | b | c | | | | |
| 7. | a | b | c | | | | |
| 8. | a | b | | | | | |
| 9. | a | b | c | d | | | |
| 10. | a | b | c | | | | |

Appendix C-1

Categories and Examples of ResponsesI. Situational Dilemmas

1. When Jane was in high school she wished her parents were different, more like the parents of friends. What did she have in mind?

Categories of Responses

- a. highly idealized
- b. somewhat idealized
- c. somewhat devalued
- d. highly devalued

Examples of Responses

- a. I don't know, maybe that her parents were like mine: never pushy, always accepting, very liberal...I couldn't have asked for better parents, we never had any problems
- b. it's hard to imagine, my parents were all right... I guess they had one or two faults, but no one's perfect
- c. more involved...do more things as a family... communicate better with each other...listened more...were younger...hadn't gotten divorced... less involved
- d. they shouldn't act like they don't know what's going on...be more aware of the tricks of adolescents

- I. 2. A woman has heard that a close friend of hers has said unkind things about her. What does she do?

Categories of Responses

- a. immediate confrontation
- b. eventual confrontation
- c. general avoidance
- d. assume relationship is deteriorating, do nothing

Examples of Responses

- a. confront the friend, but not in an attacking way...try to understand why she said that
- b. confront the friend after thinking about it for a while...don't say anything at first, but given time, I'd confront her
- c. what you should do is talk to the friend, I wouldn't do that, though...try to ignore it
- d. if the person's not a real close friend, I'd try to be wary of that person...I might assume the relationship is deteriorating

- I. 3. A woman's been dating someone for a while who asks her to change certain habits and mannerisms. What does she do?

Categories of Responses

- a. evaluation of request, reflection, talk about it
- b. change to please the other person
- c. end the relationship without any discussion

Examples of Responses

- a. she should look at what he's asking and think about it, there might be something to it...it should lead to some kind of discussion
- b. you have to learn how to make compromises...if she's been with the man for a while, she should change...if it would help the relationship, do it...she should think if it's necessary to be something she's not (no indication of considering the request)
- c. tell him to fuck off...probably shouldn't be with that person to begin with...can't spend your whole life trying to please others

- I. 4. A woman's been dating a man for a while when she notices that he's paying attention to a close friend of hers with whom they often double date/ spend a lot of time. What does she do and how does she feel?

Categories of Responses

- a. do nothing, glad they can get along
- b. feels insecure, talks to boyfriend and/or girlfriend
- c. feels angry, says nothing; over exaggerates affections in public
- d. withdraws from competition

Examples of Responses

- a. I'd trust my boyfriend...encourage and support them liking each other...if he was just being friendly, I'd see no problem
- b. I'd talk to my boyfriend...talk to both boyfriend and girlfriend in a friendly way
- c. I'd over compensate by being over affectionate in public...I'd give him an ultimatum...I wouldn't confront him unless something happened...I'd be pissed at my girlfriend
- d. I'd back off and give him room to be with my friend... I'd withdraw from the competition...no more double dating...I'd feel like it was out of my hands

- I. 5. A woman has a very good job away from home. She gets a letter from her mother saying her mother is very lonely and asking her daughter to move back home. What does she do and how does she feel?

Categories of Responses

- a. tries to help mother from afar, feels twinge of guilt
- b. tries to visit more, feels guilty
- c. unable to decide, feels ambivalent
- d. moves closer to mother, no problem

Examples of Responses

- a. tell her I love her very much, but I have to live my own life now...I'd try to make sure she got more involved in community activities
- b. try to work out a compromise, visit her more often... get another job so I could afford to visit more... I'd feel a strong pull, but I wouldn't give in
- c. try to think which is more important, my relationship with my mother or my job
- d. I'd have to move closer, see if I could get a job nearer to where she lives...try to move my mother out to where I was living

- I. 6. A woman has promised her best friend to help her with some work on a certain evening. She's later asked by another friend to go on a blind date with someone who's supposed to be terrific. What does she do and how does she feel?

Categories of Responses

- a. honor commitment to friend, blind date's not a big deal
- b. try to do both, feels torn
- c. seek permission from friend to go on date, relinquishes decision to friend
- d. goes on date, feels friend will understand

Examples of Responses

- a. help the friend...a blind date's not so good... if the date sounds so good, it could always be rescheduled
- b. see if the friend can reschedule work time... if not, stay with friend...I'd try to work out a compromise to do both
- c. she'd help but really feel like going...asks her friend if it's all right to go
- d. if she feels she'll get more for herself from the date, she goes...I'd tell the friend the truth and go out with the guy

- I. 7. Debby told Alice, her best friend, something very personal that she didn't want to get around but did not say so explicitly. A few days later Debby heard that personal information from a third person. What does she do and how does she feel?

Categories of Responses

- a. betrayed, talks to friend
- b. betrayed, considers who third party is and then talks to friend
- c. angry, less inclined to trust friend, talks to her
- d. angrier at herself for not being more explicit, ruins friendship

Examples of Responses

- a. feels angry, expected the friend to not spread the information, confronts friend, ends up being closer for airing the feelings...I'd be annoyed and would talk to the friend... feel betrayed, I'd have trouble talking to her but I'd do it
- b. if I heard the information from a mutually close friend, I wouldn't be too upset, but I'd still have to talk to the first friend...I'd try to understand from her why she told it...people do make mistakes
- c. she's furious, shouldn't have to tell friend not to spread it around, might not be as inclined to tell friend as many personal things...she'd feel upset and powerless in situation even though she'd talk to her friend...she'd go back to the first person, but not feel as close
- d. she'd feel angry and embarrassed, talk to the friend, but it would mess up the friendship... I'd try to avoid running into that person for a long time, until I calmed down

- I. 8. Peggy and Sarah are close friends. They both want to date a certain man. He asked Sarah out for a date. How do both Sarah and Peggy feel?

Categories of Responses

- a. outwardly supportive, inwardly a bit uneasy-friendship a bit rocky, but then o.k.
- b. should be aware of possible outcome if they both like the same outcome-feel uneasy
- c. Sarah feels victorious, then guilty; Peggy always knew she wasn't as good as Sarah
- c. friendship would dissolve OR friendship dependent on outcome of the date OR Sarah wouldn't go on date

Examples of Responses

- a. they're basically supportive of each other, although they both initially feel a little badly
- b. competition would make it difficult for them...puts a strain on the friendship for a while, but they resolve those feelings...it's awkward, but they'd talk about it
- c. Sarah feels a thrill, but acts sorry that Peggy didn't get asked out...Sarah's happy, then guilty; Peggy'd be understanding of why the guy would like Sarah more than Peggy
- d. Peggy feels angry at Sarah...Sarah feels guilty, Peggy feels jealous and angry...Sarah wouldn't go on date because it would harm the friendship

II. Parents and Family

2. When you were growing up did you earn your own spending money?

Categories of Responses

- a. yes, jobs outside home
- b. yes, jobs at home
- c. no

Examples of Responses

- a. babysat...painted houses...worked at store (family owned or other)
- b. sometimes at home I'd get paid for chores I'd do, especially when I had to do a lot
- c. no...not really

*Omit II. 1.

- II. 3. Did you have any regular work to do at home? Where there some jobs that were your responsibility?

Categories of Responses

- a. yes, some chores
- b. yes, primary care
- c. no

Examples of Responses

- a. the usual chores, dishes, laundry, yardwork, sometimes cooking
- b. since my mother worked I had a lot of responsibilities, like taking my younger brothers and sisters to the doctor or football practice
- d. no

- II. 4. Most parents have some ideas about how they want their children to behave. What are the most important things your parents expected of you?

Categories of Responses

- a. be independent, non-conforming, honest
- b. be happy, polite
- c. conform to parents' lifestyle
- d. no expectations

Examples of Responses

- a. have good judgment...to be independent, yet not selfish...to be myself...be honest
- b. just to be happy in whatever I do, to be a lady, i.e. never have an opinion or be provocative with my parents' friends...don't get in people's ways
- c. to adapt to their style; to get along with my brothers and sisters...to conform to my parents' way of life and political opinions...they wanted me to go to an ivy league school...to get good grades
- d. just to experience and experiment...my parents had no expectations of me...they didn't make any rules for me

- II. 4A. Have any of the expectations or rules changed since you no longer live at home?

Categories of Responses

- a. parents are more accepting
- b. same expectations e.g. honesty and high standards
- c. still give me a hard time
- d. no expectations then, still are none now

Examples of Responses

- a. they've relaxed some of the rules, they trust me more now...they don't worry about me so much anymore
- b. they still want me to be considerate of others, like academics and be honest...they still expect me to act responsibly...same expectations but they now approve more of what I do
- c. they still give me a hard time about my behavior... they still don't like my friends...still want me to be the perfect daughter
- d. they still don't have any expectations, anything I do is fine with them

- II. 5. Did you have any expectations of your parents in terms of their behavior towards you during high school?

Categories of Responses

- a. trust and respect my opinion
- b. better communication between parents; mother'd not drink/take valium so much
- c. highly devalued
- d. highly idealized

Examples of Responses

- a. to be honest with me and trust my judgment, especially about boyfriends...to be there for me, which they were...to treat me as a person, not a baby...not to put me in a category
- b. I expected my mother to stop drinking/taking valium...I wanted my mother to be more a feminist... I expected my parents to set more limits...I wished they could have communicated more with each other...to be more critical of me
- c. to mind her (mother's) business...take herself more seriously...to be emotionally strong...to be disciplined/responsible
- d. I didn't have any expectations, they were just fine...we never had any problems

- II. 5A. Have your expectations towards your parents changed since you no longer live with them?

Categories of Responses

- a. more accepting; less critical
- b. expectations are more realistic
- c. highly critical then, no change
- d. highly idealized then, no change

Examples of Responses

- a. I think I'm more accepting of her/them now...I feel we can be more open with each other now...
- b. I see her as more of a person...I don't think (she's) they are as powerful as I used to think
- c. I still expect her to be more of a feminist... I expect her to change her ideas...I've given up on having expectations for my mother/parents
- d. we got along well then and we still get along well

* Omit II. 6.

- II. 7. Who do you feel you were the closest to in your family?

Categories of Responses

- a. family member(s); issues of trust confiding
- b. family member; enjoying activities
- c. sibling; ally against parents
- d. no one

Examples of Responses

- a. mother: we could talk about emotional things I couldn't discuss with my father...I was close to everyone for different reasons...sister: knows everything about...brother: will never use anything I tell him against me
- b. my brother/sister/father: we enjoyed doing the same things together
- c. my brother/sister: we'd gang up against our parents
- d. no one, really

- II. 8. From all your family members, who do you feel has had the biggest influence on you?

Categories of Responses

- a. female relative
- b. everyone in different ways
- c. male relative
- d. mother/father (negative influence only)

Examples of Responses

- a. mother: I can see both positive and negative values in me from her...grandmother: most accepting of me...sister: influenced me about many of the attitudes I have now
- b. everyone in my family has had an effect on me... I can't say anyone was the most influential
- c. father: he's been my mentor, responsible for my curiosity...grandfather: always made me feel special
- d. father: I have his temper...mother: inability to love...mother: insecure, unhappy...mother... it was my role to keep her from getting anxious

II. Friends and Friendships

1. What are the most important things a friend should be?

Categories of Responses

- a. abstract qualities
- b. complementary in character traits (only)
- c. like doing the same things together (only)

Examples of Responses

- a. someone you can talk to about everything... someone who's accepting but will still challenge your ideas...someone you can trust...good sense of humor...dependable, loyal
- b. someone who will fill the gaps of things you're not, like if you're timid, the other person should be adventurous
- c. you should like doing the same things together

- III. 2. Do you think a person can be as close to a friend as she can be to a member of her own family?

Categories of Responses

- a. yes, as close
- b. yes, closer there's an element of choice
- c. yes, closer if not close to her family
- d. no
- e. unable to decide

Examples of Responses

- a. you don't have to explain yourself to a friend the way you have to with your family...friends don't have the same expectations of you that your family does
- b. families are related by blood, friends want to be together...friends want to be with you, you're not stuck with them
- c. my friends were closer, because I hated my family...you can believe a friend more than you can a family member
- d. I don't think it's possible
- e. it's different, you can't compare them

- III. 3. Can friends disagree about things? What kinds of things?

Categories of Responses

- a. yes, anything
- b. no

Examples of Responses

- a. I should hope so...of course, otherwise it would be boring...they can disagree about anything
- b. no

- III. 4. What must close friends agree on in order to be close?

Categories of Responses

- a. terms of friendship
- b. values, world view
- c. better if they do agree on most things

Examples of Responses

- a. have to agree not to use or manipulate each other... what they expect from a friend
- b. values...what you think is important...morals... basic political ideas...must think alike
- c. if they agree on most things it leads to a more harmonious relationship

- II. 5. When you were in high school was there one person who you considered to be your best friend? Please describe the relationship

Categories of Responses

- a. yes, friends because of support and understanding
- b. yes, friends because of liking the same things
- c. no
- d. best friend was a boy

Examples of Responses

- a. we could talk about anything, we were never embarrassed to talk about anything...we were very understanding of each other...we were supportive of each other
- b. we were always doing everything together...we'd play music and sports together all the time
- c. I had kind of superficial relationships, then... there was someone I palled around with, but didn't really think of her as a best friend...there was no one who I really liked too much on that level
- d. my best friend was a boy; we could tell each other anything...he was my best friend, he had a crush on me which put a strain on me

- III. 6. How do you feel this relationship (or lack thereof) has affected you?

Categories of Responses

- a. felt understood and liked
- b. closeness outside the family
- c. opened up new horizons
- d. felt like I relied on her too much
- e. would have felt hampered by one
- f. it didn't matter, family provided closeness

Examples of Responses

- a. I needed a supportive person to back me up and make me feel so not alone...I feel that she helped me relax, she understood that I needed to do that... I could talk to her to work out problems
- b. my friend provided a closeness I couldn't find in my family
- c. I wouldn't have explored as many things without her input...she was helpful in my meeting new people
- d. sometimes I thought I relied on her too much, I should have been more autonomous
- e. one person so close would have felt clingy... one other person would have cramped my style
- f. I didn't need a best friend, my mother was that for me...my sister was my best friend

- III. 7. Do you feel the quality of friendships you experience now with women differs from the friendships you experienced in high school?

Categories of Responses

- a. friendships were more superficial then, more in-depth now
- b. friendships then comparable to those now
- c. I don't think I could have as close a friend now as I had with my best friend then
- d. I have less time for friends now, I'm more work oriented

Examples of Responses

- a. then my friendships were not very enduring, based on dumb things like status symbols; now I'm a lot more open and don't play so many games... I think I rely a lot more on my friends for support and guidance, then there weren't as many serious things to worry about with friends
- b. not for me, my friendships are about at the same level now as they were then, pretty solid...
- c. friends now are more at an acquaintance level, there's not the history that goes with my friends from high school...friends now don't have the same intensity that they did in high school
- d. I'm so involved with my work that it's hard to find time to get together with my friends

V. Romantic Relationships

1. How important is a romantic relationship to you at this time of your life?

Categories of Responses

- a. very important (I'm in one/I miss it)
- b. (pretty) important, but I don't think about it too much - I think about it but it's not so important
- c. not important at all

Examples of Responses

- a. very important: I'm in one...important, but I'm not doing anything about it; it's a struggle for me...important: I need one person to be with... very important: I've had lots of bad ones and would like a healthy one
- b. pretty important...I would like to have one, but it's not the most important thing...important but I'm not dying because I'm not in one
- c. not important at all: I just broke up with someone...not important: I don't have the time for one

- IV. 2. How important was a romantic relationship to you in high school?

Categories of Responses

- a. important
- b. important but I avoided them
- c. not very important

Examples of Responses

- a. it was important then, too, because I was in one then, too...it was the #1 thing on my mind...it was all encompassing then, you were judged by who you went out with; I didn't really care who I went out with as long as I was going out...I was more interested in sex than the relationship
- b. I wanted one but didn't really miss it, I was very involved with my schoolwork...I had a couple but they lost their magic after a while
- c. not very important, I was always more work-oriented than socially oriented

- IV. 3. What are your expectations for a romantic relationship now...what would you want in one?

Categories of Responses

- a. qualities described in close friendship
- b. permanence
- c. imagine oneself actually in a relationship

Examples of Responses

- a. I'd want loyalty, someone I could trust...be with someone I love...interesting, not too routine, but comfortable...mutual reliance, but not dependency...honesty, vulnerability...understanding and communication...to be able to lead a life apart from that person
- b. I'd want it to last a long time, maybe get married
- c. first I'd have to be able to imagine myself in one

- IV. 4. What were your expectations for a romantic relationship in high school?

Categories of Responses

- a. had no expectations then, just wanted to go out; status; problem free relationship
- b. didn't want any committment
- c. trust, loyalty; not just "romantic" but supportive, enduring
- d. sex only

Examples of Responses

- a. I just wanted to be with a boy;...just wanted companionship...status was measured by if you had a boyfriend...I didn't know enough to have expectations
- b. I just expected to date someone for a couple of months at a time...I didn't want to get serious with a boyfriend then, didn't want to go steady
- c. I wanted someone I could rely on and trust...I felt that being in love meant it would go on forever...I expected someone to let me go my own way within the relationship
- d. I wanted boys to think I was sexy and would be disappointed if they wouldn't want to go to bed with me

- IV. 5. What are some of your worries or concerns about a long-term relationship?

Categories of Responses

- a. maintaining autonomy
- b. divorce/separation/having affairs
- c. wondering if a long-term relationship would ever exist
- d. bad communication
- c. unrealistic expectations of other; idolizing them

Examples of Responses

- a. I won't get to do what I want...my career would interfere with the relationship...I might want to see him too often, or smother him...that I'd make too many compromises, having to change my priorities...to keep yourself separate while keeping within the relationship...I might feel overwhelmed by him
- b. that it would end...that someone would walk out and not come back...potential for pain
- c. wondering if I was making a good choice...that it wouldn't happen
- d. that I wouldn't be able to talk out problems, I'd let things build up
- c. not to see that person as on a pedestal

V. Self-Worth

1. What are some things you do either on your own or with others that make you feel important or useful?

Categories of Responses

- a. self-directed activities
- b. "Other" directed activities
- c. nothing

Examples of Responses

- a. performing...painting...jogging...acting...being a successful student
- b. talking with a good friend...working with children...working on the campus hotline...doing things for others, getting feedback...political work
- c. I can't think of anything

V. 2. Is there an older adult whom you admire?

Categories of Responses

- a. family member-male
- b. family member-female
- c. family member-both parents
- d. non-family member-male
- e. non-family member-female
- f. no

Examples of Responses

- a. father: courage to live according to his beliefs...
- b. aunt: honest with herself, intelligent and caring...
mother: very creative
- c. parents: for being able to live according to their
political beliefs...for their individuality
- d. teacher: he goes after what he wants...smart and
emotional...he's proud of being smart and took an
interest in me
- e. teacher: she's generous with sharing her knowledge...
independent...she's smart, can combine her interests
with political beliefs...able to mix career and
family; my shrink: understanding and caring...not
dogmatic
- f. not really, but it would probably be a man since
men have more freedom

- V. 3. Is there an older adult you consider to be a close friend?

Categories of Responses

- a. yes, relative-male
- b. yes, relative-female
- c. yes, non-relative-male
- d. yes, non-relative-female
- e. no

Examples of Responses

- a. my father: can always talk to him...my brother
- b. grandmother: easy to talk to...aunt: can talk for hours...my mother is my closest friend
- c. teacher from high school: he's always been easy to talk to
- d. most of my friends are older: they care and we have good talks...stepmother: easy to talk to...my shrink: has become my friend
- e. no, but there are people I see as real possibilities for friends...no

- V. 4. What's the most wonderful thing that's happened to you that you felt responsible for?

Categories of Responses

- a. being acknowledged for talents
- b. activity leading to self-improvement
- c. activity involving helping another
- d. nothing

Examples of Responses

- a. being nominated for an editing position...work that I do on the hot line and the positive feedback that I get about it...making a record
- b. deciding to come to this college...going on a work/study program...going into analysis...getting myself out of a slump after the end of a relationship...bike trip
- c. becoming close with other people and knowing they like me...helping this girl through a personal crisis
- d. nothing...can't think of anything right now

* Omit V. 5.

- V. 6. How would you describe yourself, what kind of person would you say you are?

Categories of Responses

- a. more positive than negative attributes
- b. more negative than positive attributes
- c. vague description that does not quite give an impression

Examples of Responses

- a. warm; not real self-confident; easy to talk to/good listener...compassionate, talented, sarcastic, irreverant...bright, aware, neurotic, giving
- b. shy, a good listener, a little lazy...brutally honest, rude, sarcastic, cynical, no patience at the same time responsible and loyal
- c. in transition, in process of becoming I-don't-know-what

- V. 7. If you could what would you want to change about yourself?

Categories of Responses

- a. some character traits
- b. concrete traits
- c. change to be more like someone else

Examples of Responses

- a. my feelings of inadequacy...general outlook on the world...more self-confidence so I could be more direct...not care so much about other people's opinions...to be better at getting angry
- b. I'd like to lose some weight...I'd like to stop smoking...my temper, it's related to my hypoglycemia
- c. I wish I could be more like my sister...more like my mother

- V. 8. What are some things you'd never want to change about yourself?

Categories of Responses

- a. several qualities (mentioned in #6)
- b. one attribute only, or none

Examples of Responses

- a. my caring, my curiosity, connections with people...
planning ahead, ability to stand up for my opinion...
- b. I don't know...my sense of humor

- V. 9. Looking ahead in the next couple of years what do you think are some things you're going to have to decide or make up your mind about?

Categories of Responses

- a. Career and geographic location
- b. status of romantic relationship
- c. sexual identification
- d. nothing...things will evolve

Examples of Responses

- a. work and where I'll live...how I'm going to further my career...how to keep writing as part of my career
- b. what to do about the relationship I'm in now
- c. my sexual identity, whether I'm a lesbian out of choice or out of a reaction to someone else
- d. I want to do some traveling so I don't think I'll have to think about it for a few years

- V. 10. What kind of work do you envision yourself doing?
What is it about that that appeals to you?

Categories of Responses

- a. specific job- "self" oriented
- b. specific job- "other" oriented
- c. can't envision myself in any career

Examples of Responses

- a. acting, it's the only thing I can do; it will keep me young at heart...something to do with writing for the media, I like the imaginative parts of it...funning a sporting goods store, I like the equipment
- b. teaching, I like the idea of working with kids... an organizer for some executive, I like helping others...public relations, I like writing and working with people...real estate, then I'd have time to start a family
- c. I can't think of what I'd do at this point, that's a problem for me

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