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EVERYDAY HELPING

City University of New York

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FAVORS: AGE AND GENDER

FACTORS IN EVERYDAY HELPING

by

VALERIE LEWIS WIENER

**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.**

1986

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

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Abstract

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FAVORS: AGE AND GENDER FACTORS IN EVERYDAY HELPING

by

Valerie Lewis Wiener

Adviser: Professor Irwin Katz

This study examined helping behavior in everyday situations by focusing on the psychology of favors. A life span developmental approach was employed to determine age and gender variations in the following aspects of favor transactions between friends: (a) motivational aspects of granting and denying favors; (b) consequences of performing or denying a favor on the relationship; (c) characteristics of favors, including type, time, resources and emotional costs; and, (d) the frequency with which favors are requested and granted. Data were obtained through a questionnaire designed specifically for the project. The sample consisted of 258 respondents, 86 males and 172 females in three age groups: young adults (18-22), middle-aged adults (35-50), and elder adults (65-84); all were enrolled in educational programs in suburban communities. Comparing the groups, many differences emerged on the various measures. Findings regarding age and gender differences in reciprocity and obligation as motives for performing favors have implications for understanding the norm of reciprocity. A discussion addresses developmental shifts in friendship patterns and the impact of

cognitive factors (perspective-taking ability and egocentrism) on decisions to perform favors. Further research is required to understand gender differences in relation to the norm of reciprocity and the more positive attitudes of the elder group toward helping friends.

Acknowledgements

I presented my ideas for this study to Professor Stanley Milgram, my teacher for five years, in May 1984, and was buoyed by his enthusiastic reaction to my interest in favors. I had the honor of working with Dr. Milgram throughout the brief, though crucial period of writing my dissertation proposal. I met with him for the last time one day before his untimely death, in December 1984. His brilliant mind, undaunting sense of humor and unique style of mentoring— incisive and all the while compassionate— have continued to inspire me during these past two years. His presence has never faltered, and my sense of privilege for having known him is profound.

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In agreeing to serve on my Committee, Professor Howard Ehrlichman performed a large favor. His apt suggestions during early stages resulted in a more comprehensive theoretical

foundation for the study. His concern and good humor were readily available. Dr. Ehrlichman recognized the importance of seeking guidance from a developmental psychologist, and at his suggestion, I asked Professor Douglas Kimmel to join my Committee.

Dr. Kimmel's contributions to this project have been substantial. As a life span developmental psychologist, he offered a perspective that was essential to the research. Yet his input was not only in ideas, but in giving time. His comments and critique of an early draft enabled me to proceed with haste.

As both social psychologists and scholars in women's studies, my two outside readers contributed another necessary perspective. I wish to thank Professor Florence Denmark for expressing an interest in my topic, and for her availability. I have been aware of Dr. Denmark's consistent support of female scholars, which I am fortunate to have received. Professor Agnes O'Connell gave me specific and useful suggestions, along with warmth and encouragement. Professors Alan Gross and David Rindskopf answered statistical questions with grace.

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Of course, none of this would have happened without the 258 favors so graciously performed by the young, middle-aged and elder adults who filled in my lengthy questionnaire.

And finally, I have had the pleasure and good fortune of receiving numerous, unbounded favors from my husband, Louis— my partner for twenty-six years, and my "research assistant" for the last two. I can never adequately reciprocate all he has given over the course of this project.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the context of everyday relationships, the favor is a unique form of social exchange. Simple favors are requested, granted, and denied with regularity, encompassing a wide variety of tasks, from borrowing sugar, to giving a friend a lift, or lending a book. In addition to the favor as a form of exchange, favors are a unique and readily available type of social support.

Considering how common favors are in everyday life, only a handful of studies have addressed the psychology of favor-doing; moreover, most of these involved strangers and were conducted as laboratory or field experiments (Brehm & Cole, 1966; Emswiler, Deaux & Willits, 1971; Jecker & Landy, 1969; Kahn & Tice, 1973; Langer & Abelson, 1972; Schopler & Thompson, 1968; Shapiro, 1980; Worchel, Andreoli & Archer, 1976).

These studies have been based upon theoretical models pertaining to helping, altruism, and prosocial behavior. While these are relevant theories, the studies themselves overlook an important characteristic of favor-doing: favors most often occur not between strangers, but in the context of ongoing relationships.

In addition, previous studies are inconsistent in their definition of what constitutes a favor. Rather, favors have been defined to consist of such varied behaviors as giving some subjects a flower in the middle of an experiment (Schopler &

Thompson, 1968), unsolicited sharing of a fifty-cent reward between a confederate and a subject (Worchel, Andreoli & Archer, 1976), borrowing a dime for a phone call (Enswiller, Deaux & Willits 1971), and mailing a package for a distressed stranger (Langer & Abelson, 1972).

Given the growing recognition of social support as a key factor both in psychological adaptation and in preserving health, it seems reasonable to attempt to study favor-doing, a type of pro-social behavior, within the context of existing relationships. This approach to understanding favors offers a more realistic view of their uniqueness as a form of social exchange and support.

Ongoing exchanges of many kinds are transacted in the context of close personal relationships. Research on close relationships has focused upon such topics as interpersonal attraction, romantic love, intimate exchanges, sympathy, and commitment; but has omitted more concrete forms of exchange such as doing favors. A number of issues concerning favor exchange require exploration.

For the purposes of the current study, the favor is defined as a response to a request for help that does not involve explicit compensation, although there may be the implication of reciprocity. The context is one of helping the requester freely and volitionally, without the mention of specific reward.

The main focus of this dissertation is on favor-doing. Specific attention is given to the following issues:

(1) Motivational aspects of favor-doing. What motivates people to request and perform favors in personal relationships? Does a sense of obligation play a role in favor-doing? Is there an expectation of favors performed in return or is reciprocity not a salient issue?

(2) Consequences of favor-doing and favor denying. What are the consequences of favor exchange for the relationship? Are there any perceived changes that result from the agreement or refusal to do a favor?

(3) Content of favors. What kinds of favors are exchanged? Does favor exchange require the investment of substantial time and resources, or are favors more trivial in nature, requiring little personal investment?

(4) Age and gender factors. How are the above three issues affected by age and gender? As regards age, for example, older people have different personal and relational needs from young people. Middle-aged people have more demands due to work and family obligations. Young people have fewer resources available to them. How are these differences reflected in the favors performed by various age groups? Based upon these age differences, is there age variation in the frequency of favor-doing? In order to study these issues, a developmental approach is applied, and nuances of favor-doing at three points across the life span are examined. Studying favors at these stages of life makes it possible to see continuities as well as differences in favor-doing, and the influence of alterations in resources at different ages. This perspective is based on the

idea that with increasing age, reactions of a person to being asked to do a favor and performing favors will vary.

Turning to gender differences, it appears that they have not generally been studied in the literature on prosocial behavior, reciprocity and helping, just as they have been neglected in many other areas of psychological research. This dissertation assesses whether men and women have different motivations and reactions to performing and requesting favors, and what variations exist in the kinds of favors they perform.

While helping in emergencies has gained the attention of social psychologists, helping in everyday life has remained in the background. In approaching the study of favor-doing in the context of close relationships, specifically friendships, my goal is to enrich psychological understanding of an infrequently noticed form of everyday behavior.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The discussion which follows will provide a framework for an analysis of the favor as a social act. Before reviewing the existing literature, a conceptual description of the favor should be useful for deciphering properties of favors that distinguish favor-doing from other forms of helping.

A number of psychological features differentiate the favor from other forms of social exchange. First, it is not limited to a particular interpersonal relationship; the favor transaction may occur between complete strangers or close personal friends. A second unique quality of the favor is the manner in which it is phrased: as a polite request. Couching the favor in the form of a polite request signifies that granting the favor is not an obligation of the relationship. At the same time, the response to this request may have considerable consequences for the relationship. Thus, the favor goes beyond the formal concept of a relationship, since it has implications for deepening or weakening ties between people. Third, an illusion or pretense of choice is created by the semantic form in which a favor is asked: "Would you please do me a favor?" This tone of implied autonomy distinguishes the favor (phrased as a request) from the order (phrased as a demand).

The roles played by power and dependency in transacting favors may explain the potential impact of what initially seems like a simple and polite appeal for help. The request may

temporarily negate the existence of unequal power or status between two people. In fact, a power reversal may unfold. The following example illustrates the transformational nature of the request for a favor.

I recently went to a neighborhood store to buy milk late at night. To my dismay, the cashier was just closing the register. When I expressed my disappointment, the cashier pointed to a large man in a white apron and suggested: "He might do you a favor." I hesitated in making my request, but the man agreed graciously to grant my favor. There was a temporary role reversal, as the store clerk became boss (controlling the availability of a desired commodity), and I, the customer, became the grateful recipient of the favor.

In addition to reversing the balance of power, a psychological shift around issues of dependency may occur in the favor transaction. Closeness in interpersonal relationships requires creativity of a special sort: the ability to express dependency (Douvan, 1977). It is difficult for one person to hand over control by depending on another because it means placing oneself in a "one down" position. Douvan gives the example of a child-care arrangement, which came about after she requested a favor from a neighbor: "I would never have had the amazement and joy of so generous and graciously presented a gift. She would not have had the opportunity to give the gift of her neighborly and human concern. The reserve and distance between us diminished significantly in the train of this exposure of dependency and support." Douvan concludes that the failure of community in our

society is not a failure of a willingness to give, but the fear of asking, of allowing our dependency needs to be exposed.

Finally, the favor request involves something for which there is no established rule in the relationship; it is for something that is not taken care of by the ordinary expectations of the relationship. At the same time, asking the favor implies a wish or belief that this need for help will be met.

To summarize, the favor transaction is distinguished from other forms of social exchange in a number of ways: (1) the favor may occur in the context of many types of relationships; (2) the request for a favor maintains a pretense of choice and autonomy; (3) the favor requested is clearly to the benefit of the person asking; (4) the favor transaction may involve a temporary reversal of power; (5) asking a favor implies a verbal acknowledgment of dependency; (6) the favor concerns something beyond the normal expectations of the relationship.

Keeping this conceptual framework in mind, the study will be further enriched by considering the relevant literature concerning everyday manners, gift-giving and research from several areas of social psychology, including social exchange theory, reciprocity, attachment, social cognition and life span development.

Common Sense Perspectives

The Etiquette of Favors

A number of etiquette books address the problematic nature of favors. Vogue's Book of Etiquette and Good Manners (1969)

includes some general beliefs concerning favors, noting that "it is easier to ask something of a close relative or friend than a casual acquaintance" and "the right to ask should be regarded as a privilege"; and warning that "chronic borrowers are really takers who have no thought of making a return." On the positive side, "a person who is in a position to do a favor for someone else and makes the offer also creates one of the strongest ties of affection."

Borrowing is the only favor acknowledged by Emily Post (1975), who includes it in her section on college dormitory life: "An unfortunate custom, but one that is not likely to disappear, is that of borrowing among dormitory mates. Avoid borrowing if you can, but you must, of course, respond pleasantly when asked to lend an article of yours, whether you accept or refuse the request." Post appears to consider the act of lending or borrowing more a chore than a favor.

Charlotte Ford's Book of Modern Manners (1980), on the other hand, includes borrowing in the section on neighbors, noting: "A good relationship with your neighbors can be somewhat symbiotic-- it's comforting to have someone to whom you can turn for occasional small favors and, if you're really stuck, for a big one. Abusing mutual borrowing privileges can lead to unneighborly relations, a most unhappy state of affairs." All of these conclusions are expressed as social rules and are not supported by data.

Favors and Gifts

That people do small favors for each other is so usual an occurrence that to examine this form of social behavior might be considered a study in banality. A number of idiomatic, colloquial expressions belie this assumption, however. "Don't do me any favors" and "he owes me a favor" are expressions suggesting that favors are more laden with social importance and ambivalently charged than might appear. The former expression alludes to the potential for exploitation when one person agrees to do a favor for another. Similarly, "owing a favor" negates the idea that altruism might be the sole motive behind agreeing to do a favor.

In certain ways, the gift is analogous to the favor; it may be thought of as a favor embodied in a material possession. In fact, while the attempt to understand what occurs intrapsychically in the favor transaction is elusive, the comparison to gift-giving provides some clarity.

In describing gift-giving in primitive societies, Mauss (1954) gives an account of the rules of generosity which exist among Andaman Island pygmies: the object of their exchange is to produce a friendly feeling between two people. No one is free to refuse a gift. In fact, a sense of rivalry often emerges over who can give the most. Relatives in marriage are prevented from visiting and addressing each other, but remain obligated to make perpetual exchanges of gifts. (The taboo on visits expresses both the intimacy and the fear arising from the reciprocal creditor-debtor relationship.) A similar ambivalence

often surrounds the transaction of favors.

Schwartz (1967) notes that gift exchange is relevant for the development and maintenance of identity. Accepting a gift is equivalent to accepting the giver's ideas concerning the recipient's desires and needs. For example, the grandparent who gives a gift too advanced for a child's level of development (such as a full-sized bicycle to a toddler) is displaying a lack of appropriateness to the needs of the child and, in a sense, negating his or her identity. Similarly, a mother-in-law who gives a daughter-in-law (who dislikes cooking) numerous cookbooks is making a statement about her perception of the proper role of a wife. Gifts become a method of projecting images others have of us. To extend this idea further, the gift imposes an identity on the giver as well as the recipient. To reject a gift is to reject a definition of oneself. In addition, by refusing a gift, the potential recipient attempts to avoid the ties that are also implicit in asking a favor.

In the same vein, Schwartz continues that when ambivalence reaches a certain point, compulsive gift-giving may occur. The compulsive gift-giver protects himself or herself from guilt and unmasking of anxiety by ritualistic gift-giving. These concepts about the social psychology of gifts are readily translatable to the dynamics of favors in the context of interpersonal relationships. For example, a person may engage in compulsive favor-doing in order to avoid experiencing negative feelings.

Motivations for Favor-Doing

Though a large number of motivations for favor-doing may be speculated upon, they seem to fall primarily within two general categories. The performance of a favor may be motivated, first, by a desire to adhere to the norm of reciprocity, and secondly, by a wish to preserve bonds of attachment. Each of these broad types of motivations will be discussed in turn.

The reciprocity norm.

The reciprocity norm concerns the notion that people should help those who have helped them and should not injure those who have helped them. This implies that people who are granted favors should return them. Social scientists have defined reciprocity behavior according to reciprocity theory (Gouldner, 1960), an exchange approach (Homans, 1961); equity theory (Adams, 1965); and social responsibility (Berkowitz, 1968; Krebs, 1970). A brief discussion of each of these approaches follows.

Gouldner (1960) argued that reciprocity is the underlying energy that maintains ongoing social systems and relationships, influences commitments, and accounts for their dissolution. He outlined the range of the norm of reciprocity, and found it did not apply in situations where the recipient was dependent (i.e., young, old, or sick).

The reciprocity norm has been described by Homans (1961) as the norm of distributive justice, and by Adams (1965) as equity. According to these theorists, the reciprocity norm implies that everyone should get what he or she deserves, and

that when this is not the case, others feel pressured to restore equity. For example, equity implies that people who perform the same job should be equally compensated. The implication of this viewpoint for favor-doing is as follows: doing a favor for someone results in an expectation of equitable consideration at some future time. Similarly, when someone obliges our request for a favor and later asks a favor in return, we are more likely to consent than if we had not been the beneficiary of the earlier favor.

Thus, the performance of a favor upsets the balance of equity. In order to restore this balance, we must reciprocate the favor. This phenomenon has been investigated experimentally (Berkowitz, 1968; Berkowitz & Daniels, 1964). Results of these experiments indicate that subjects who had been previously helped were more likely to offer an identical favor than subjects who were not helped previously. Goranson & Berkowitz (1966) found that subjects were more likely to return help when they perceived it was given voluntarily. When help was not offered voluntarily, little feeling of obligation was aroused. Thus, they concluded that reciprocity depends somewhat on the individual's perception of why another person helped.

Berkowitz (1972) criticized the work of exchange theorists for basing their models on the study of organizations in business and government, where concerns focus on monetary compensations. In these situations, giving and receiving is apt to be reduced to economics. Further, Berkowitz proposed that people are motivated to act altruistically by morality and

empathy, which may produce selfless action without the anticipation of rewards. The norm of social responsibility proposed by Berkowitz (1966) is that middle class American society, among other groups, adheres to an ideal norm that people should help others who are dependent upon them and need assistance. Upon learning that someone needs help, we become aware of this norm. It follows, then, that the reciprocity norm would interact with the norm of social responsibility in motivating people to perform favors.

Another variation of how the norm of reciprocity functions is provided by Krebs (1970). Reviewing the literature on altruism, Krebs concluded that in general, theorists believe altruism to be regulated by two social norms: the norm of social responsibility, and the norm of giving. The norm of giving implies that one should want to give, not because of anticipating reciprocity, but for its own value (Leeds, 1963). The work of Krebs suggests, then, that reciprocity may not be the only social norm involved in favor-doing, and that norms of social responsibility and giving are also influential.

Extending implications of the norm of reciprocity even further, Staub (1972) posited that a belief in reciprocity may underly the initiation of prosocial behavior. The favor is often conceptualized as a modest manifestation of prosocial behavior. In general, a prosocial act is defined as containing three characteristic aspects: (1) it is performed voluntarily; (2) it is intended to benefit another person or group; (3) it is performed as an end in itself and not to fulfill ulterior

motives (Krebs, 1970). Performing such an act (e.g., a favor) may, in fact, increase an individual's disposition to perform subsequent prosocial acts. The norm of giving may be equally relevant to understanding prosocial behavior as is the reciprocity norm. Of course, it is important to note that many favors cannot be considered prosocial acts. For example, political favors are often fraught with corruption and motivated by self-aggrandisement.

In the only previous work directly related to favor-doing, Muir and Weinstein (1962) found that people did subscribe to the norm of reciprocity. They studied favor-doing among lower and middle class Louisville, Kentucky housewives, and found that the norm functions differently for these two groups. Whereas middle class respondents expected specific repayment (following an economic model of obligation), lower class respondents felt "grateful" rather than obligated, and did not feel that obligation was a factor in the pattern of future exchanges. All 120 respondents stated they liked to do favors for others, but only 8.9 per cent liked to be obligated to others. This finding suggests that a feeling of indebtedness is usually experienced as an aversive state.

The issue of indebtedness. The norm of reciprocity appears to entail a sense of obligation or indebtedness. A sense of indebtedness on the part of the recipient often appears to accompany the favor transaction. Indebtedness is a conscious state with both cognitive and affective components (Greenberg, 1980). It consists of (1) a feeling of obligation to repay a

donor, and (2) a heightened alertness to those cues relevant to reducing indebtedness. In his theoretical exposition, Greenberg has noted that the state of indebtedness is accompanied by feelings of discomfort, but that little attention has been given to assessing this discomfort. A number of studies indicate that recipients experience obligation and discomfort upon the receipt of a benefit (Bar-Tal & Greenberg, 1974; Brehm & Cole, 1966; Greenberg & Shapiro, 1971). Indebtedness may be influenced by the particular relationship in which a favor is performed. Weinstein (1969) found that people who were helped were less concerned about indebtedness and loss of esteem when the benefactor was a friend. Friends were relatively unaffected by temporary imbalances in relationships since they have continuing exchanges and equitable histories.

The nature of the relationship was also a significant consideration for Clark and Mills (1979), who addressed the temporal aspect of reciprocity. They suggested that in a newly developing relationship, accepting a favor and allowing time to pass before reciprocating means that a person is interested in forming a close tie; accepting and immediately reciprocating a favor may imply the person wanted to keep the relationship impersonal, defining it as merely a one-time exchange. Thus, favors in the context of close (friends, family, romantic partners) and casual (strangers meeting for first time, business, collegial) relationships are governed by different temporal norms.

There are, however, instances when the norm of reciprocity

fails. Gergen (1974) noted that receiving a favor does not always increase generosity. In the following situations, the tendency to reciprocate favors may be counteracted: (1) when the recipient believes the benefactor had little choice in deciding to do a favor, (2) when the favor involved restricting freedom of action (Brehm & Cole, 1966), and (3) when a favor was given in an inappropriate situation (Schopler & Thompson, 1968). Brehm and Cole (1966) argued that reciprocation of favors may be reduced by the norm of reciprocity, because "reactance" is aroused when the obligation created by the norm of reciprocity threatens behavioral freedom. As a result, the person is motivated to reestablish freedom by refusing to reciprocate.

Schopler and Thompson (1968) found that the norm of reciprocity did not hold true when a favor was embedded in an inappropriate context. The problem with their conclusions lies in their definition of the favor: it was not requested, but rather, was defined as the interruption of a staged sales pitch to give some participants a flower.

Saving face. The ends to which people will go to protect social norms are addressed by Goffman (1955). His ethnomethodological approach focuses on interactions between people that are designed to preserve social norms. According to Goffman, face is the positive social value a person claims by taking a specific position during an interaction; e.g., when someone pretends to like a gift when the opposite is true, that person is "saving face." The act of agreeing to do a favor may also be a face one saving for both the requester and the grantor.

Similarly, refusing to do a favor incurs the risk of losing face.

Summary. This discussion has presented various theoretical interpretations of the norm of reciprocity and their implications for favor-doing. Variations and extensions of the norm, such as the norms of social responsibility and giving, were described. The influence of the personal relationship in arousing feelings of indebtedness was considered as a modifying factor in the decision to perform a favor. Clearly, the norm of reciprocity and related norms are crucial to understanding motivational correlates of favor-doing. The norm of reciprocity implies a pragmatic, materialistic outlook on helping. The norm of giving, which refers to giving for its own sake (with no ulterior motive), is more in keeping with theories of altruism and pro-social behavior. The current study will attempt to tease out motivational correlates of favor-doing by including measures to assess the importance of reciprocity and giving in favors exchanged by friends.

Favors and attachment.

Another potential motivation for favor-doing is the preservation of attachment behavior. According to McCall (1970), the primary bond in personal relationships is attachment. People attempt to secure commitments from others as a dependable system of obtaining exchange rewards. After a certain point, some investments are irreversible and the attachment is secure. Along with the attachment, a system of exchanging rewards has been established.

Requesting a favor may be seen as validation that a special attachment exists in many types of relationships. A shared bond is often revived by asking a favor. For example, calling a distant friend one has been out of touch with and asking him or her to do a favor, such as granting a job interview to a son or daughter who has recently graduated from college, may, indeed, renew a relationship.

Most studies on attachment have focused on infancy and childhood (Ainsworth, 1962; Bowlby, 1969). Adult attachment has been studied primarily under the rubric of friendships (Bell, 1981; Rubin, 1985; Weiss & Lowenthal, 1975) and close relationships (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Burgess & Huston, 1978; Kelly, 1979). The subject of attachment may also be discussed from an exchange perspective. Therefore more will be said about social exchange theory below.

Social Exchange Theory

Another theoretical base suggesting that favors are important to relationships is offered by social exchange theory. This theory may be conceptualized as an overlapping perspective, bridging the gap between reciprocity and attachment as motivations for favor-doing in a relationship. According to social exchange theorists, a relationship between two people is most often defined by the resources each person provides for distribution and exchange. Social exchange exists "in a situation in which the actions of one person provide rewards or punishments for the actions of another person and vice versa" (Homans, 1979). When a person enters into repeated exchanges with the same other person, a relationship exists between them. Subtle differences in exchange are used to define, contain and develop relationships. For example, common sense dictates that it should be more difficult for older people to have equitable exchanges.

The greater the exchange of interpersonal rewards, the greater likelihood that the interactions leading to these rewards will be repeated; the greater the costs, the greater the instability in the relationship (Homans, 1961). In fact, according to Homans, accepting a service one cannot repay in kind incurs inferiority as a cost of receiving. This concept is supported by studies indicating that elderly people who receive help have trouble maintaining self-esteem (Kalish, 1967; Lipman & Sterne, 1962). Because of their more limited resources, it follows that older people would find it more difficult than

younger people to have equitable exchanges.

While contributing important insights to the role played by exchange in relationships, social exchange theory has not addressed what kinds of resources are being exchanged and the importance of various resources at different ages. Foa (1971) believed that both tangible and intangible resources must be examined in order to understand social behavior. He designed a typology of resources that are exchanged, and concluded that the appropriate type of exchange is determined more by the relationship in which it occurs (e.g., friendship) than by the intrinsic value of resources exchanged. To address this shortcoming, which neglects the context of the relationship in which resources are exchanged, the current research will consider types of favors that are exchanged within a specific type of relationship: friendship. In addition, it will account for what kinds of resources are being exchanged, since certain resources may be more important than others at different ages.

Exchanges of favors among friends.

While favors may occur between strangers, they are more commonly a form of exchange in the context of ongoing relationships, especially friendships. One reason people need friends is to provide assistance and support. The nature of the exchange or support between two persons helps to define the degree and type of friendship that exists (Duck, 1983). A Psychology Today survey of 40,000 readers indicated that 51 per cent of the sample would turn to friends, not family, in a crisis (Parlee, 1979). (Most respondents ranged in age from 18 to 34.) Asked

to describe the activities of friendship, they placed "helping out a friend" and "turning to a close friend for help" as high priorities. Helping was the first ranked activity for males and the second ranked activity for females; 84 per cent of the females and 80 per cent of the male respondents stated they had asked a friend to do something for them during the past month. In contrast, "having an intimate talk" was ranked first by 90 per cent of the females, compared to 78 per cent of males.

Findings of an experiment by Bar-Tal (1975) also lend support to the hypothesis that favors are predominantly a form of exchange between friends. Subjects who were told that donors of help were either a parent, sibling, friend, acquaintance, or stranger expressed a greater obligation to reciprocate help they received when the relationship was weaker. The least obligation was expressed toward a parent or sibling. Help from a stranger was perceived as a gracious act. This finding makes it clear that a key variable in studying favors is the degree of closeness in a specific relationship. In addition, Weiss and Lowenthal (1975) found in their study on life-course perspectives of friendship that reciprocity was the second most emphasized component of friendship, perceived similarity being the first. The central theme of reciprocity, according to their respondents, is giving and receiving. Favor exchange is not only a form of social exchange but a manifestation of attachment. Since requesting and performing favors may be considered methods used by adults to secure and maintain relationships, the study will attempt to discern the

importance of attachment as a motivational correlate of favor-doing.

A Life Span Model

While the social exchange model offers a useful framework for studying relationships, it has a number of shortcomings, including its failure to take account of age as a factor. Kimmel (1979) argued that the age of the participants in a relationship is an important variable for understanding the nature and meaning of the relationship. He criticized the social exchange approach for its (1) static conception of the person; (2) implicit assumption of justice that is counter to the realities of life-span development (in many situations deserved benefits cannot be equitably distributed); and (3) failure to consider the context of the relationship.

Within the life-span context, Kimmel suggests the symbolic interactionist view as a more pragmatic method for understanding social relationships. This model, used by McCall (1974) to understand interpersonal attraction, includes developmental changes over the life-span in the analysis of relationships. Similarly, rather than viewing the person as a static entity and implying that age is irrelevant to changes in behavior, the current study will view changes in aspects of favor-doing at various life stages. The symbolic interactionist approach takes into account components of relationships, just as will the current study; i.e., the duration of the relationship, the impact of the favor interaction on the relationship, and the

perceptions of both participants.

A life-span developmental perspective of social relationships assumes that the nature and meaning of relationships are affected by age. Duck (1983) studied friendships across the life span and found that "friendship drives" are influenced by age and place in the life cycle. He noted, for example, that old people become more dependent and less able to reciprocate friends by doing services in return. Many dislike old age because they resent the feeling of helplessness, dependency and perpetual indebtedness to others. At the other extreme, the greater physical and material resources available to people during younger and middle-aged years may contribute to their capacity for performing more favors. Life span variations such as these influence relationships and therefore must be considered if favor-doing is to be comprehensively examined.

Due to issues of complexity, variability and privacy, the scientific study of personal relationships is difficult. There have been few attempts to investigate behavior in the context of ongoing relationships. DePaulo (1982) developed a questionnaire approach to gain an overview of everyday helping interactions in the context of relationships. Using hypothetical situations involving help-seeking, she studied 303 men and women at four age levels (ranging from 13 to 42 years old). Findings indicated that respondents felt better about asking for help when they thought helpers would not mind giving it. They believed helpers would feel better about helping in situations

where it was especially important. Finally, respondents were more willing to ask for help when they believed the helper would not hesitate to ask for help in return.

DePaulo also found gender differences in help-seeking. Males were more reluctant to seek help, but would do so more willingly when the situation was important or task-oriented. This finding led De Paulo to hypothesize that women sometimes actively seek out a state of obligation. This may be explained by the fact that obligation involves tension that motivates one to reciprocate and also better assures the maintenance of a social bond. Age effects appeared only in the choice of helpers: respondents tended to select helpers of their own age and gender, in a relationship where mutual attraction existed. A counter-intuitive finding was that people are reluctant to make requests for small favors. In fact, both especially large and especially small requests were most reluctantly asked for, according to DePaulo.

Schulman (1975) adapted a life span approach to examine personal networks of 347 respondents at various stages of the life cycle and noted variations in the types, degree of stability, content, and structural aspects of relationships. For example, single young adults were found less likely to count kin among their closest relationships. Schulman attributes this finding to the fact that major concerns of people at this stage of the life cycle are with becoming established in careers, seeking companionship, and searching for a mate. Thus, they are more likely to associate with peers who share their concerns.

Social Cognition across the Life-Span

Another important factor to consider when examining favors from a life span perspective is the level of social cognition at which an individual is functioning. Social cognition is the process of representing knowledge about people and their relationships. In trying to understand changes in relationships from a life-span perspective, it is useful to consider aspects of social cognition that are characteristic of each group. Two areas of social cognition are especially relevant to favor-doing: (1) role-taking, and (2) egocentrism.

A specific kind of social cognition that impacts on the favor transaction is role-taking, or placing oneself in another's shoes and considering another's viewpoint when making judgments or planning behavior. (Role-taking has also been referred to as perspective taking in the developmental psychology literature (Selman, 1976). Role-taking is relevant to favors because when requesting a favor, there is an implicit assumption that another person will be able to assume one's perspective in deciding upon an appropriate response. Role-taking becomes increasingly complex with age, and involves the ability to simultaneously consider an increasing number of factors (Higgins, 1981).

Since role-taking ability is a function of age, it would follow that at different ages, people are better or less able to assume the perspectives of others; e.g., a young adult might not understand the subtleties of a friend's predicament as thoroughly as an older person. Role-taking ability undergoes

developmental changes well beyond adolescence. Sinott (1978) has suggested that social cognitive growth advances beyond the adolescent stage of Formal Operations (Piaget, 1936) since adults experience a greater variety of social interactions, and must solve more interpersonal problems.

Egocentrism is another aspect of cognitive development relevant to understanding interpersonal processes. Egocentrism is that level of cognitive development in which there is a lack of differentiation in some areas of subject-object interaction (Piaget, 1925). Egocentrism is a cognitive feature that can be present at any stage of development. This cognitive deficiency leads to a failure in the ability to differentiate between cognitive concerns of others and the self. Rather than a preoccupation with the self, egocentrism refers to an embeddedness in one's own point of view, or an inability to view other perspectives. At each stage of development, this lack of differentiation (egocentrism) takes a unique form and is manifested in unique behaviors. It would follow that egocentrism would influence favor exchange at different ages.

Favor-doing Across the Life Cycle

The following discussion of favor-doing across the life cycle will suggest how egocentrism and role-taking ability are manifested in the context of friendships during three stages: young adulthood, middle age and later adulthood.

Adult peers are important agents in maintaining perspective-taking and social cognitive skills, acting as social

models, and providing emotional support. As people move through the adult years, they attach changing importance to friendships. A sense of well-being for both young and older adults is more strongly anchored in the number of people in the friendship network than for middle-aged people. Young and older adults report friendships to be more extensive and multifaceted than do middle-aged (Huston & Levinger, 1978).

Favors during the stage of young adulthood. Egocentrism is reflected in a specific manner during the early years of adolescence (approximately 13-16). Young adolescents believe that others share their preoccupations with appearance and behavior (Elkind, 1967). In terms of perspective taking, the transition from the use of "object" constructs to "psychological" constructs speeds up during adolescence, as "people become aware of the full complexity of human thoughts, feelings and intentions or become aware that characteristics of behavior may vary with situations, internal states or other transitory factors" (Hetherington & Parke, 1979, p.335). This is consistent with Piaget's Stage of Formal Operations, and Selman's Stage of Mutual Perspectives: the young adolescent is able to view a relationship between two people from the perspective of a third party. By the time young adulthood is reached (around age 18), the individual has progressed through the Stage of Formal Operations, and is better able to conceptualize his or her thoughts and those of others. Presumably, then, the relatively new experiences of young adults in perspective taking would be reflected in their

attitudes toward favor-doing. Similarly, since they are barely emerging from a stage of self-involvement, their favor-doing might be less concerned with enhancing relationships and more motivated by reciprocity.

In addition to these social-cognitive influences, societal factors influence adolescents' reactions to the favor. In all societies, adolescence is the time when friendship acquires its greatest emotional urgency (DuBois, 1974). One especially needs friends during these years of uncertainty and ambiguity, when ties to parents are loosening and skills necessary to assume adult responsibilities are being acquired (Blau, 1973). In terms of requesting favors, then, the young adult would be more likely to turn to friends than family members.

Favors during the years of middle-age. Interpersonal relationships become more complex during the years of middle-age (approximately 35-50). These are the years of the midlife transition, during which responsibilities and time constraints increase in terms of family and job pressures. With greater experience in forming, maintaining, and terminating relationships, cognitive perspectives also change: there is a growing awareness of the possibility of being exploited. Thus, while role-taking ability has improved by this stage, it may be tempered by previous experiences. For example, a person who has been taken advantage of in terms of doing favors might be more defensive and less sympathetic to a friend's situation.

On the whole, however, it seems likely that middle-aged people would be motivated to perform favors by desires to

enhance relationships and maintain attachments, having developed a greater awareness of the importance of friends along with more sophisticated perspective taking skills. At this more highly developed stage of social cognitive development, adults are better able to understand the complexities and contradictions present in relationships. This awareness should lead to more skilled social understanding of interactions. Thus, middle-aged adults would be more likely to view the ramifications of favor-doing than would younger adults.

Findings concerning friendship patterns during this stage of life are conflicting. Some research claims that the size of the friendship network decreases during middle-age (Huston & Levinger, 1978), while other data suggests that it remains stable (Kahn & Antonucci, 1980).

Kahn and Antonucci (1980) developed the concept of the convoy, defined as social support derived from a personal network of family, friends, and others. The convoy is responsible for interpersonal transactions that include one or more of three key elements: affect, affirmation, and aid. Aid is most relevant to the current study in that it involves direct assistance in categories of things, money, information, time and entitlements. During ages 35-55, the size of the convoy remains stable, implying that social support during these years is more structurally solid.

Favors among elder adults. With regard to perspective taking ability, some studies indicate that it declines as people grow old (Beilby & Papalia, 1975; Rybash et al, 1983; Schultz & Hoyer, 1976), accompanied by an increase in egocentrism. If, in fact, these changes take place, resulting in a lessened ability to understand the needs of others, it may be that favor-doing occurs less frequently among elder adults. In addition, resources, friendship availability and health may exhibit declines which would also affect an older person's ability to do favors.

With barriers of time lifted in terms of day to day demands, elder adults may turn to relationships as a major source of support. Studies reveal that friendship with peers re-emerges as a vital need during old age, especially after widowhood and retirement (Rosow, 1970; Blau, 1973). In fact, friendships sustain a sense of usefulness and self-esteem more than do familial relationships (Blau, 1973). Lowenthal and Haven (1964) found that a single intimate friendship is an effective buffer against the demoralization produced by social losses during the stage of older adulthood. Their finding contradicts the controversial concept of "disengagement" (Cumming and Henry, 1961), a process of mutual withdrawal by the aging person from the social environment.

Some studies have indicated that old age is a life stage distinguished by a severe loss of social roles. Rosow (1970) found that peers, rather than adult children are required for

certain problems in old age, and that friendship patterns and relations with children function in separate social arenas. Various forms of mutual aid, primarily care in illness, were correlated with residential proximity of friends. Thus, elder adults often face a dilemma: while needing friends to lessen the demoralizing effects of giving up major family and work roles, opportunities for friendship may be fewer, and reciprocity more difficult.

To conclude, with increasing age the decision to grant or deny a favor takes on added complexity. The content of many favors of elder adults may be more serious in nature, and therefore the decision making process may be more complex for this age group. Further, because friendships are less accessible, the consequences of favor-doing and denying may be more severe: i.e., if an elder person's favor is turned down, it may have a detrimental effect on a friendship.

Gender Differences in Favor-Doing

The recent and still controversial finding that women experience relationships differently than do men has been documented by psychological research. Studies indicate that gender differences in friendship emerge and solidify during childhood. The need for intimate friendship arises earlier for girls, whose friendships are more emotional. Boys' friendships are distinguished by their tendency to occur in large groups, whereas girls prefer dyadic relationships (Bell, 1981). Similarly, whereas boys rely on peers for support in fulfilling

needs for independence and achievement, girls use peers for the development of interpersonal skills and close relationships. Thus, a number of studies have noted that from early childhood, friendship patterns of men and women display variability.

According to Bell, gender is the most important factor in friendship variations, and gender differences persist regardless of age. He interviewed 101 women and 65 men about their friendships, and found that the average number of close friends was 3.2 for males, as opposed to 4.7 for females. Furthermore, 10 per cent of the male respondents claimed to have no close friends, while this was not true for any of the females. In fact, a study by Fasteau (1975) revealed that some men do not share even the most ordinary aspects of their daily lives with friends. Women, on the other hand, are much more willing to reveal themselves and to ask for help from other women. Findings of Hess (1979) suggest that men's social networks are large and diffuse, whereas women's are smaller and more intense.

This basic gender difference in interpersonal style of relating to others was the focus of Gilligan's seminal work (1982). Gilligan posited that the "problem of interpretation that shadows our understanding of women's development arises from these differences in relationships." Unlike men, women see the world as "comprised of relationships rather than people standing alone, a world that coheres through human connections rather than systems of rules" (Gilligan, p.24). A man perceives that responsibility consists of not doing what he

wants because he is thinking of others; a woman, on the other hand, views responsibility as doing what others are counting on her to do regardless of what she wants. In other words, a man may feel that his autonomy is restricted by agreeing to do a favor. For a woman, autonomy is not the issue. Women view assuming responsibility as a response that extends their potential for action; men, on the other hand, view responsibility as a limitation of action. These differences may explain the finding of Bar-Tal, Harmon, & Greenberg (1975) that females are more altruistically oriented, while males are more reciprocity oriented. This question of orientation toward helping will be addressed in the current study.

Along with psychological influences, societal factors may influence gender differences in friendship patterns. Rubin (1985) noted the existence of a changed societal attitude toward male friendships, which used to be considered ideal. Results of her study of 300 men and women in heterosexual relationships revealed that at every life stage (ages 25-55), women have more friendships (distinct from collegial or work relationships) than do men. In addition, there are marked differences in the content and quality of women's friendships. Women's friendships are based upon shared intimacies, self-revelation, nurturance and emotional support, and men's friendships are characterized by shared activities; these differences persist through old age, when women continue to make new friends, and men lose old ones but fail to replace them.

Women's friendships were the focus of a study of

interpersonal attachments in adulthood, investigating friendship functions among 172 women, ages 14-80 (Candy, Troll & Levy, 1981). Results of factor analyses revealed three orthogonal factors which characterized friendship: intimacy-assistance, status, and power. While it was hypothesized that assistance would remain stable or increase in importance with age, no significant age differences emerged with regard to intimacy-assistance. Their finding that intimacy (the sharing of secrets) is linked with assistance (helping or receiving help) is pertinent to the current study which also examines relationships between closeness and help-giving.

There are several implications of these gender differences for favor-doing. Of particular interest are issues relating to intimacy. Men may view favors more as reciprocal, pragmatic transactions, whereas women may use them to maintain and intensify bonds. Also, the emotionally supportive nature of women's friendships may influence both the content and affective aspects of their favors.

Implications of the Literature Review

The social psychological approach of the current study is in keeping with both the social interactionist and life-span developmental models described in this review of the literature. The favor will be studied as a specific interaction, transacted between two people of specific genders, each at a definite point along the life-span and in the context of a particular relationship. Thus, unlike earlier studies on favor-doing

which were primarily experimental, this study will take into account that individuals interact with and are influenced by various aspects of the social environment. For example, asking a close friend for a lift might evoke a different response depending upon the mood of the friend that morning, his or her schedule, the weather and the amount of inconvenience involved. There might be a greater likelihood of this friend giving a lift than if another, more marginal friend requested the identical favor on the same morning. Further, the ages and genders of the participants might influence the consequences of the transaction.

To conclude, an examination of favor-doing among friends of three distinct age groups will offer a life span view of an everyday behavior that has generally been observed only among strangers. Thus, a new perspective on favor-doing will provide further insight into age and gender differences in a specific act within the context of friendships.

3. PILOT STUDY AND HYPOTHESES

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in November, 1984 as an exploratory device. A questionnaire designed to examine issues of the favor transaction was administered to 125 eighteen year-olds, 40 middle-aged adults (ages 35-48), and 20 elder adults (ages 67-78). (A sample of the questionnaire may be found in Appendix D.)

Data were analyzed from sixty returned questionnaires of the eighteen year-old respondents (30 males and 30 females), all of whom were freshmen students in an introductory psychology class at Montclair State College. In addition, results were obtained from questionnaires returned by twenty-four of the middle-aged respondents (7 males and 17 females), all of whom were graduate students in counseling at Seton Hall University. Lastly, data were obtained from eleven respondents of an elder adult group, all females who attended a weekly aerobic exercise class in a New Jersey suburb. Significance tests were not done because of the small size of the middle-aged and elder adult samples.

Findings. The preliminary investigation produced a number of suggestive trends that, when taken in conjunction with suggestions in the literature, formed the basis for some of the hypotheses of the main study. The first trend concerned changing evaluations of favors and favor-doing over the course of adult development. Specifically, young adults reported

experiencing more uncomfortable feelings around the favor transaction than either of the two other groups. With increasing age, respondents attributed more positive feelings both to asking and being asked for favors.

Another set of trends concerned characteristic gender differences: (a) when requesting favors, females tended to rely more upon close friends than did males; (b) females imputed more uncomfortable feelings to a person who asked a favor of them than did males, whose feelings were more positive; and (c) females expressed more felt discomfort than males when they asked a favor of someone.

Finally, the pilot data suggested that most favors that respondents recalled having asked were granted. Indeed, across all age groups, subjects reported this to be the case 98 percent of the time.

Hypotheses of the Main Study

Results of the pilot study were used as a basis for the development of a more extensive questionnaire to be used in the main study. The questionnaire was designed to test hypotheses, all of which were generated from the theoretical framework provided by the review of the literature, and from findings of the pilot study. Each hypothesis, preceded by its theoretical rationale, is presented below.

Reported Willingness to Do Various Favors

Life span variations suggest that people at various ages will be willing to perform favors with differential frequency. Social support networks of middle-aged people are more structurally solid than those of other age groups (Kahn and Antonucci, 1980), in addition to which, middle-aged people possess the greatest resources (Neugarten, 1967). Combining these facts, it is likely that middle-aged respondents will report a willingness to perform more favors than either young or elder adults. Regarding gender, the societal role of women as helpers and nurturers is expected to influence their level of favor-doing. The following hypotheses are proposed with regard to level of favor-doing:

Hypothesis 1. Of the three age groups, middle-aged people will report a willingness to do a greater range of favors, young adults the next greatest, and elder adults the narrowest range of favors.

Hypothesis 2. Women are expected to report a willingness to perform a significantly greater range of favors

than men.

Motivations Associated with Favor-Doing

In discussing the influence of cognitive development on favor-doing, it was noted in the literature review that egocentrism and role-taking ability undergo developmental changes. Measures of motivational correlates of favor-doing would be expected to manifest these variations. The motives of young adults in performing favors, as compared with those of the two older groups, are likely to be influenced by their tendency to be more egocentric than older adults (Elkind, 1967). Because of their less highly developed perspective taking ability, young adults are expected to be concerned with issues of reciprocity and obligation, rather than issues of attachment. For middle-aged and elder people, motives for favor-doing are expected to be more connected with preserving and enhancing the qualities of their relationships. Similarly, females are expected to be more concerned than males with relationship enhancement, while males are expected to be more motivated by reciprocity (Gilligan, 1982; Bar-Tal, Harmon, & Greenberg, 1975). The following hypotheses are proposed with regard to motivational correlates of favor-doing:

Hypothesis 3. In performing favors, young adults will be more motivated than the other age groups by considerations of reciprocity and obligation.

Hypothesis 4. In performing favors, males will be more motivated by the norm of reciprocity and feelings of obligation

than will females.

Hypothesis 5. In performing favors, middle-aged and elder adults will be more motivated than young adults by the desire to enhance a relationship and maintain bonds of attachment.

Hypothesis 6. In performing favors, females will be more motivated by issues of relationship enhancement and attachment than will males.

Other Motivational Aspects of Favor-Doing

Based upon life span variations and gender differences, it may be expected that people at different age levels will vary in the extent to which they have positive or negative feelings about favor exchange. Some relevant measures are the level of inconvenience perceived by an individual when performing a favor, attributions concerning how the other person felt about asking the favor, and consequences of performing the favor on the relationship. The following life stage and gender differences are expected to emerge regarding these motivational aspects of favor-doing:

Degree of inconvenience. The availability of resources required for favor-doing varies at different ages. In addition, life demands and time constraints operate in varying degrees. These differences should be reflected in measures of the degree of inconvenience experienced in doing favors at different ages. Young people have fewer resources than middle-aged or elder adults, but also have fewer responsibilities involving

commitments to family. Thus, they are expected to experience the least amount of inconvenience, whereas middle-aged adults are expected to experience greater inconvenience due to their greater work and familial demands. Elder adults are expected to feel the greatest inconvenience due to limitations imposed by their loss of social roles (Lowenthal and Haven, 1964). The following variations are expected to emerge:

Hypothesis 7. Comparing the three age groups, young adults will view favors as involving the least amount of inconvenience; middle-aged adults will view favors as involving more inconvenience; and elder adults will view favors as involving the greatest amount of inconvenience.

Level of ascribed comfort. Young adults have more frequent, ongoing interactions with their friends than do middle-aged or elder adults. Furthermore, since they are in the process of loosening familial ties, and using friends to facilitate this process, young adults are more likely to be sensitive to their friends' reactions to requests for favors than are older adults. The greater sensitivity of females to the reactions of others is also expected to influence their ascriptions of comfort.

Hypothesis 8. Young adults will perceive the person who requests a favor of them as experiencing more discomfort than will middle-aged or elder adults.

Hypothesis 9. Females will ascribe more discomfort to the person requesting a favor of them than will males.

Perceived consequences of favor-doing for the relationship. Research has indicated that friendship serves different needs at different stages of the life cycle. Attachment is one of the primary needs associated with friendship, and the desire to enhance attachments may be present in varying degrees depending upon the stage of the life cycle. For example, young adults use friendships to effect the separation from family that is a developmental task at this stage. For young adults living in a college setting, favor requests are interwoven with everyday interactions with friends. Thus, it may be expected that the consequences of these requests would not have a great impact on their relationships; i.e., if one friend cannot grant the needed favor, another one probably can. In contrast, middle-aged people have greater family and work responsibilities, resulting in their having fewer daily interactions with friends. It would be expected, then, that the friendships they maintain are more select and used to gain relational benefits such as affection and feelings of closeness. Thus, favors of the middle-aged are expected to have a greater effect on feelings of closeness in their relationships than favors of the young. Elder adults are likewise expected to perceive enhanced closeness as the consequence of performing favors, due to less frequent interactions with friends, as well as their diminishing resources. Similarly, since affiliative needs are greater for women than for men, it is expected that their relationships will

be more influenced by the consequences of performing favors.

One measure of these differences in friendship patterns would be the perception of increased closeness and increased liking for the person who requested a favor ; i.e., when a friend asks for a favor, are feelings of closeness and liking for that person enhanced? The following differences are expected to emerge in relation to consequences of favor-doing:

Hypothesis 10. Middle-aged and elder adult respondents will perceive more closeness as a consequence of doing favors than will young adult respondents.

Hypothesis 11. As a consequence of performing a favor, middle-aged and elder adult respondents will report increased liking for the person who requested the favor, to a greater degree than will young adult respondents.

Hypothesis 12. Females will experience greater closeness than will males as a consequence of being asked to do a favor.

Hypothesis 13. Females will experience greater liking for the favor requester than will males as a consequence of being asked to perform a favor.

Motives Associated with Denying Favors

In order to highlight the analysis of favor-doing, which served as the main focus of this study, a group of items relating to denying favors was included. There were no specific predictions relating to age with regard to motivations for refusing requests for favors. In the case of gender, it seems

reasonable to expect that when denying favors males will be more concerned than females with moral issues and upholding personal values, such as the avoidance of cheating, lying and breaking laws. This expectation is based upon findings about differences between male and female moral reasoning (Gilligan, 1982), suggesting that men emphasize personal integrity and women emphasize connectedness and caring. Females, due to excessive demands on their time and energies are expected to deny favors primarily because of time constraints. They are also expected to deny favors more than do males for because of negative feelings toward the favor requester. The following hypotheses are proposed with regard to motivations for favor-denying:

Hypothesis 14. In denying favors, males will be more motivated than females by issues relating to upholding personal values and moral standards.

Hypothesis 15. In denying favors, females will be more motivated than males by time constraints.

Hypothesis 16. In denying favors, females will be more motivated than males by issues relating to reactance; i.e., the arousal of negative feelings due to the inappropriateness of the situation in which the favor has been requested.

Other Motives Associated with Favor-Denying

Other motivational aspects of favor-denying were tested by including items that paralleled those items measuring motivations for favor-doing: the degree of inconvenience that performing the favor would have entailed, and the perceived

consequences of denying the favor on the relationship, in terms of closeness and degree of liking. Exploratory analyses were performed on these items to assess whether and how they differed from the identical items pertaining to favor-doing.

The Content of Favors

An area of special interest in this study is the content of favors, which may be expected to reflect the unique life situation of each age group. While there are no specific hypotheses concerning favor content, this aspect of favor-doing was explored by performing a detailed content analysis. Presumably, favors at different ages will reflect the unique life styles of respondents, in terms of the time and resources available to them. The content of favors performed by respondents was analyzed according to several dimensions, including the type of favor, the time involved, the physical and material resources required, and the emotional cost of performing the favor.

Favors Requested by Respondent

Exploratory analyses were performed on two items concerning requests for favors that had been initiated by respondents over a three month period. These items assessed the number of favors respondents recalled asking "over the past three months", and the percentage of these favors that were granted. An item measuring the degree of comfort or discomfort experienced when requesting a favor was also analyzed.

Other Areas of Interest

In addition to testing the foregoing hypotheses and performing exploratory analyses, the research examined the social context (i.e., relationships) in which favor exchanges occur for the different age groups and both genders. Relationships were examined in terms of their degree of closeness and duration. Demographic variables were also analyzed.

4. METHOD

Overview

A questionnaire was designed to examine the following aspects of favor-doing : (a) the respondent's reported willingness to do various favors, (b) dispositions toward favor-doing, (c) the content of favors, (d) motivations for favor-doing, (e) the consequences of favor transactions for social relationships, and (f) the social context in which favors occur. (See Appendix C for sample of questionnaire.)

Approximately 600 potential respondents received the seven-page questionnaire with a cover letter stating the purpose of the project. Included in the letter was a statement assuring participants' anonymity, as well as offering to make the results of the project available to them.

Participants in this survey included three age groups: young adults (18-22); middle-aged adults (35-50); and elder adults (65-84). A total of 258 persons, 86 males and 172 females, completed the questionnaire, producing an overall response rate of 42.3 percent. All respondents lived in suburban New Jersey communities, approximately twenty miles from New York City. Volunteers were recruited during May and June of 1985.

Subjects

Young adults. Approximately 200 students in an introductory psychology course at Montclair State College in New Jersey were requested to fill out the questionnaire. The instructor explained the purpose of the study and asked for volunteers to fill and return the questionnaire three days later. Students received extra credit for participating in the research. Seventy-five students volunteered to complete the questionnaire and sixty-five students actually did so. Thus, approximately 25 percent of the entire class participated.

Middle-aged adults. The middle-aged sample was obtained from two sources. The first group consisted of students participating in the Second Careers Program at Montclair State College. This is a program for people returning to school to pursue both undergraduate and master's degrees. The researcher distributed the questionnaire at the end of class periods to five separate groups, and waited while volunteers filled it out. Sixty-one students (out of approximately one hundred) completed the questionnaire, yielding a response rate of 61 percent.

The second source of the middle-aged sample consisted of forty-three graduate students enrolled in the School of Education at Seton Hall University in New Jersey. The student population is demographically equivalent to that of Montclair State College. The survey was distributed and collected one week later by the course instructor, who asked for volunteers within the specified age range. Rate of participation was 57.3 percent.

Elder adults. The elder adult sample was obtained from two sources. The first group included 46 respondents enrolled in the Metropolitan New Jersey YMHA-YWHA Life Long Learning Program, a continuing education program for adults over sixty-five years of age. The questionnaire was distributed and collected from this group by the researcher. The return rate was 25 percent.

The questionnaire was also distributed by mail to elder adults registered in Continuing Education courses at Montclair State College. Out of the one hundred students polled in this sample, 43 percent returned the survey by mail within a three-week period. Both elder adult groups were demographically similar and included respondents who were functioning actively in the community.

Construction of the questionnaire

Measures of respondents' experiences and perceptions of themselves as favor-doers and favor recipients were obtained from a questionnaire developed for this study. Items for the final questionnaire were primarily close-ended, and were pre-tested for clarity prior to distribution. There were 116 items (plus demographic items), divided into seven sections, as follows.

1. Check list of favors. This section consisted of 20 favors selected on the basis of having been most frequently mentioned in the pilot study. Among the favors included were lending tangible items and money, providing transportation, babysitting, and assisting with school and work projects. (The

complete list is given in Appendix C.) Respondents were also asked to rate the list of twenty favors according to magnitude and whether they had performed, refused to do, or never been asked to do each favor.

The purpose of the check list was twofold:

(a) to produce a profile of the individual respondent as a favor-doer, based upon self-report of his or her willingness to perform various favors, and (b) to facilitate the process whereby the respondent could focus on an aspect of everyday experience that usually remains in the background of consciousness.

The second part of Section 1 asked respondents to list additional favors and rank their magnitude. The purpose of this section was to further develop a catalogue of typical favors for each age group. In addition, these items provided further means of helping respondents focus on the subject matter.

2. Most recent favor requested by friend and granted.

This section asked for an open-ended description of the most recent favor requested by a friend and granted by respondent, followed by 24 scaled items relating to motivational correlates of this favor.

3. Most recent favor requested by friend and denied.

This section asked for an open-ended description of the most recent favor requested by a friend and denied by respondent, followed by 23 scaled items relating to this experience .

4. Frequency and magnitude of favor-doing. This section, consisting of 4 items, asked for an assessment of the quantity

and magnitude of favors respondent had requested over the past three months; whether these favors were granted or declined; and the context of the relationship in which they occurred.

5. Most recent favor requested by respondent and granted. This section asked for a description of the most recent favor requested by respondent and granted by a friend, followed by 24 scaled items relating to this experience.

6. Most recent favor requested by respondent and denied. This section asked for a description of the most recent favor requested by respondent and denied by a friend, followed by 16 scaled items relating to this experience.

In Sections 2,3,5 and 6, the respondent was asked to describe the favor (open-ended), and the relationship in which it was transacted with regard to both closeness and duration. In each section there followed a group of scaled items involving this specific favor, designed to elicit feelings, perceptions and attitudes about favors. Seven-point scales were included to measure the impact on the dyadic relationship when a favor is granted or denied. These items related to degree of liking, changes in feelings of closeness and distance, and level of comfort/discomfort experienced when requesting or being asked to do a favor. Respondents were also asked to indicate on a four-point scale the extent to which they agreed with attitudinal and affective statements about favors. The purpose of these items was to determine motivational and affective components of favor transactions. Only those items related to

favours performed or denied by the individual respondent were analyzed.

7. Demographic information. Respondents were asked for background information including gender, age, highest educational level completed, occupation, working status, income level, marital status, religious affiliation and ethnic background. In addition, they were asked about the condition of their health, the number of their relatives living within a fifty-mile radius, and the number of discretionary hours available to them per week.

5. RESULTS

Description of the Sample

A total of 258 respondents (86 males and 172 females) completed the questionnaire.* Because the age variable is most salient to the hypotheses of this study, the demographics of each group will be separately described. (A more detailed description of the demographic characteristics of the three age samples is presented in Appendix A.)

Young adult respondents. This group consisted of 65 students, 27 males and 38 females, and accounted for 25.2 percent of the total sample. Their ages ranged from 18-22, with a mean age of 19.6 for both males and females. All 65 respondents were high school graduates, currently enrolled in college; 72 percent worked part-time while attending school, at jobs including secretary, sales, waitress, cashier, receptionist, cook, and librarian. None of the respondents in this group reported being married. With 47.6 percent reporting annual family incomes below \$40,000, their average family income level was lower than that of the middle-aged group, but higher than the average elder adult income level.

*Note- Two female respondents (in the elder adult group) participated in the study, but did not include demographic information. Their responses to all other items are included in the data analysis, however.

Middle-aged respondents. The middle-aged adult group consisted of 104 respondents, and included 30 males, ranging in age from 35-49 (mean age = 42.7) and 74 females, ranging in age from 34-50 (mean age = 41.5). It comprised 40.3 percent of the total sample. The majority of these respondents, 76.0 percent, were married; 14.0 percent were single, and 10 percent divorced. The educational level of this group was more advanced than the rest of the sample: 73.0 percent had completed college, and 49.0 percent obtained or were working towards advanced degrees. The vast majority of these respondents (80.8%) were currently employed in professions such as manager, police officer, guidance counselor, school administrator, engineer, teacher, computer programmer, sales representative, and accountant. The remaining 19.2 percent were full-time students. This group had the highest family income level in the sample, with 43 percent earning over \$60,000, and 27 percent earning between \$40,000 and \$59,000 annually.

Elder adult respondents. There were 89 elder adults in the sample, 29 males and 60 females, accounting for 34.5 percent of the total sample. The age range of this group was 65-77 for males (mean age = 69.7), and 65-84 for females (mean age = 70). Educationally, 59.9 percent of this group had continued beyond high school: 30.6 percent had completed bachelor's degrees and another 21.2 percent had pursued advanced degrees. Those respondents who were still working were in such diverse fields as teaching, social service, library science, banking,

journalism, business, and accounting. Most respondents in this group were retired (82.5%), and had formerly held such positions as teacher, librarian, journalist, college administrator, accountant, and chemical engineer. In addition to being different than the other groups in terms of work status, 31.8 percent of these respondents were widowed; 60 percent were married, 5.9 percent were single, and the remaining 2.4 percent were divorced. The average family income level of this group was lower than the rest of the sample, probably due to a predominance of retired respondents: 70.9 percent had annual family incomes under \$40,000, 15.2 percent between \$40,000 and 59,000 , and 13.9 percent over \$60,000. Most described their health as good or excellent(76.2%), with only 3.6 percent claiming poor health. (Table 1 provides a summary of the demographic variables, broken down according to age.)

TABLE 1

SUMMARY DEMOGRAPHICS FOR THE THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUPS		18-22	35-50	65-84
SEX	MALE	N = 27	N = 30	N = 29
	FEMALE	N = 38	N = 74	N = 60
M AGE	MALE	19.6	42.7	69.7
	FEMALE	19.1	41.5	70.0
HIGHEST EDUC.	HIGH SCHOOL	0.0	12.0	32.9
	SOME COLLEGE	100.0	15.0	15.3
	COLLEGE DEGREE	0.0	24.0	30.6
	GRAD. SCHOOL	0.0	49.0	21.2
OCCUPATION	BLUE COLLAR	0.0	0.0	2.3
	WHITE COLLAR	0.0	26.0	38.3
	MANAGERIAL	0.0	15.4	10.5
	PROFESSIONAL	0.0	3.8	2.3
	FULL-TIME STUDENT	100.0	3.8	1.2
	SEMI-PROFESS'L	0.0	43.3	31.4
	HOUSEWIFE	0.0	0.0	4.7
FAMILY INCOME (ANNUAL)	UNDER \$20,000	24.6	7.1	24.1
	\$20 - \$39,000	23.0	22.2	46.8
	\$40 - \$59,000	31.1	27.3	15.3
	OVER \$60,000	21.3	43.4	13.9
HEALTH	POOR	0.0	1.0	3.6
	FAIR	3.1	3.0	20.2
	GOOD	49.2	42.6	58.3
	EXCELLENT	47.7	53.5	17.9
MARITAL STATUS	SINGLE	100.0	14.0	5.9
	DIVORCED	0.0	10.0	2.4
	MARRIED	0.0	76.0	60.0
	WIDOWED	0.0	0.0	31.7

Tests of the Hypotheses on Favor-Doing

Reported Willingness to Do Various Favors

There were two hypotheses about respondents' reported willingness to perform various types of favors:

Hypothesis 1 states that of the three age groups, middle-aged people will report a willingness to do a greater range of favors, young adults the next greatest, and elder adults the narrowest range of favors.

Hypothesis 2 states that women will report a willingness to perform a significantly greater range of favors than men.

Willingness to do different kinds of favors was measured by presenting subjects with a check-list of twenty types of favors. The list included such favors as going shopping for groceries, check cashing, baby sitting, providing lifts by car, lending money, lending items ranging in value, and providing skilled assistance (see Appendix C, Questionnaire Item 1). Respondents were asked to check those favors they would be willing to do if a friend requested them. To calculate each respondent's reported willingness to do various favors, all favors which the respondent checked as having done were added and a total score derived. (Sample frequencies for favors reported to have been performed appear in Appendix B, Table B-1.) Table 2 presents the results of a 3x2 analysis of variance in which the independent variables were age and gender and the dependent variable was number of types of favors reported to have been performed. There was a significant main

effect for age, $F(2,240)=5.15$, $p=.01$. There was no main effect for gender and no age by gender interaction. Planned contrasts showed, as predicted, that the middle-aged group reported they were willing to perform significantly more favors ($M=12.8$) than either the young ($M=11.8$) or elder adult ($M=10.9$) groups ($p<.005$). The young and elder adult groups did not differ significantly from each other. Thus it appears that Hypothesis 1 was partly supported, whereas Hypothesis 2 was not supported at all.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON REPORTED
WILLINGNESS TO DO VARIOUS FAVORS

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	163.77	3	54.59	3.97	0.01
AGE	141.50	2	70.75	5.15	0.01
GENDER	26.86	1	26.86	1.96	0.16
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	24.77	2	12.38	0.90	0.41
EXPLAINED	188.54	5	37.71	2.74	0.02
RESIDUAL	3229.89	235	13.74		
TOTAL	3418.42	240	14.24		

In attempting to interpret these results, it should be noted that there was some ambiguity in the instructions. Respondents are asked to "consider each favor as though a friend asked you if you would be willing to do it," and then to indicate whether they have done the favor, refused to do it, or never been asked. The ambiguity lies in the difficulty of being certain whether a recent or long-term experience is being reported. If it were not a report of contemporary experience, however, the age differences that emerged would not be expected; i.e., elder people were once middle-aged . Also, it is a reasonable assumption that subjects are talking about the present and recent past because the list of favors is first stated in the present tense in the introduction to the item.

Motives associated with Favor-Doing

There were four predictions about motivations for favor doing. In order to test these hypotheses, it was first necessary to conduct a factor analysis on 14 questionnaire items designed to measure motivational correlates of favor-doing (Appendix C, Questionnaire Items 8a through 8o). A quartimax orthogonal rotation was chosen in order to obtain discrete, theoretically meaningful factors. Only those items with factor loadings higher than .35 were included in the final factor selection. The 14 questionnaire items and their loadings on the three main factors that emerged are shown in Table 3.

The first factor, which accounted for 48.0 percent of the variance, is labeled "Positive Attitude Towards Favor Recipient", and relates to attachment as a motive for performing favors. The second factor, which accounted for 27.0 percent of the variance, is labeled "Ego Enhancement through Favor-Doing" and, while somewhat related to attachment, is better conceptualized in relation to improved feelings of self-worth engendered by performing a favor. The third factor, "Feeling of Obligation", concerns reciprocity as a motive for favor-doing, and accounted for 14.0 percent of the variance.

Altogether, the three factors accounted for 89.0% of the common variance. The remainder of the variance (11.0%) was accounted for by a fourth factor, containing only two items. With two exceptions, all items had a loading above .35 on only one factor and therefore were assigned to that factor scale. The

exceptions were Item 8n, "Granting the favor made me feel more certain of our relationship," which had a loading of .55 on Factor II and a loading of .37 on Factor III; and Item 8d, "I could understand the position the person was in", which loaded equally on Factor I and Factor IV. The emergence of three strong factors supported the constructs which had guided the designing of the questionnaire items. The items loading on each of the three main factors comprised a factor scale. The subject's score on each scale was the sum of scores on the various items comprising that scale.

TABLE 3

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF 14 MOTIVATIONAL ITEMS RELATED TO FAVOR-DOING

FACTOR I	POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAVOR-RECIPIENT	LOADING			
		FACTOR I	FACTOR II	FACTOR III	FACTOR IV
(8 a)	Even though I did the favor, I felt the person was taking advantage of me.	-.79 *	-.04	.03	.06
(8 b)	I felt somewhat resentful when I granted this favor.	-.65 *	-.08	.25	-.07
(8 c)	I enjoyed helping this person.	.64 *	.31	.00	.05
(8 d)	I knew the person would do the same for me.	.62 *	.10	.29	.23
(8 e)	I could understand the position the person was in.	.38 *	.12	-.07	.38 *
FACTOR II RELATIONSHIP ENHANCEMENT THROUGH FAVOR-DOING					
(8 f)	Being able to do this favor made me feel the person trusted me.	.22	.60 *	.06	-.02
(8 g)	I felt flattered.	.15	.59 *	-.11	.04
(8 h)	Granting the favor made me feel more certain of our relationship.	.06	.57 *	.28	.18
(8 i)	Being able to grant the favor gave me a sense of power.	-.09	.53 *	.14	.13
(8 j)	Granting the favor made me feel useful.	.22	.52 *	.06	.26
FACTOR III FEELING OF OBLIGATION					
(8 k)	I felt obligated because this person has done favors for me.	.08	.13	.69 *	-.07
(8 l)	I felt it was my duty to grant the favor.	.13	.13	.68 *	-.05
(8 m)	Friends owe each other favors.	-.02	.02	.38 *	.04
FACTOR IV PRO-SOCIAL ATTITUDE					
(8 n)	I felt I was being helpful.	.31	.21	-.03	.79 *

NOTE: The item numbers presented were used in the questionnaire.

Factor I accounted for 48 % of the variance, Factor II accounted for 27 % of the variance, Factor III accounted for 14 % of the variance and Factor IV accounted for 11 % of the variance.

Hypothesis 3 states that in performing favors, young adults will be more motivated than the other age groups by considerations of reciprocity and obligation.

Hypothesis 4 states that in performing favors, males will be more motivated by the norm of reciprocity and feelings of obligation than will females.

To test Hypotheses 3 and 4, a 3x2 analysis of variance was performed, in which the independent variables were age and gender and the dependent variable was scores on the Factor III Scale, "Feeling of Obligation". Table 4 presents the results of the analysis of variance. There was a significant main effect for age, $F(2,244)=6.11$, $p=.03$. A posteriori comparisons (Duncan multiple range procedure) indicated that the young adults ($M=2.43$) and elder adults ($M=2.52$) had significantly ($p=.05$) higher scores than the middle-aged adults ($M=2.13$). While the difference between the young and middle-aged groups was predicted, the similarity between the young and elder groups was not predicted. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was partially supported by the data.

There was also a significant main effect for gender, $F(1,244)=6.02$, $p=.01$, indicating that males' ($M=2.49$) scores were higher than females' ($M=2.28$). Hypothesis 4 was therefore confirmed by the data.

Finally, there was a nearly significant age by gender interaction, $F(2,244)=2.69$, $p=.07$. A posteriori comparisons revealed the following results, as shown in Table 5:

For males, the young group had significantly ($p < .05$) higher scores ($M=2.74$) than the two older age groups, whereas for females, the oldest age group ($M=2.56$) had significantly ($p < .05$) higher scores than the two younger age groups.

TABLE 4
SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON SCORES FOR FACTOR SCALE III, "FEELING OF OBLIGATION"

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	9.52	3	3.17	6.51	0.000
AGE	5.95	2	2.97	6.11	0.003
GENDER	2.93	1	2.93	6.02	0.015
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	2.62	2	1.31	2.69	0.070
EXPLAINED	12.14	5	2.43	4.98	0.000
RESIDUAL	116.14	239	0.49		
TOTAL	128.58	244	0.53		

TABLE 5
CELL MEANS OF INTERACTION EFFECT FOR FACTOR III SCALE, "FEELING OF OBLIGATION"

AGE GROUP	18 - 22	35 - 50	65 - 80
MALES	2.74	2.30	2.43
FEMALES	2.22	2.05	2.56

Hypothesis 5 states that in performing favors, elder adults will be more motivated than the other age groups by the desire to enhance a relationship and maintain bonds of attachment.

Hypothesis 6 states that in performing favors, females will be more motivated by issues of relationship enhancement and attachment than will males.

These hypotheses were tested by means of Factor Scale I, "Positive Attitude Toward Favor Recipient", and Factor Scale II, "Relationship Enhancement Through Favor-Doing", which relate to issues of attachment and feelings of self-enhancement that are attained by performing a favor. Table 6 presents the results of the 3x2 (age by gender) ANOVA for the Factor I Scale, "Positive Attitude Toward Favor Recipient. There was no main effect for age, indicating that Hypothesis 5 was not supported. There was, however, a significant main effect for gender, $F(1,244) = 6.39, p = .01$. Females ($M = 3.49$) scored significantly higher than males ($M = 3.27$) on this factor, thereby supporting Hypothesis 6. There was no age by gender interaction for Factor I. Table 7 presents the results of the 3x2 ANOVA for the Factor II Scale, "Relationship Enhancement Through Favor-Doing". There were no significant main effects for age or gender and no age by gender interaction for Factor II.

Thus the analysis of variance using the Factor I Scale scores as the dependent variable provided no support for Hypothesis 5 and partially confirmed Hypothesis 6. But the analysis of variance using the Factor II Scale scores as the

dependent variable provided no support for either hypothesis.

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON SCORES
FOR FACTOR SCALE I "POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD RECIPIENT"

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	3.01	3	1.00	2.23	0.085
AGE	0.25	2	0.13	0.28	0.758
GENDER	2.87	1	2.87	6.39	0.012
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	0.25	2	0.13	0.28	0.756
EXPLAINED	3.26	5	0.65	1.45	0.206
RESIDUAL	107.40	239	0.45		
TOTAL	110.67	244	0.45		

TABLE 7

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON SCORES
FOR FACTOR SCALE II, "RELATIONSHIP ENHANCEMENT THROUGH FAVOR-DOING"

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	0.63	3	0.21	0.60	0.618
AGE	0.50	2	0.25	0.71	0.491
GENDER	0.17	1	0.18	0.51	0.477
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	0.05	2	0.03	0.08	0.927
EXPLAINED	0.69	5	0.14	0.39	0.857
RESIDUAL	84.41	239	0.35		
TOTAL	85.09	244	0.35		

Other motivational aspects of favor-doing

Additional motivational aspects of favor-doing were conceptualized according to three dimensions: degree of perceived inconvenience associated with doing a favor, level of comfort ascribed by the favor-doer to the person requesting the favor, consequences of favor-doing for friendship with regard to changes in perceived closeness and in degree of liking. These dimensions were measured by means of four 7-point scales.

Degree of inconvenience. Hypothesis 7 states that young adults will view favors as involving the least amount of inconvenience; middle-aged adults will view them as involving more inconvenience, and older adults will view favors as involving the greatest amount of inconvenience. The dependent variable for testing this hypothesis was the amount of inconvenience reported by the respondent when doing "the most recent medium-sized favor a friend asked of you that you granted," on a 7-point scale ranging from "very little inconvenience" to "a great deal of inconvenience" (Appendix C, Questionnaire Item 9). Table 8 presents results of a 3x2 analysis of variance in which the independent variables were age and gender. There was a significant main effect for age, $F(2,201)=3.92, p=.02$. A posteriori contrasts (Duncan range procedure) indicated that elder adult respondents ($M=2.61$) perceived significantly ($p < .05$) less inconvenience involved in performing the specific favor than did young ($M=3.20$) or middle-aged ($M=3.22$) adult respondents, who

did not differ significantly from each other. Since this result was not in the predicted direction, Hypothesis 7 was not supported by the data.

TABLE 8

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON AMOUNT OF INCONVENIENCE REPORTED BY RESPONDENT (WHEN GRANTING A FAVOR)

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	26.97	3	8.99	3.34	0.02
AGE	21.09	2	10.55	3.92	0.02
GENDER	6.03	1	6.30	2.34	0.13
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	9.97	2	4.98	1.85	0.16
EXPLAINED	36.94	5	7.39	2.74	0.02
RESIDUAL	528.04	196	2.69		
TOTAL	564.98	201	2.81		

Level of ascribed comfort. Two hypotheses dealt with the comfort level ascribed by respondents to the person requesting a favor. Hypothesis 8 states that young adults will perceive the person who requests a favor of them as experiencing more discomfort than will middle-aged or elder adults.

Hypothesis 9 states that females will ascribe more discomfort to the person requesting a favor of them than will males.

The dependent variable for testing these hypotheses was the level of comfort ascribed by the respondent to the friend who requested the favor. The item read: "How do you imagine the person felt about asking you?", and was answered on a 7-point scale ranging from "felt extremely comfortable" to "felt extremely awkward", with "felt neither comfortable nor awkward" as the mid-point (see Appendix C, Questionnaire Item 10). Table 9 presents the results of a 3x2 analysis of variance in which the independent variables were age and gender. A significant main effect for age emerged, $F(2, 201)=3.87, p=.02$. A posteriori tests (Duncan range procedure) indicated that, contrary to prediction, elder adults ($M= 2.14$) ascribed significantly ($p<.05$) greater comfort to the person requesting the favor than did the young ($M=2.89$) or middle-aged ($M= 3.13$) adult groups. The difference between the latter groups was not significant. Thus Hypothesis 8 was partly confirmed by the data: young adults perceived greater discomfort than elder adults. There was also a significant main

effect for gender in the level of ascribed comfort, $F(1,201)=7.94$, $p=.005$. The gender main effect was attributable to males ($M=3.16$) ascribing greater discomfort than females ($M=2.14$) to the favor requester ($p=.005$). This finding refuted Hypothesis 9. There was no age by gender interaction for this variable.

TABLE 9

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON LEVEL OF COMFORT ASCRIBED TO PERSON REQUESTING A FAVOR

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	38.34	3	12.78	5.08	0.002
AGE	19.51	2	9.76	3.87	0.02
GENDER	19.99	1	19.99	7.94	0.005
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	3.58	2	1.79	0.71	0.49
EXPLAINED	41.92	5	8.39	3.33	0.007
RESIDUAL	493.61	196	2.52		
TOTAL	535.53	201	2.66		

Perceived effect of favor-doing on closeness to recipient. Two predictions were made with regard to the perceived effect of performing a favor on one's closeness to the person who requested the favor.

Hypothesis 10 states that middle-aged and elder adult respondents will perceive more closeness toward a person who requested a favor as a consequence of doing the favor than will young adult respondents.

Hypothesis 11 states that females will experience greater closeness toward the person who requested a favor than will males as a consequence of doing the favor.

The dependent variable for testing these hypotheses was the perceived closeness in the friendship as a consequence of performing a favor. The item read: "Did your agreeing to do the favor affect your relationship to the person who asked?", and was measured on a 7-point scale ranging from "felt much closer" to "felt much more distant", with "no change" as the mid-point. (Appendix A, Questionnaire Item 11). Table 10 presents the results of a 3x2 analysis of variance in which the independent variables were age and gender. There were no significant main effects for either age or gender. Thus Hypotheses 10 and 11 were not supported by the data.

TABLE 1 0

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON PERCEIVED CLOSENESS TO FAVOR-RECIPIENT REPORTED BY RESPONDENT (WHEN GRANTING A FAVOR)

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	1.85	3	0.62	0.60	0.62
AGE	1.24	2	0.62	0.60	0.55
GENDER	0.75	1	0.75	0.73	0.40
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	1.17	2	0.59	0.57	0.57
EXPLAINED	3.02	5	0.60	0.59	0.71
RESIDUAL	252.77	245	1.03		
TOTAL	255.79	250	1.02		

Perceived effect of favor-doing on liking for recipient.

There were two predictions concerning the perceived effect of performing a favor on one's liking for the person who requested the favor.

Hypothesis 12 states that as a consequence of performing a favor, middle-aged and elder adult respondents will perceive more liking for the person who requested the favor than will young adults.

Hypothesis 13 states that females will experience greater liking for the person who requested a favor than will males as a consequence of doing favor.

The dependent variable for testing these hypotheses was the degree of liking for the person who requested a favor. The item read "Did you like the person better or less for having requested the favor?", and was answered on a 7-point scale ranging from "liked much better" to "liked much less", with "no change" as the mid-point. (see Appendix C, Questionnaire Item 12).

Table 11 illustrates the results of a 3x2 (age by gender) analysis of variance. There were no significant main effects for either age or gender and no age by gender interaction. These findings indicate that Hypotheses 12 and 13 were not confirmed by the data.

TABLE 11

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON DEGREE OF LIKING FOR FAVOR-RECIPIENT REPORTED BY RESPONDENT (WHEN DENYING A FAVOR)

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	1.94	3	0.65	0.84	0.47
AGE	1.71	2	0.85	1.11	0.33
GENDER	0.21	1	0.21	0.28	0.60
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	0.67	2	0.34	0.44	0.65
EXPLAINED	2.61	5	0.52	0.68	0.64
RESIDUAL	189.02	245	0.77		
TOTAL	191.63	250	0.77		

Exploratory Analyses on Favor-Doing
Relationships in which Favors were Granted

Three items were included in order to examine the relationships in which favors were granted in terms of the closeness of the relationship, whether the person requesting the favor was male or female, and the duration of the relationship. There were no specific predictions for these items.

The closeness of the relationship. Subjects were asked to designate their relationship to the person who requested the favor, using the following coded categories (Appendix C, Item 5): (1) best friend, (2) close friend, (3) social friend, (4) room-mate, (5) business associate, (6) co-worker, (7) neighbor or (8) other. (All respondents who used the "other" category specified that the person was a family member.) These categories were recoded into a dichotomous variable: (1) not-close relationships (scored as 1), including social friend, business associate, co-worker and neighbor; and (2) close relationships (scored as 2), including best friend, close friend, room-mate and family member. A 3x2 (age by gender) analysis of variance was conducted in which the dependent variable was the closeness of the relationship between the subject and the person requesting a favor. Table 12 indicates that there was a significant main effect for age, $F(2,247)=8.18, p=.000$. A posteriori tests (Duncan range

procedure) indicated that the young adults ($M= 1.80$) had significantly higher scores ($p<.05$) than both the elder ($M=1.48$) and middle-aged ($M= 1.53$) adults, who did not vary significantly from each other. This finding means that favors of the young adults were more likely to be performed in the context of closer relationships than were favors of middle-aged and elder adults. (There was no effect for gender and no age by gender interaction.)

TABLE 1 2

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER
ON CLOSENESS OF FAVOR RELATIONSHIP (WHEN FAVOR WAS GRANTED)

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	4.38	3	1.46	5.90	0.001
AGE	4.05	2	2.03	8.18	0.000
GENDER	0.57	1	0.57	2.31	0.130
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	1.74	2	0.87	3.50	0.032
EXPLAINED	6.12	5	1.22	4.94	0.000
RESIDUAL	59.93	242	0.25		
TOTAL	66.05	247	0.27		

The gender of the favor requester. Subjects were asked whether the person who requested the favor was a male or a female (Appendix C, Item 6). A 3x2 (age by gender) analysis of variance was performed in which the dependent variable was the gender of the favor requester, scored as 1 for male and 2 for female. Table 13 indicates that there was a significant main effect for age, $F(2,247) = 5.54, p = .004$. A posteriori tests revealed that the elder adult group ($M = 1.74$) scored significantly ($p < .05$) higher than the middle-aged ($M = 1.55$) or younger ($M = 1.50$) groups.

There was also a significant main effect for gender, $F(1,247) = 39.73, p = .000$. Mean scores revealed that for all three age groups, males ($M = 1.27$) tended to request favors from other males and that females ($M = 1.69$) tended to request favors of other females. Thus among all age groups, favors were requested by a friend of the same gender; significantly more favor requests were made by women, regardless of whether the person asked was male or female.

TABLE 1 3

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER
ON THE GENDER OF THE FAVOR-REQUESTER (WHEN FAVOR WAS GRANTED)

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	10.48	3	3.49	17.32	0.000
AGE	2.24	2	1.12	5.54	0.004
GENDER	8.01	1	8.01	39.73	0.000
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	0.23	2	0.11	0.57	0.568
EXPLAINED	10.70	5	2.14	10.62	0.000
RESIDUAL	48.78	242	0.20		
TOTAL	59.48	247	0.24		

The duration of the relationship. Subjects were asked how long they had known the person who requested the favor, ranging from six months (scored as 1) to over ten years (scored as 6), (Appendix C, Item 7). This item was recoded as follows: less than 6 months (scored as 1), 6 months to 3 years (scored as 2), 3-5 years (scored as 3), over 5 years (scored as 4), over 10 years (scored as 5). A 3x2 analysis of variance was performed in which the dependent variable was the duration of the relationship between favor-doer and favor recipient. Table 14 indicates the presence of a significant main effect for age, $F(2,247) = 12.68, p = .000$. A posteriori tests (Duncan range procedure) revealed that the duration of the relationship increased significantly ($p = <.005$) as a function of age ($M = 2.81, 3.52$ and 3.92 , for young, middle-aged and elder adults, respectively). Thus, elder adults knew the friend to whom they granted a favor for the longest amount of time, (over five years), middle-aged adults for the next longest (3-5 years), and young adults for the briefest (6 months to 3 years) amount of time. There were no gender or interaction effects for this variable.

TABLE 1 4

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER
ON DURATION OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAVOR-DOER & FAVOR RECIPIENT

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	42.63	3	14.21	8.78	0.000
AGE	41.03	2	20.51	12.68	0.000
GENDER	0.59	1	0.59	0.37	0.546
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	9.37	2	4.69	2.90	0.057
EXPLAINED	52.00	5	10.40	6.43	0.000
RESIDUAL	391.50	242	1.62		
TOTAL	443.50	247	1.80		

Summary of Significant Findings about Favor-Doing

Age Differences

1. As predicted, middle-aged adults reported doing significantly more favors than either young or elder adults.
2. Contrary to prediction, young adults and elder adults were more highly motivated than were middle-aged adults by issues of reciprocity and obligation.
3. Contrary to prediction, elder adults perceived significantly less inconvenience involved in performing favors than did the other groups. They also ascribed significantly more comfort to the person requesting the favor than did the other groups.
4. An exploratory analysis revealed that favors of young adults were performed in the context of closer relationships than were favors of middle-aged and elder adults.
5. An exploratory analysis revealed that the duration of the relationship in which favors were granted increased as a function of age.

Gender Differences

1. As predicted, feelings of obligation influenced males' decisions to perform favors to a greater extent than females'.
2. As predicted, in performing favors, females were more motivated than males by positive feelings toward the favor recipient.
3. Contrary to prediction, males ascribed greater discomfort than did females to the person requesting the favor.

4. An exploratory analysis revealed that favor requests that were granted tended to occur between friends of the same gender.

Interactions

1. With regard to motivations for favor-doing, among males, the young age group had significantly higher scores on the factor scale measuring reciprocity and obligation than the two older age groups; among females, the oldest age group had significantly higher scores on the factor scale measuring reciprocity and obligation than the two younger age groups.

2. An exploratory analysis revealed that in comparison to the other groups, where favors were requested by friends of the same gender, elder adults (both male and female) received significantly more favor requests from women.

The Characteristics of Favors

While no specific hypotheses were proposed in relation to the characteristics of favors, results of the pilot study and literature review suggested that favor content would reflect age and gender differences. These variations in favor characteristics are expected to appear with regard to material, physical and social resources that are available to each age group.

In order to analyze these variations, a coding system was developed to classify the individual favors reported by respondents as the "most recent medium-sized favor" they recalled doing for a friend (Appendix C, Item 3). Three individual raters examined the specific favors described by the respondents in the pilot study. The raters made judgments about the following attributes of favors: (1) the type of favor, (2) the time required to do the favor, (3) material or physical resources entailed, and (4) the emotional component of the favor.

To establish reliability, favors granted by respondents were coded by two independent raters, one male the other female. Each reply was rated according to the four categories. Agreement was 96 percent for the content category, 85 percent for the time and resource dimensions, and 75 percent for the emotional component. In those instances where responses to time, resources, or emotional dimensions were assessed differently, an average was

used.

Dimensions of the Coding System

Types of favors. The following categories were designated for coding types of favors:

(1) lending an item, (2) lending money, (3) providing transportation, (4) performing a material service (e.g., requiring physical and/or material resources, rather than direct contact with people), (5) performing a service involving people (such as babysitting), (6) providing companionship, (7) performing a task requiring expertise (such as teaching a skill or making a repair), (8) giving advice or using influence (e.g., writing a recommendation, helping to obtain a loan).

The time dimension. The time required to do the specific favor was scored according to the following designations: 0=very little time involved (e.g., cashing a check, lending an item), 1= less than one day, 2=one to three days, 3= more than three days or on a regular basis.

The physical or material resource dimension. A scale ranging from 0 to 3 was used for rating the physical or material resources entailed in performing a specific favor. Scoring was as follows: 0=none , 1= small (e.g., using a skill requiring little energy or lending an item or money under \$50.00 in value), 2= moderate (e.g., using a skill requiring moderate physical labor or lending an item or money from \$50-100 in value), 3= high (e.g., using a skill or performing a task

requiring heavy physical labor or lending an item or money over \$100 in value).

The emotional dimension. A scale ranging from 0 to 3 was used for rating the emotional investment involved in performing a specific favor. Scoring was as follows: 0= hardly any (e.g., practically no emotional involvement required, as when picking up mail or doing laundry), 1=a little (requiring minimal emotional involvement , as when engaging in a recreational activity or lending a valued item), 2= moderate (requiring moderate emotional involvement, as when tutoring , or using expertise or influence), 3= a great deal (requiring much emotional involvement, as in a favor entailing direct personal care or emotional support).

Results of Analysis of Favor Characteristics

Types of favors

Table 15 illustrates the types of favors performed by respondents, broken down by category. More favors fell under the classification of material services than any of the other categories (24.3%), followed by providing transportation (19.0%), and performing a task requiring expertise (16.2%). Moderately common categories of favor-doing were performing a service involving people (10.1%), providing companionship (10.9%), and lending an item (9.7%). Least chosen categories of favor-doing were giving advice (3.2%) and lending money (6.5%).

Because both performing a service involving people and providing companionship entail personal contact and emotional involvement, for purposes of interpretation it seemed appropriate to combine these categories. When the categories were combined, 21.0% of all favors granted were related to direct involvement with people, making this the second most prevalent category of favor-doing.

TABLE 1 5
TYPES OF FAVORS REPORTED BY TOTAL SAMPLE

CATEGORY	%	(N)
MATERIAL SERVICE	24.3	(60)
TRANSPORTATION	19.0	(47)
EXPERTISE	16.2	(40)
COMPANIONSHIP	10.9	(27)
PEOPLE SERVICE	10.1	(25)
LEND AN ITEM	9.7	(24)
LEND MONEY	6.5	(16)
ADVICE	3.2	(8)
TOTALS	100.0	(247)

Age differences in favor types

Young adults. Table 16 presents the breakdown of favor types by the three age groups. Favors most frequently reported by young adults involved material services (22.6%). These included pet sitting, substituting at work, doing laundry, typing papers, making tape recordings, and helping to move. Lending items (21.0%) was the second most chosen category for this age group ranging from cars and guitars to record albums and backpacks. Providing transportation (17.7%) included rides to school, work, and airports. Favors less commonly performed by young adults involved people-oriented services (1.6%), companionship (11.3%), lending money or offering expertise (each 12.9%), while giving advice was not mentioned at all.

Middle-aged adults. Again, more favors concerned material services (28.4%) than any other category. Included in this category were helping with school projects, house or apartment sitting, shopping, and helping to move. Expertise was required for 18.6 percent of the favors mentioned by this group, such as helping to decorate an apartment, teaching to use computers and modems, repairing cars, and renovating basements and kitchens. Transportation and companionship each accounted for 12.7 percent of the favors, and performing a service involving people accounted for 10.8 percent. (People-oriented favors accounted for 23.1 percent of all favors performed by this group when scores for the two categories were combined.) Lending items (6.9%) and money (5.9%) were infrequently reported by this group. What is most striking is that nearly one-fifth

of favors performed by middle-aged respondents related to offering expertise or using influence. Influence included giving job or school recommendations and helping to obtain loans.

Elder adults. For elder adults, favors supplying transportation were most frequently mentioned (27.7%). These included lifts to airports, car repair services, medical appointments, and social meetings. Favors involving material services (20.5%) were lower than for any other group, followed by services involving people and requiring expertise (15.7% each), and companionship (8.4%). Combining the people-oriented categories, 23.1 percent of favors performed by elder adults related directly to people. While this figure is the same as that of the middle-aged group, there is a reversal in the companionship and service categories; i.e., elder adults performed more baby-sitting and health care services, and favors of middle-aged adults more often involved companionship with peers. In fact, favors involving direct services to people were highest for the elder adult group, many of whom were asked to babysit for grandchildren. Other people services were helping a blind friend with a big project, shopping and preparing for a family in mourning, and obtaining help for sick or injured relatives or friends.

TABLE 1 6

FAVOR CONTENT FOR THE THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP		LEND ITEM	LEND MONEY	TRANSP'TN.	MAT'L. SERVICES	PEOPLE SERVICES	COMPAN'SHP	EXPERTISE	ADVICE
18 - 22	§	21.0	12.9	17.7	22.6	1.6	11.3	12.9	0.0
	(N)	(13)	(8)	(11)	(14)	(1)	(7)	(8)	(0)
35 - 50	§	6.9	5.9	12.7	28.4	10.8	12.7	18.6	3.9
	(N)	(7)	(6)	(13)	(29)	(11)	(13)	(13)	(4)
65 - 84	§	4.8	2.4	27.7	20.5	15.7	8.4	15.7	4.8
	(N)	(4)	(2)	(23)	(17)	(13)	(7)	(13)	(94)
TOTALS	§	9.7	6.5	19.0	24.3	10.1	10.9	16.2	3.2
	(N)	(24)	(16)	(47)	(60)	(25)	(27)	(40)	(8)

To determine whether there were significant age differences in the types of favors reported, the eight categories were divided into two general categories: (1) favors requiring material exchange and minimal, if any, social interaction (encompassing lending items, lending money, performing material services and transportation) and (2) favors requiring social interaction (companionship, personal services, providing expertise and advice.) Table 17 illustrates the breakdown of favor categories performed by the three age groups. Chi square tests indicated the presence of significant age differences for the two categories of favors, Chi square = 7.45, $p = .02$. Thus, it appears that favors involving material exchange were more prevalent for all three groups, but to a greater extent for the young adults. Favors requiring social interaction were more common among middle-aged and older adults.

TABLE 1 7

CROSS TABULATIONS FOR TYPES OF FAVORS PERFORMED

AGE GROUP		MATERIAL EXCHANGE	SOCIAL INTERACTION
18 - 22	%	74.2	25.8
	(N)	(46)	(16)
35 - 50	%	53.9	46.1
	(N)	(55)	(47)
65 - 84	%	55.4	44.6
	(N)	(46)	(37)

chi square = 7.45 , $p = .02$

Gender differences in favor types

Table 18 presents the breakdown of favor categories according to gender. Table 19 illustrates favors types broken down by gender according to two categories, favors requiring material exchange and favor involving social interaction. Chi square tests indicated no significant gender differences for the two categories of favors, Chi square =.66, $p=.41$.

TABLE 1 8
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN FAVOR CONTENT

GENDER		LEND ITEM	LEND MONEY	TRANSP'TN.	MAT'L. SERVICES	PEOPLE SERVICES	COMPAN'SHP	EXPERTISE	ADVICE	TOTAL SAMPLE
MALES	§	9.6	8.4	19.3	26.5	7.2	4.8	18.1	6.0	33.5
	(N)	(8)	(7)	(16)	(22)	(6)	(4)	(15)	(5)	(83)
FEMALES	§	9.7	5.5	18.8	23.6	11.5	13.9	15.2	1.8	66.5
	(N)	(16)	(31)	(31)	(39)	(19)	(23)	(25)	(3)	(165)
TOTALS	§	9.7	6.5	19.0	24.6	10.1	10.9	16.1	3.2	100.0
	(N)	(24)	(16)	(47)	(61)	(25)	(27)	(40)	(8)	(248)

TABLE 1 9
CROSS TABULATIONS FOR TYPES OF FAVORS PERFORMED
BY GENDER

GENDER		MATERIAL EXCHANGE	SOCIAL INTERACTION
MALES	§	63.9	36.1
	(N)	(53)	(30)
FEMALES	§	57.6	42.4
	(N)	(95)	(70)

chi square = .66 , n.s.

Age and gender differences in the time dimension

For the total sample, 53.5 percent of favors required less than one day of time ; 18.6 percent of favors required a few minutes; 12.4 percent of favors required 1-3 days ; and 10.1 percent of favors required more than 3 days . (These results are presented in Appendix B, Table B-12.)

To determine whether there were significant differences in the time dimension, a 3x2 analysis of variance was performed, in which the independent variables were age and gender and the dependent variable was time invested in doing favors (as determined by scores derived from the content analysis). Table 20 indicates that there was a significant main effect for age, $F(2,238)=5.65$, $p=.004$. A posteriori comparisons (Duncan range procedure) revealed that the younger adults spent significantly ($p < .05$) less time performing their favors ($M=.86$) than did either the middle-aged ($M=1.25$) or elder ($M=1.28$) adults. These mean scores indicate that for young adults, the time required for most favors averaged from a few minutes to several hours; for the other groups, favors required an average of one to three days. There was also a significant interaction of age and gender: $F(2, 258)=3.53$, $p=.03$. A posteriori comparisons (Duncan range procedure) indicated that the favors of elder adult males ($M=1.56$) required significantly ($p < .05$) more time than did favors of any other group. Table 21 illustrates this finding. There was no main effect for gender. Thus, it appears that the favors of

young adults required the least amount of time of any age group.
 Favors of elder adult males required the greatest time
 investment of any age/gender group.

TABLE 2 0
 SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER
 ON THE TIME DIMENSION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D P	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	7.75	3	2.58	3.78	0.01
AGE	7.73	2	3.86	5.65	0.004
GENDER	0.19	1	0.19	0.27	0.60
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	4.83	2	2.41	3.53	0.03
EXPLAINED	12.58	5	2.52	3.68	0.003
RESIDUAL	159.39	233	0.68		
TOTAL	171.97	238	0.72		

TABLE 2 1
CELL MEANS OF INTERACTION EFFECT
FOR TIME DIMENSION

<u>AGE GROUP</u>	<u>18 - 22</u>	<u>35 - 50</u>	<u>65 - 80</u>
MALES	.92	1.03	1.56
FEMALES	.81	1.34	1.13

Age and gender differences in the resource dimension

For the total sample, the majority of favors (57.4%) required minor material or physical resources. More favors requiring moderate or high resources were performed by the middle-aged group (38.0%), than by either of the other age groups. (See Appendix B, Table B-13.) With regard to gender, males performed more favors requiring moderate or high resources (34.5%) than did females (28.4). (See Appendix B, Table B-14).

To determine whether there were significant differences in the use of resources when doing favors, a 3x2 (age by gender) analysis of variance was done. Table 22 presents the results, indicating that there was a significant main effect for age $F(2,238) = 5.48, p = .005$. A posteriori contrasts (Duncan range procedure) indicated that the main effect for age was attributable to significantly ($p < .05$) higher scores on the resource dimension for both young ($M = 1.24$) and middle-aged ($M = 1.42$) groups in comparison to elder respondents ($M = 1.11$). Based upon the coding system, these scores mean that for all groups, resources entailed in a specific favor required from small to moderate physical or material resources; i.e., lending money under \$100.00 or performing skills requiring minimal physical energy. Favors of the young and middle-aged contained a greater resource component than favors of the elder group, however. (There was no main effect for gender and no age by gender interaction.)

TABLE 2 2

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER
ON THE RESOURCE DIMENSION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	7.35	3	2.45	5.01	0.002
AGE	5.36	2	2.68	5.48	0.005
GENDER	2.35	1	2.35	4.80	0.029
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	2.24	2	1.12	2.29	0.10
EXPLAINED	9.59	5	1.92	3.92	0.002
RESIDUAL	113.84	233	0.49		
TOTAL	123.43	238	0.52		

Age and gender differences in the emotional component

For the total sample, most favors involved only a small emotional component (55.4%). (See Appendix B, Table B-16.) For men, 65.9 percent of favors involved small emotional costs, compared to 52.1 percent for women. On the other hand, 33.5 percent of women's favors included moderate or high emotional components, compared to 20.0 percent for men. Favors requiring high emotional outputs were 7.8 percent for women and 3.5 percent for men (see Appendix B, Table B-17.)

To determine whether there were significant differences in the emotional cost component of favor-doing, a 3x2 (age and gender ANOVA) was performed. Results indicated no main effects for either age or gender. There were, however, significant interactions for both age and gender, $F(2, 288)=4.81$, $p=.009$. Table 23 indicates results of the analysis of variance. A posteriori comparisons (Duncan range procedure) indicated that the interaction was attributable to significantly ($p<.05$) lower scores on the part of young males ($M=.85$) in relation to all of the female age groups ($M=1.38, 1.26, \text{ and } 1.21$ for the young, middle-aged and elder adult females, respectively) and the elder males ($M=1.39$). Table 24 illustrates these results.

TABLE 2 3

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON THE EMOTIONAL DIMENSION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	1.11	3	0.37	0.67	0.57
AGE	0.03	2	0.02	0.03	0.97
GENDER	1.03	1	1.03	1.86	0.17
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	5.32	2	2.66	4.81	0.009
EXPLAINED	6.43	5	1.29	2.33	0.044
RESIDUAL	128.72	233	0.55		
TOTAL	135.15	238	0.57		

TABLE 2 4

CELL MEANS FOR INTERACTION EFFECT ON EMOTIONAL COST COMPONENT

AGE GROUP	18 - 22	35 - 50	65 - 80
MALES	0.85	1.07	1.39
FEMALES	1.38	1.26	1.21

Summary of Findings of Analysis of Favor Characteristics

1. There were two significant findings with regard to the types of favors performed by different age groups: Providing material services were the type of favor most commonly performed by all three age groups, but to a greater extent by young adults. Favors requiring social interaction and direct services to people were more common among middle-aged and elder adults than for young adults.

2. Young respondents' favors involved significantly less time to perform than favors of both the middle-aged and elder groups.

3. Favors of middle-aged and young respondents required greater use of resources than those of the elder adults.

4. Regarding the emotional component of favors, there was an interaction of age and gender in which favors of young males were significantly lower than every other age/gender group except middle-aged males.

5. Favors of elder adult males were had a significantly higher emotional component than favors of young or middle-aged males.

Tests of Hypotheses on Motives associated with Favor-Denying

In reference to the remaining hypotheses, there were three predictions about motivations for denying requests for favors. In order to test these hypotheses, it was first necessary to conduct a factor analysis on 15 questionnaire items designed to measure motivational correlates of favor-denying (Appendix C, Items 17a through 17o). A quartimax orthogonal rotation was chosen in order to obtain discrete, theoretically meaningful factors. Only those items with factor loadings higher than .35 were included in the final factor selection. The 15 questionnaire items and their loadings on the three main factors that emerged are shown in Table 25.

The first factor, which accounted for 62.1 percent of the variance is labeled "Moral-Value Motives for Favor-Denying", and pertains to such issues as violating trust, morals, values and laws. The second factor, which accounted for 17.9 percent of the variance is labeled "Reactance Motives for Favor-Denial", and concerns feelings aroused in the subject by the favor request. These included feelings of annoyance, being taken advantage of, or that the favor requested was inappropriate. The third factor, which accounted for 13.0 percent of the variance, is labeled "Time Constraints as a Motive for Favor-Denial" and relates to the shortage of time or interference with plans that performing the favor would have incurred.

Altogether, the three factors accounted for 93.0 percent of

the common variance. The remainder of the variance was accounted for by a fourth factor, containing two items, Item 17f, "In the past this person has not returned my favors; and Item 17c, "I did not trust the person who asked the favor". Because Item 17c had a higher loading on Factor I, it was assigned to that factor scale. (Aside from this exception, all items had loadings ranging from .51 to .80 on only one factor.) One item did not load on any of the factors, and was therefore omitted from further analyses: Item 17i, "Doing the favor would have been too expensive for me." The emergence of three strong factors supported the constructs which had guided the designing of the questionnaire items. The items loading on each of the three main factors comprised a factor scale. The subject's score on each scale was the sum of scores of the various items comprising that scale.

TABLE 2 5
FACTOR ANALYSIS OF 15 MOTIVATIONAL ITEMS RELATED TO FAVOR-DENYING

FACTOR I	MORAL-VALUE MOTIVES FOR FAVOR-DENYING	LOADING			
		FACTOR I	FACTOR II	FACTOR III	FACTOR IV
(17 o)	Doing this favor would have involved a violation of trust.	.78 *	.22	.11	.00
(17 e)	The favor was something I considered illegal, immoral or dishonest.	.77 *	.11	-.17	-.01
(17 b)	The favor was against my values.	.63 *	.23	-.30	.13
(17 n)	The favor was something I considered distasteful or unpleasant.	.59 *	.27	-.10	-.07
(17 c)	I did not trust the person who asked the favor.	.56 *	.14	.02	.41 *
(17 k)	I felt I was being asked to take on too much responsibility.	.51 *	.20	.11	.00
FACTOR II REACTANCE MOTIVES FOR FAVOR-DENYING					
(17 j)	I was annoyed by this persons request.	.20	.80 *	-.02	.06
(17 h)	I felt the person was taking advantage of me.	.20	.72 *	.14	.23
(17 m)	The person stepped "out of bounds" by asking me to do the favor.	.41	.65 *	-.09	.04
(17 a)	I felt the favor was inappropriate.	.25	.58 *	-.27	-.10
FACTOR III TIME CONSTRAINTS AS A MOTIVE FOR FAVOR-DENYING					
(17 g)	I was unable to do the favor because it interfered with my plans.	-.24	-.02	.73 *	.05
(17 d)	I did not have enough time.	-.21	-.22	.70 *	.09
FACTOR IV LACK OF RECIPROCITY AS A MOTIVE FOR FAVOR-DENYING					
(17 f)	In the past this person has not returned my favor.	.16	.27	.05	.70 *

NOTE: The item numbers presented were used in the questionnaire.
Factor I accounted for 62.1 % of the variance , Factor II accounted for 17.9 % of the variance , Factor III accounted for 13.0 % of the variance and Factor IV accounted for 7.0 % of the variance.

Hypothesis 14 states that in denying favors, males will be more motivated than females by issues relating to upholding personal values and moral standards. To test Hypothesis 14, a 3x2 (age by gender) analysis of variance was performed, in which the dependent variable was scores on the Factor I Scale, "Moral-Value Motives for Favor Denial". Table 26 presents the results of the analysis of variance. There was a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 169) = 6.00, p = .01$. Mean scores for females ($M = 1.99$) were lower than mean scores for males ($M = 2.08$), indicating that males were more strongly motivated than females by moral-value reasons in their refusal to perform favors. There was no main effect for age and no age by gender interaction for Factor I. Thus Hypothesis 14 was supported by the data.

TABLE 2 6

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON SCORES
FOR FACTOR SCALE I "MORAL-VALUE MOTIVES FOR FAVOR-DENYING"

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF P
MAIN EFFECTS	4.80	3	1.60	3.09	0.029
AGE	1.15	2	0.57	1.11	0.332
GENDER	3.10	1	3.10	6.00	0.013
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	2.60	2	1.30	2.51	0.084
EXPLAINED	7.39	5	1.48	2.86	0.017
RESIDUAL	84.85	164	0.52		
TOTAL	92.24	169	0.55		

Hypothesis 15 states that in denying favors, females will be more motivated than males by time constraints. To test it, a 3X2 (age by gender) analysis of variance was performed, with scores on the Factor III Scale, "Time Constraints as a Motive for Favor-Denying," as the dependent variable. Table 27 presents the results of this analysis. There was a significant main effect for gender, $F(1,169)=8.66$, $p=.004$. Mean scores for females ($M=2.73$) were significantly higher than mean scores for males ($M=2.39$), in support of Hypothesis 15. There was also a significant ($p=.02$) age by gender interaction. A posteriori comparisons (Duncan range procedure) indicated that scores of middle-aged females ($M=2.95$) were significantly higher ($p<.05$) than scores of any of the five other age/gender groups. Table 28 illustrates this finding which suggests that when denying favors, time constraints operate as a stronger motivation for middle-aged females than for any other group.

Hypothesis 16 states that in denying favors, females will be more motivated than males by reactance motives, such as annoyance, being taken advantage of, or that the favor requested was inappropriate. To test Hypothesis 16, a 3x2 (age by gender) analysis of variance was performed, in which the dependent variable was scores on the Factor II Scale, "Reactance Motives for Favor-Denial." Table 29 indicates that there were no main effects and no age by gender interaction. Thus Hypothesis 16 was not supported.

TABLE 2 7

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON SCORES
FOR FACTOR SCALE III "TIME CONSTRAINTS AS MOTIVE FOR FAVOR-DENYING"

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	10.40	3	3.47	3.88	0.010
AGE	2.08	2	1.04	1.16	0.315
GENDER	7.74	1	7.74	8.66	0.004
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	6.94	2	3.47	3.88	0.023
EXPLAINED	17.34	5	3.47	3.88	0.002
RESIDUAL	146.51	164	0.89		
TOTAL	163.85	169	0.97		

TABLE 2 8
CELL MEANS OF INTERACTION EFFECT
FOR FACTOR III SCALE "TIME CONSTRAINTS"

AGE GROUP -----	18 - 22 -----	35 - 50 -----	65 - 80 -----
MALES	2.62	2.00	2.16
FEMALES	2.61	2.95	2.63

TABLE 2 9
SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON SCORES
FOR FACTOR SCALE II, " REACTANCE MOTIVES FOR FAVOR-DENYING "

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	1.41	3	0.47	0.57	0.636
AGE	0.20	2	0.10	0.12	0.888
GENDER	1.06	1	1.06	1.29	0.258
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	3.38	2	1.69	2.05	0.133
EXPLAINED	4.79	5	0.95	1.16	0.331
RESIDUAL	135.45	164	0.83		
TOTAL	140.24	169	0.83		

Exploratory Analyses of Other motivational aspects of favor-denying

Additional motivational aspects of favor-denying were conceptualized according to two dimensions: degree of perceived inconvenience performing the favor would involve, and the consequences of denying the favor for the friendship with regard to changes in perceived closeness and degree of liking. These dimensions were measured by means of three 7-point scaled items in the questionnaire. Analyses revealed no significant main effects or interactions for any of these three dependent variables.

Denying favors. In response to the direction to recall the "most recent time a friend asked you to do a medium-sized favor and you refused," some respondents did not report having denied a favor (see Questionnaire item 13). In total, 34.1 percent of the sample did not report having denied a favor to a friend. Table 30 presents the results of Chi square tests, performed to determine whether there were significant age differences in the percentages of respondents who did not recall denying a favor. Results indicated highly significant differences between the three age groups, Chi square = 20.29, $p = .001$. Elder respondents were more apt to not recall denying favors than the other groups: 40.3 percent of the elder group did not recall denying favors, in contrast to 27 percent for the middle-aged group and 7.7 percent for the young adult group.

TABLE 3 0
 REPORTS OF DENYING A FAVOR

AGE GROUP		REPORT DENYING FAVOR	FAIL TO REPORT DENY FAVOR
18 - 22	%	92.3	7.7
	(N)	(60)	(5)
35 - 50	%	73.0	27.0
	(N)	(76)	(28)
65 - 84	%	59.7	40.3
	(N)	(52)	(35)

chi square = 20.29 , p = .001

Relationships in which Favors were Denied

Three items were included in order to examine the relationships in which favors were denied in terms of the closeness of the relationship, whether the person requesting the favor was male or female, and the duration of the relationship.

The closeness of the relationship. Subjects were asked to designate their relationship to the person who requested the favor, using the following coded categories (Appendix A, Item 14): 1= best friend, 2= close friend, 3= social friend, 4= room-mate, 5= business associate, 6= co-worker, 7= neighbor, or 8= other. As with the parallel item for favor-doing, these categories were recoded into a dichotomous variable; (1) not close relationships, scored as 1, and (2) close relationships, scored as 2. A 3x2 (age by gender) analysis of variance was conducted in which the dependent variable was the closeness of the relationships in which the respondent refused to perform a favor. Table 31 indicates that there was a significant main effect for age, $F(2, 186) = 3.57, p = .02$. A posteriori comparisons (Duncan range procedure) revealed that the age effect resulted from significantly ($p < .05$) higher scores for the young adults ($M = 1.63$), compared to the middle-aged ($M = 1.41$) and elder ($M = 1.36$) adults. This finding suggests that the young adults were more likely to deny favors to closer friends than were the other groups. There was no main effect for gender and no interaction effect.

TABLE 3 1

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER
ON CONTEXT OF FAVOR RELATIONSHIP (WHEN FAVOR WAS DENIED)

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	2.78	3	0.93	3.57	0.02
AGE	2.62	2	1.31	5.06	0.01
GENDER	0.34	1	0.34	1.33	n.s.
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	0.92	2	0.46	1.78	n.s.
EXPLAINED	3.69	5	0.74	2.86	0.02
RESIDUAL	46.89	181	0.26		
TOTAL	50.59	186	0.27		

The gender of the favor requester. Subjects were asked whether the person who requested the favor (that was denied) was a male or a female (Appendix A, Item 15). A 3x2 analysis of variance was performed in which the dependent variable was the gender of the favor requester. Table 32 indicates that there was a significant main effect for gender, $F(1,167)=16.50$, $p=.000$. Mean scores revealed that for all three age groups, males ($M=1.33$) tended to deny requests from other males and females ($M= 1.80$) tended deny requests from other females.

TABLE 3 2

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER
ON GENDER OF FAVOR-REQUESTER (WHEN FAVOR WAS DENIED)

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	8.19	3	2.73	5.97	0.001
AGE	0.19	2	0.10	0.21	0.813
GENDER	7.57	1	7.57	16.53	0.000
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	0.22	2	0.11	0.24	0.785
EXPLAINED	8.42	5	1.68	3.68	0.004
RESIDUAL	74.16	162	0.46		
TOTAL	82.57	167	0.49		

The duration of the relationship. Subjects were asked how long they had known the person who requested the favor that they refused to perform, ranging from six months to over ten years (Appendix A, Item 16). A 3x2 analysis of variance was performed in which the dependent variable was the duration of the relationship between the subject (who denied the favor) and the favor requester. Table 33 indicates the presence of a significant main effect for age $F(2,181) = 5.97, p = .004$. A posteriori tests (Duncan range procedure) revealed that young adults ($M = 3.44$) had known the person requesting the favor for significantly ($p < .05$) less time than either the middle-aged ($M = 4.11$) or elder ($M = 4.36$) adults who did not differ significantly from each other. Whereas on the average, the latter groups knew the person for over 5 years, the young adults knew the person between 3 and 5 years. (There were no gender or interaction effects for this variable.)

TABLE 3 3
SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON
DURATION OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAVOR-DENIER AND FAVOR REQUESTER

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	28.32	3	9.44	4.02	0.008
AGE	26.30	2	13.15	5.61	0.004
GENDER	4.22	1	4.22	1.80	0.182
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	1.23	2	0.61	0.26	0.770
EXPLAINED	29.55	5	5.91	2.52	0.031
RESIDUAL	413.00	176	2.35		
TOTAL	442.54	181	2.45		

Summary of Significant Findings about Favor-Denying

1. As predicted, males' decisions to deny favors were more strongly influenced by moral-value motives than were favors of females.

2. As predicted, time constraints was a stronger motive for denying favors among females than for males.

3. There was an interaction of age and gender which showed that for middle-aged females, denying favors was more strongly influenced by time constraints than for any other age/gender group.

Exploratory analyses revealed the following significant results:

4. The number of respondents who did not report denying a favor increased as a function of age; i.e., more elder adults did not report denying favors than either of the other groups; more middle-aged than young adults did not report denying favors.

5. Young adults denied favors in the context of closer relationships than did the other age groups.

6. The duration of the relationship in which favors were denied was longer for middle-aged and elder adults (approximately over 5 years) than for young adults (between 3-5 years).

7. Favor requests that were denied tended to occur between friends of the same gender.

Exploratory Analyses on Requesting Favors

The amount of favors requested by respondent over a three-month period. An exploratory analysis was performed to assess age and gender differences in the amount of favors requested by respondents over a three month period. The open-ended item read: "About how many favors do you recall asking?" (Item 21). A 3x2 (age by gender) (age by gender) analysis of variance was conducted. Table 34 illustrates the findings, indicating a significant main effect for age, $F(2,234) = 13.40, p = .000$. A posteriori tests (Duncan range procedure) revealed that young adults requested significantly more favors ($M = 22.06$) than did middle-aged ($M = 9.17$) or elder adults ($M = 7.98$). There were no gender or interaction effects for this variable.

TABLE 3 4

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR AMOUNT OF FAVORS REQUESTED
BY RESPONDENT OVER THREE MONTH PERIOD

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	8,207.04	3	2,735.68	9.27	0.000
AGE	7,914.89	2	3,957.44	13.40	0.000
GENDER	45.07	1	45.07	0.15	0.696
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	32.18	2	16.09	0.05	0.947
EXPLAINED	8,239.25	5	1,647.85	5.58	0.000
RESIDUAL	67,612.88	229	295.25		
TOTAL	75,852.13	234	324.15		

The proportion of requested favors that were granted.

An exploratory analysis was performed to assess age and gender differences in the frequency with which the favors requested by respondents over a three-month period were granted. The open-ended item read: "Of all the favors you asked over the past three months, what percentage of them were granted?" (Item 23). A 3x2 (age by gender) analysis of variance was performed. Table 35 illustrates the findings, indicating that there was a significant main effect for age ($F(2,234) = 3.41$, $p = .03$). A posteriori tests (Duncan range procedure) revealed that a significantly ($p < .05$) lower percentage of the favors requested by elder adults were granted ($M = 76.2\%$) compared to middle-aged ($M = 86.3\%$) and younger ($M = 87.2\%$) adults.

TABLE 35

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PERCENTAGE OF FAVORS REQUESTED BY RESPONDENT AND GRANTED OVER THREE MONTH PERIOD

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	5,271.25	3	1,757.08	2.44	0.065
AGE	4,909.41	2	2,454.71	3.41	0.035
GENDER	312.97	1	312.97	0.44	0.510
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	2,167.81	2	1,083.91	1.51	0.224
EXPLAINED	7,439.13	5	1,487.83	2.07	0.070
RESIDUAL	164,764.63	229	719.49		
TOTAL	172,203.75	234	735.91		

Relationship between willingness to perform favors and receiving favors. In order to determine whether there was a relationship between reported willingness to perform favors and the percentage of favors granted, Pearson correlations were performed. (Reported willingness to do favors was measured by scores derived from Questionnaire Item 1). Results indicated a small but significant relationship between willingness to grant favors and favors received ($r=.16$, $p<.05$).

Level of respondent's comfort when requesting a favor.

An exploratory analysis was performed on an item measuring the level of comfort experienced by the respondent when requesting a favor (Appendix C, Item 31). The item read: "How did you feel about asking for this favor?", and was answered on a 7-point scale, ranging from "felt extremely comfortable (scored as 1) to "felt extremely awkward" (scored as 7), with the mid-point "felt neither comfortable nor awkward" (scored as 4). Table 36 presents the results of a 3X2 (age by gender) analysis of variance. There was a significant main effect for age, $F(2, 201)= 3.81$, $p= .02$. A posteriori tests (Duncan range procedure) indicated that when requesting favors, elder adults ($M= 2.74$) felt significantly ($p<.05$) more comfortable than did middle-aged ($M= 3.08$) or young ($M= 3.54$) adults.

TABLE 3 6

SUMMARY OF 3 X 2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR EFFECTS OF AGE AND GENDER ON RESPONDENTS
LEVEL OF COMFORT EXPERIENCED WHEN REQUESTING A FAVOR

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	D F	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIFICANCE OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	20.77	3	6.93	2.55	0.06
AGE	20.68	2	10.34	3.81	0.02
GENDER	0.001	1	0.001	0.000	0.99
2 - WAY INTERACTION					
AGE X GENDER	4.14	2	2.07	0.76	0.47
EXPLAINED	24.92	5	4.98	1.84	0.11
RESIDUAL	531.91	196	2.71		
TOTAL	556.83	201	2.77		

Summary of Significant Findings on Requesting Favors

1. Young adults requested significantly more favors than the other age groups over a three-month period.

2. Elder adults were granted a lower percentage of the favors they requested over a three-month period than were the other age groups.

3. Respondents who reported they had performed a greater range of favors also had a greater number of favors granted to them than did other respondents.

4. In requesting favors, elder adults felt more comfortable than any other age group.

Summary of Overall Findings

Results of Tests of Hypotheses on Favor-Doing

Hypothesis 1 was partially supported by the data: Middle-aged people did report a willingness to do the greatest range of favors; contrary to prediction, young and elder adults did not differ significantly from each other in their reported willingness to do favors.

Hypothesis 2 was not supported by the data: Women did not report a willingness to perform a significantly greater range of favors than men. In fact, there were no gender differences in reported willingness to perform favors.

Hypothesis 3 was partially supported by the data: In performing favors, young adults were more motivated than middle-aged adults by the norm of reciprocity and feelings of obligation. Contrary to prediction, elder adults were also more motivated by the norm of reciprocity than were middle-aged adults.

Hypothesis 4 was supported by the data: In performing favors, males were more motivated by the norm of reciprocity and feelings of obligation than were females, as evidenced by higher scores on Factor III Scale, "Feeling of Obligation". (An interaction effect revealed that young adult males and elder adult females had significantly higher scores than the other groups on the Factor III scale.)

Hypothesis 5 was not supported by the data: There were no

age differences in scores derived from factor scales measuring motivations to perform favors by the desire to enhance relationships and maintain bonds of attachment. This hypothesis had predicted that elder adults would be more motivated than the other age groups by the desire to enhance relationships.

Hypothesis 6 was partially confirmed by the data: In performing favors, females were more motivated than males by issues of attachment, as evidenced by higher scores on the Factor I Scale, "Positive Attitude Towards Favor Recipient". Contrary to prediction, no gender differences emerged in the Factor II Scale, "Relationship Enhancement Through Favor-Doing".

Hypothesis 7 was not supported by the data: There was not the predicted result with regard to the degree of inconvenience that the respondent perceived in favor-doing. Contrary to prediction, elder adults perceived less inconvenience than did any other age group.

Hypothesis 8 was not confirmed by the data: There was not the predicted result with regard to the level of comfort ascribed by the respondent to the person requesting a favor. Contrary to prediction, elder adults ascribed significantly greater comfort to the favor requester than any other age group.

Hypothesis 9 was refuted by the data: Contrary to prediction, males ascribed more discomfort than females to the person requesting a favor.

Hypotheses 10 and 11 were refuted by the data: Contrary to prediction, there were no age or gender differences regarding the perceived effect of favor-doing on closeness in a

relationship.

Hypothesis 12 was refuted by the data: Contrary to prediction, there were no age or gender differences with regard to the perceived effect of favor-doing on liking for the favor recipient.

Exploratory analyses revealed the following significant results with regard to favor-doing:

1. Favors of young adults were performed in the context of closer relationships than favors of middle-aged and elder adults, whose favors were performed in less close relationships.

2. Favor requests tended to occur between friends of the same gender.

3. The duration of the relationship in which a favor was granted increased as a function of age; i.e., on the average, elder adults knew their friends for more than 5 years , middle-aged adults knew their friends from 3 to 5 years, and young adults knew their friends for 6 months to 3 years.

4. Favor characteristics were analyzed according to four dimensions. The following significant results emerged:

(a) Types of favors. Favors providing material services were most commonly performed by all three groups, but especially by young adults. Favors requiring social interaction were more common among middle-aged and elder adults than among young adults.

(b) Time dimension. Young adults' favors involved less time to perform than favors of middle-aged or elder adults.

(c) Resource dimension. Favors of middle-aged and younger adults required the use of greater resources than favors of elder adults.

(d) Emotional component. Favors of females had a higher emotional component than favors of males, except for elder adult males.

Results of Tests of Hypotheses on Favor-Denying

Hypothesis 14 was supported by the data: In denying favors, males were more motivated than females by issues relating to upholding personal values and moral standards.

Hypothesis 15 was confirmed by the data: In denying favors, females were more motivated than males by time constraints. In addition, an interaction revealed that middle-aged females were more motivated than any other age/gender group by time constraints.

Hypothesis 16 was not supported by the data: There were no gender differences in reactance as a motive for favor-denying.

Exploratory analyses revealed the following significant results with regard to favor-denying:

1. The number of respondents who did not report having denied a favor increased as a function of age.
2. Young adults were more likely to deny favors in the context of close relationships, compared to the other groups, who denied favors in less close relationships.
3. Males tended to deny favor requests from other males and

females tended to deny favor requests from other females.

4. Favors denied by young adults occurred in relationships of briefer duration (3-5 years) , compared to middle-aged and elder adults, whose relationships averaged over 5 years in duration.

Exploratory analyses revealed the following significant results with regard to requesting favors:

1. Young adults requested more favors than any other group over a three-month period, averaging 22 favors, in comparison to the middle-aged adults, who averaged 9 favors, and the elder adults, who averaged 8 favors.

2. Elder adults were granted a lower percentage of the favors they requested over a three-month period than any other age group; they received an average of 76.2 percent of their favors, compared to approximately 87 percent for the other groups.

3. There was a slight but significant relationship between the number of favors granted and reported willingness to perform favors.

4. Elder adults felt more comfortable in requesting favors than either of the other age groups.

6. DISCUSSION

The general approach of this study was that attitudes toward and perceptions of favor-doing undergo significant shifts as a person moves through adulthood. The following discussion will examine variations in favor transactions within the three age groups polled by this study, as well as between genders. Special focus will be placed on variations relating to social support structures (friendships) and social cognition.

A life-span perspective

Previous research both on social support systems and on prosocial behavior have been criticized for lacking a developmental perspective. Few studies compare social support across ages or stages of the life cycle (Vaux, 1985). By observing variations in the favor transaction, a specific social interaction, across three age groups and between genders, the current study made it possible to note developmental shifts in relation to friendship patterns. Findings of this study confirm Kimmel's (1974) belief that the age of participants is an important variable in understanding the nature and meaning of relationships.

Research on pro-social behavior has been criticized for ignoring cognitive developmental factors "in favor of" situational variables (Erkut, Jaquette, & Staub, 1981). Yet the individual's cognitive definition of the situation has a direct effect on behavior. In fact, developmental studies of

cognition note changes in thought processes in social as well as physical realms (Kohlberg, 1969; Piaget, 1932; Selman, 1976). Thus, in studying favor transactions from a life span developmental perspective, it is also important to examine cognitive factors that influence peoples' decisions to grant favors at different developmental stages.

Friendship: the context of the favor relationship

What distinguishes this study from others of favor-doing is its focus on favors in the context of on-going relationships. Previous studies observed favor-doing among strangers in laboratory or in field experiments, making it impossible to generalize their results to favors among friends. In fact, findings of this study indicate that for all age groups and both genders, most favors were performed in the context of a close, same-sex friendship, of lengthy duration.

From a social-psychological perspective, then, a close friendship (over one year in duration for 86 percent of respondents, and over five years for 51 percent) was the situational context of favor-doing. Within this context, variations in the favor transaction emerged with relation to both age and gender. Not surprisingly, the duration of the relationship increased with each age level: elder adults knew their friends significantly longer (averaging five years) than did middle-aged adults, whose relationships were of longer duration than the youngest group.

The current results are in keeping with Clark's (1983) model of communal and exchange relationships. Results of this

study indicate that favors occur in the context of communal relationships, where there is a special obligation and desire to feel responsive to another's needs. Also relevant is De Paulo's (1978) finding that people needing help in a variety of situations prefer to seek it from friends. Indeed, the relationship, rather than the favor itself, often determined a person's decision to grant it. According to a 65 year-old male respondent :

"The relationship with the person who asks me a favor is the primary determinant of whether I do it-- not the size of the favor. For that matter, the size of the favor is frequently perceived according to the relationship of the asker."

Since the personal relationship is critical in determining favor transactions, it was supposed that granting and denying favors would have consequences on the relationship. Although enhanced desire for interpersonal closeness was hypothesized as a consequence of a friend's requesting a favor, results indicated that respondents did not experience any change with regard to closeness in the relationship; nor did they like their friends any better or less for having requested a favor. Similarly, there was no change in perceived closeness and liking in the relationship as a consequence of refusing a friend a favor. This finding reinforces the concept that favors occur within the context of communal relationships, where the bond is strong enough to withstand disappointments and does not depend upon reciprocal favor-doing. (A measurement problem may have existed here, in that this item was answered on a seven-point scale, with "no change" as the mid-point choice. Respondents may

have gravitated toward this response when they felt uncertain or ambivalent.)

Age Differences in Favor-Doing

Favors among young adults. Findings indicated that young adults ranked lower than the middle-aged group in their reported willingness to perform favors. They also experienced feelings of obligation as a stronger motivation for favor-doing than did middle-aged adults. Considering these results in combination, it becomes possible to interpret the particular experience of young adults in performing favors. First, their feelings of obligation may reflect their level of egocentrism, which contains a self-conscious self-conscious attitude about behavior, along with a fear of negative evaluation. In agreeing to perform favors, a young person may wish to uphold a positive self-image among friends; he or she may expect a favor in return, based upon the same face-saving motivation.

Secondly, their high level of willingness to perform favors must be considered in relation to the proportion of favors requested by young adults. Young adults reported having requested more favors over a three-month period than the other groups (22.06 favors, compared to 9.17 for the middle-aged group and 7.98 for elder adults). Perhaps the frequency of favor requests is an expression of a reciprocal flow, in which friends are constantly borrowing and returning items, clothing and cars, which are typical material favors exchanged at this age. Thus the feeling of obligation experienced by young adults may be of a pragmatic nature, a way of maintaining the flow of exchange.

Compared to elder adults, young adults perceived the favor requester as feeling less comfortable, felt less comfortable themselves when requesting a favor, and reported that more inconvenience was involved in performing their favors. These negative reactions to performing favors are surprising in view of the fact that favors of the young adults involved significantly less of a time commitment than either of the other two groups: one-third required only minutes, and one-half less than a day. This was so despite the finding that the young had more available spare time than either of the elder groups. The negative feelings may be a reflection of the sensitivity of young adults to approval or rejection by their peers.

The finding that young adults performed and denied favors in the context of closer relationships than the other groups may be an artifact of the coding of the questionnaire item; i.e., closer relationships included best friend, close friend, room-mate, and family member and not-close friends included social friend, business associate, co-worker and neighbor. Young adults relationships were not likely to include the not-close categories, since while living in dormitories and attending college, they are less likely than the other groups to have business associates or neighbors. Of course, it is also possible that young adults have more close friendships and that their close friends are more readily accessible than those of the other age groups.

Results of the analysis of favor characteristics indicated that favors performed by the young adults involved primarily

material services (22.6 %), many of which were school related. The next highest category was lending items, ranging from backpacks or guitars to prom dresses and cars (21.0%), followed by transportation (rides to airports, shopping malls, and school). These favors required greater resources than did favors of the elder adults. Given the resources available to young adults (ownership of certain material items, including cars) and the lack of others (particularly money), findings regarding the content of young peoples' favors are not surprising. On the other hand, their infrequent mention of favors involving people (combined score of 12.9% on the people-oriented categories) requires further examination.

Societal factors influence young adults' reactions to requests for favors. Adolescence may be characterized as a stage where social support changes dramatically, shifting from family to peer influences. A major developmental task during late adolescence is the establishment of independence from one's family. Since asking for a favor is an expression of dependency, requesting one may conflict with this goal. As a 19 year-old co-ed wrote: "Friends don't owe each other. Dependency on each other is a better description of favors."

As the young adult moves toward gaining independence from parents, a peer-based social system develops. Dormitory living provides an environment in which this system may flourish. The young adults in this study were all freshman in college, most of them living in dormitories. Thus, unlike the middle-aged and elder adults, they were living with peers rather than their

families. Ongoing companionship is built into the structure of daily living among college students. This may be one reason that favors of young people were more concerned with lending and borrowing than with care-taking or companionship. This conclusion is supported by findings of Argyle and Henderson (1984), who studied age differences in friendship and found that between ages 18 and 25, friendships are more intense and take up more time than in later years. Thus, for young adults living in college dormitories, care-taking and/or companionship may occur not as a special favor, but as a daily reality.

Another factor influencing young peoples' low frequency of people-oriented favors may relate to their particular stage of cognitive development. As stated earlier, egocentrism consists of a failure to differentiate between cognitive concerns of others and the self (see Literature Review, p.26). As adolescence progresses, egocentrism also undergoes developmental changes. Young adults become better able to conceptualize their own thoughts and those of others, leading to a greater empathic capacity than at earlier ages. At the same time, perspective-taking ability is at a relatively early stage of adult development. Moreover, young adults are relatively inexperienced at negotiating favors. They are especially vulnerable to anticipate reactions of others to the self; i.e., refusing or accepting the request to do a favor might have more severe implications for this age group, since friendship serves the crucial function of facilitating autonomy (separation from the family.) The fear of having a favor

denied is reflected in the statement of an 18 year-old male, whose friend had agreed to meet to tutor him at a specified time, and then failed to show up: "I felt like not returning his call when he phoned later to set up another time, but I had to meet with him to be able to complete my class assignment."

Their heightened sensitivity, then, may account for the minimal representation of people-oriented favors among young adult respondents. This sensitivity may also be responsible for the greater degree of discomfort they attribute to the person requesting a favor of them, as well as to their own discomfort when asked to do a favor. Favors of the young adult males contained a lower emotional component than all other groups. The low emotional component of young males' favors relative to the entire sample may also be a reflection of this sensitivity. Rather, favors of young adults focus on lending and borrowing, a more tentative way of testing the existence of connection and trust in a relationship. Lending items may represent a less sophisticated level of interacting with people. By permitting a friend to use a valued item, an attachment is maintained and trust is enhanced.

Favors in middle-age. As predicted, middle-aged respondents performed significantly more favors than the other groups in this study. This was true in four out of the seven categories of favors measured by the check-list, namely, lending money, transportation, material services, and people-oriented services. In comparison to both young and elder adults, reciprocity was a weaker motivational factor for this group.

Compared to elder adults, they experienced more inconvenience, ascribed greater discomfort to the person requesting the favor, and themselves felt more uncomfortable when requesting a favor. These findings seem to be out of keeping with the high level of favor-doing among the middle-aged, however.

While common sense dictates that people with less time might be less likely to do a favor, this was not the case with the middle-aged population, who had less free time than either of the other groups yet performed more favors. Further, their favors entailed greater time demands; over 25 percent required giving one day of time or more, compared to approximately 16 percent for the younger group. Along with this, the emotional component of favors performed by the middle-aged group was slightly greater (though not significantly so) than for the younger group.

One credible explanation for the slightly higher level of favor-doing among middle-aged respondents is suggested by the high scores of this group on the resource variable (of the analysis of favor characteristics): favors requested of middle-aged people contained a higher resource component than did favors of the elder adults. Not only did the content of their favors involve material or physical resources but all categories of their individual favors involved a high resource dimension: common favors included childcare, helping to decorate an apartment, substitute teaching, and remodeling basements or kitchens. In addition, they performed many favors involving expertise (such as helping to write a speech, cooking

a special holiday dish, or filling out tax returns), suggesting that they also possess skills and knowledge, another form of power (resources). These findings imply that middle-aged respondents not only control greater physical and material resources, but also possess special skills and knowledge, the sharing of which represents doing a favor. Their favors required significantly more social interaction than did those of the young adults.

How might these findings account for the prolific favor-doing of the middle-aged respondents? Relationships, of course, do not exist in a vacuum. Rather, they are part of broader societal structures: social support systems. The relative size and stability of a person's support system would impact upon his or her willingness to share resources. Thus, the secure social network of the middle-aged person (as described by Kahn and Antonucci, 1980) might interact with the resource dimension in producing increased favor-doing. Also, because they control more resources, opportunities for reciprocation are more assured for this group than for elder or younger adults. Thus, their greater resources may contribute to making reciprocity a less salient issue for this group than for the others. Since they possess more resources to begin with, being compensated for performing a favor may be a lesser import than for the young or elder adults, whose resources are fewer.

Results of this study regarding the middle-aged group reflect the conclusions of an earlier study of 100 well-placed

middle-aged men and women, indicating that they recognized themselves as constituting a powerful group vis a vis others, serving as norm and decision makers (Neugarten, 1967). Middle-aged people may be viewed, then, as controlling more of the society's existing material and physical resources than young or elder groups. Likewise pertinent is Gould's (1978) conclusion that middle-aged adults show an increased interest in friends, as friendship patterns often move away from the family towards outside friendships during these years.

Finally, a prevailing theme of middle age is the reassessment of self, including a greater sensitivity to one's position in the social environment (Neugarten, 1967). This self-assessment might evoke internal pressure towards a more pro-social orientation during middle-aged years. Accompanying this new orientation are a heightened degree of social understanding, including enhanced perspective-taking ability, a decrease in egocentrism, and increased empathic skills (Sinott, 1978). To summarize, the emergence of the middle-aged group as the most prolific favor-doers may be attributed to several aspects of living during these years: their involvement in secure social networks, greater available resources, and heightened pro-social awareness and perspective-taking abilities.

Favors among elder adults. The most surprising findings of this study relate to elder adults' perceptions of themselves as favor-doers. It was hypothesized that elder adults, due to heightened social awareness and perspective-taking abilities,

would express more positive attitudes toward favor-doing than young adults, and that this expectation would be reflected in a desire to enhance relationships. This was not the case, however. In performing their favors, elder adults were more highly motivated by feelings of obligation than the middle-aged (but not the younger) group. This finding may be related to the lessening of both resources and availability of friends that occurs at this age, making it more crucial to expect that favors will be reciprocated.

Elder adults experienced less inconvenience in performing their favors than either of the other age groups. One possible explanation for this is the relationship between the inconvenience variable and available discretionary time : elder adults had the most available spare time, which meant favor-doing involved less inconvenience. (No significant correlation was found, however, between level of favor-doing and available discretionary time.)

Along with expressing less inconvenience, elder respondents attributed feelings of greater comfort to the friend who requested a favor of them and themselves felt more comfortable than any group in requesting a favor. Thus, the hypothesis that elder adults would experience higher levels of comfort in the favor transaction was confirmed by the data, but not for the reasons anticipated. It was originally hypothesized that a greater appreciation of friendship ties would contribute to greater comfort.

Is their greater comfort with favor-doing the result of life experiences, or were elder adults perhaps more altruistic than younger adults in their attitude toward doing favors? When results of the factor scales are recalled, the latter appears not to be the case: scores of elder adults were significantly higher than the middle-aged and equal to the young adult group on the scale measuring feelings of obligation and reciprocity as a motive for performing favors. This finding seems to contradict findings of a study by Trimakas and Nicolay (1974). They studied self-concept and altruism in 162 female tenants of a low-income senior housing project, ranging in age from 66-88 with a mean age of 73.56. They found altruism to be positively influenced by social support, and that those with high self-concept scores had a heightened sensitivity to social influence.

Based upon the good health and high level of functioning of the elder group in the current study, it seems reasonable to assume that the enjoyment of helping was a strong element in their favor-doing. Despite altruistic attitudes, issues of reciprocity were especially salient for elder adults. One explanation for their greater emphasis on obligation and the expectation that favors will be returned by friends may be based upon life experience. Perhaps disappointments and losses have led them to feel entitled to reciprocal favors, moreso than the middle-aged group, whose social networks and resources are more secure, or the younger group, whose friends are abundant. This

sense of disappointment is suggested by the words of a 75 year-old male respondent:

"I was turned down when I requested a sizeable loan from a good friend forty years ago. We stopped seeing his wife and him-- did not see him the rest of his life. We occasionally get Christmas cards from his wife and send our card to her-- she is remarried and moved to Florida. We saw them only one time after the turn down."

That perspective taking ability declines and egocentrism increases as people grow old is suggested by some research (see Literature Review, p.27). Findings of this study do not support this point of view, since favor-doing among elder adults was experienced as involving less inconvenience and greater comfort than for the other groups. The finding of increased comfort with doing favors may also reflect lower levels of tension or internal conflict among older people. Greater experience has afforded them opportunities to resolve conflicts about interpersonal relationships (Erikson, 1950).

Like the middle-aged group, favors of elder adults required more social interaction than material resources. In terms of favor type, the greatest number of favors performed by elder respondents involved transportation. While at first seeming surprising, the frequency of requests for rides may result from elder adults in the sample being healthier than many of their friends: often rides requested were to the doctor or to visit a person in the hospital. Elder adult respondents in this sample were not only in good health, but actively engaged in the community, through school and recreational groups. This was so despite the prevalence of widowhood and retirement among this group.

Favors requiring material services dropped for elder adults, suggesting that their material and physical resources were more limited. People-oriented favors were high for this group, with an interesting nuance. Middle-aged and elder adults had equal frequencies of favors involving people (23.1%); however, favors of the middle-aged were more involved with companionship (i.e., attending meetings, going shopping, helping with a bridal shower, accompanying to look at a new house) while people-oriented favors of the elder group (12.7%) involved more care-taking, either in the form of babysitting for children or caring for ailing friends. This contrast between people-oriented services and companionship indicates qualitative differences in friendship during later years.

A reality of daily living may be affecting the attitudes of elder adults toward favor-doing. Both their physical and material resources are declining or have declined. Situations affording opportunities to do favors are fewer as the result of fewer opportunities for friendship. Duck (1983) wrote that when old people feel useless, they may be responding to a key fact of social life: a relationship between two people is most often defined by what they provide-- resources distributed and exchanged. Older people may be less able to reciprocate by doing favors in return. In fact, elder adults in the sample reported that they were less likely (over a three-month period) to have their favors granted. Although they requested fewer favors ($M=7.98$) compared to young ($M=22.06$) and middle-aged ($M=9.17$) adults, a significantly lower

percentage of these favors were granted ($M = 76.2\%$, compared to 87 percent for the other groups).

Of course, it is also possible that the defense mechanism of denial may have contributed to the diminishment of negative attitudes towards favor-doing among elder adults. Denial may have influenced their perceptions that favors involved less inconvenience and greater comfort than perceived by the other groups. Evidence derived from the current study is not sufficient to determine whether these results are due to a true increase in enjoyment of performing favors or to functions of defensive denial. The limitations of the methodology made it impossible to provide an adequate explanation.

This decline in opportunities for elder adults to perform favors may affect attitudes and feelings toward favor-doing: (1) it may lead to a defensive posture which emerges as a self-effacing attitude (expressed in reports of greater comfort and less inconvenience), and/or (2) it may be expressed as a defense, obliterating memory, particularly of unpleasant experiences. In fact, unlike the other two groups, many elder adults (41.4%) did not respond to questionnaire items concerning their most experience of refusing a friend a favor. Some elder respondents left these items blank, while others reported they could not recall such an occurrence, and still others wrote they had never refused to do a favor for a friend. (This finding was 7.7 percent for the younger group and 26.4 percent for the middle-aged group.) Whether this particularistic aspect of favor-doing among the elder adults is the result of

defensive denial or of the wisdom of experience, remains unknown. The words of a 75 year-old woman convey a sense of this phenomenon: "I can't imagine myself refusing anyone any favor." She then added, jokingly, "I just don't share my husband. That's a rule I made up fifty-one years ago."

Studies indicate that denial and defensiveness function to greater degrees in old people compared to other age groups (Grant, 1966; Trimakas & Nicolay, 1974). That such a large percentage of elder adults did not report having denied a favor may, in fact, be related to this defensiveness. At the same time, the defensiveness of the elder group may facilitate adjustment during a period in life when physical strength is waning and the threat of death more real. A 67 year-old woman respondent believes "people tend to be more conservative about granting favors as they get older. They don't seem to want to be inconvenienced or to extend themselves as they did when they were younger."

Of course, results concerning the elder sample could conceivably be due to religious differences, rather than age differences. Slightly more than half of the young and middle-aged samples were Catholic, in contrast to only one-quarter of the elder sample; conversely, 65.7 percent of the elder sample was Jewish, in contrast to 20 percent for each of the other groups. This demographic variation is an example of how the cross-sectional method presents a problem with regard to interpretation.

Finally, the enjoyment of favor-doing among elder adults

may be accepted at face value, as a genuine expression of their appreciation of friendship as a social form. A recent study affirms this conclusion, indicating that friends are more important than family members as sources of well-being among elder adults (Larson, Mannell, & Zuzanek, 1986).

Motivational correlates of favor-doing

Many personal statements of respondents supported the constructs of favor-doing which emerged in the factor analysis. As stated earlier, people in all three groups experienced generally positive feelings about doing favors. The simple enjoyment of helping a friend was frequently expressed in personal statements of respondents, such as an 18 year-old co-ed who wrote: "People who like each other want to do favors because they want to see that person better off". Similar feelings were described by a 36 year-old female marketing consultant : "Favors are basically fun-- and an opportunity to give to a friend in a tangible way as demonstration of how you care." A 67 year-old woman perceived the enjoyment others experience: "I have found that asking favors makes the person doing the favor for me very happy. Most people like doing for others."

That obligation is a salient aspect of favor-doing is clearly stated in the words of a 38 year-old teacher, who agreed to babysit for a close friend for two hours: "It was really a bad time but I did it anyway. I felt obligated because I had refused the last time."

The quality of relationship enhancement often derived from doing a favor was likewise conveyed by statements of respondents in all groups. An 18 year-old male student, asked by a friend to pick up a copy of an exam, wrote: " I felt good to know that

he trusted me enough to do this after knowing me for so short a time". This example illustrates the profound meaning contained in a seemingly minor request, a feeling echoed in the words of a 72 year-old woman: "I am always pleased and happy that confidence is placed in my friendship by asking favors of me."

Gender differences in favor-doing

One of the main hypotheses of this study with regard to gender differences was that women would experience more discomfort than men about transacting favors. This hypothesis was based upon theories concerning women's conflicts around issues of dependency (Bardwick, 1971). Results of the study refuted this hypothesis, however. In describing favors requested of them, women ascribed feelings of greater comfort to the favor requester than did men. (Although it is purely speculative, this response may be viewed as a projection of the comfort they themselves feel when requesting a favor. This gender difference was not corroborated by results of the item asking about comfort when requesting a favor, however, possibly because this item evoked defensiveness in respondents.) The greater degree of comfort ascribed by women to the person requesting a favor may be interpreted in relation to stereotypic sex role differences. The favor is unusual in that it may be conceptualized both as a gift and as an instrumental act. In this sense, it encompasses stereotypic aspects of both gender roles; i.e., man as "doer", woman as "giver".

Thus, certain hypotheses related to gender differences were

not confirmed by results of this study. Men, rather than women, attributed more discomfort to the person asking a favor of them. Women's comfort with emotional closeness may have resulted in feelings of greater ease when asking for favors. This conclusion is in keeping with research on sex differences, indicating that women are more aware of others and able to take their points of view (Gilligan, 1982; Gough, 1960). Further, men and women differ in their sources of self-esteem and motivation; i.e., interpersonal rewards and affiliation are more important for women (Bardwick, 1971; Gilligan, 1982). This feminine orientation is reflected in the finding that in performing favors, women were more motivated than men by issues of relationship enhancement.

Despite these differences in their perceptions of favor consequences, women and men did not vary significantly in their level of reported willingness to perform favors. This raises questions about the stereotypes themselves. What may, in fact, balance off the willingness of women to give are the significantly greater resources available to men. Correspondingly, women scored significantly higher in the emotional dimension of the analysis of favor types, a finding in keeping both with their stereotypic role as nurturers and with their emotional involvement with other women.

With regard to gender differences in friendship patterns, studies have indicated that most men have never had a close male friend and are not emotionally close to other men (Lewis, 1978). This lack of intimacy may contribute to greater feelings of

awkwardness that men ascribed to the person who asked for a favor. Results indicating that their favors had a lower emotional component than those of women may also reflect the less intimate nature of men's friendships. (Interestingly, this finding did not hold for the elder adult men, whose favors had an emotional component equivalent to those of the women. The likelihood is that since most of them are retired, they have more time to become involved in relationships with friends.)

Is it possible to interpret the gender differences that have been noted in the favor transaction according to Gilligan's model of responsibility? Indeed, a small moral dilemma is posed every time one person asks another for a favor. The person who is asked must confront the question: "Do I put the needs of another person (a friend) before my own needs?" Men and women function with different concepts of responsibility according to Gilligan (see Literature Review, p. 29) . That men tend to operate according to a belief in reciprocity is reflected in the finding that feelings of reciprocity and obligation motivated them to perform favors to a greater degree than was so for women. This finding suggests that men might be more likely than women to view the favor as a bargain; i.e., a man's particular form of social understanding might lead him to expect a favor in return. Women, on the other hand, have been found to be governed more by altruism (Bar-Tal, Harmon, & Greenberg, 1975). In addition, interpreting this finding is complicated by the fact that among elder women, reciprocity is a strong motivating factor in favor-doing. The types of favors

performed by elder women, many of which involve caring for ailing friends, may account for this finding; i.e., they identify with these friends and anticipate that should they be in a similar position, their help will be reciprocated.

Regarding their enjoyment of doing favors for others, both men and women may find favor-doing non-threatening or even gratifying to their sex role orientations. For men, instrumentality implies the desire "to do"; and for women, the socio-emotional role includes nurturance or taking care of the needs of another person (Parsons & Bales, 1955).

On the other hand, in personal statements, certain men and women expressed negative feelings and a lack of trust as the result of some favor transactions. A 49 year-old telephone installer wrote:

"I enjoy doing favors for friends, but I'm amazed when someone you know and trust treats these favors as if they were meaningless. This has happened to me too frequently for them to be isolated experiences. I wonder if people actually resent you for helping them, even though the act is one of friendship and even possibly some degree of love."

The words of a 35 year-old woman who tutored a friend in statistics describe the hurt that may occur when favors are not appreciated:

"The person used flattery to get me to tutor her. Because I succumbed, I felt resentful. Later she dropped me as a friend and I really felt used."

Finally, results of this study indicated a gender difference with regard to motivations for denying favors. Whereas women were more governed by time constraints in their favor denial, men were more influenced by issues relating to

breaches of values or moral issues. The issue of time constraints was especially prevalent among middle-aged females, probably resulting from excessive work, school and family demands. The influence of moral and value issues on males' favor denial is in keeping with research about gender differences in moral reasoning, suggesting that men's relationships are more ruled by personal integrity and women's relationships are more based on connectedness and caring (Gilligan, 1982).

Demographic correlates of favor-doing

Significant correlations emerged between level of favor-doing and three of the demographic variables: advanced education, higher income levels, and retirement. (Appendix A, Table A-12). It must be noted, however, that the correlations were low. The correlation between level of favor-doing and more advanced education is in keeping with findings of earlier studies. Educational level was found to be positively correlated with social responsibility (Havinghurst & Taba, 1949) and with generosity and considerateness (Almond & Verba, 1963).

Because the finding that education contributes to increased favor-doing (social-mindedness) may not seem surprising, it may be too easily dismissed. After all, the American system of education includes aspects of the humanitarian ethic (Golden Rule; "love thy neighbor"). At the same time, higher education both demands and fosters competition, preparing people for

entry into a highly competitive, capitalistic system. Thus, rather than being the result of more learning per se, the willingness to do favors may be a pragmatic development. As a person advances educationally, he or she often has more pressures and demands, and must rely upon (as well as participate in) existing support systems for favors. Thus, the ability to sustain support systems may increase with advancing levels of education.

That retired people performed more favors is also a more surprising finding than may at first appear. The fact that a person is retired may lead others to assume that spare time is more available. Retired people in the current sample did not have more discretionary time, however. One explanation for this correlation may be that with retirement, there may develop a greater need to participate in social support systems.

Are most requests for favors granted?

The finding that people who perform more favors also receive more favors is worthy of note: there was a low, but significant correlation between reported willingness to do favors and number of favors received over a three-month period. This result provides validation of the existence of a reciprocity norm. People who do more favors appear to be compensated by "favors in kind".

Sampling issues

Limitations of the method used in this survey must be examined. Although age, the main independent variable was controlled, respondents were selected from a limited sample of the total population. In addition, there were potential respondents within each selected sample who did not participate in the questionnaire. This raises the question of whether attitudes of the respondents are different than those of non-respondents. Only a random sample, beyond the resources of this study, would address these problems.

Implications

The current study illustrates both advantages and disadvantages of examining interpersonal relationships by directly questioning those who participate in them. While the favor is a seemingly minor aspect of a relationship, understanding what transpires in its negotiation serves to illuminate other aspects of favor-doing, such as motivations, duration of the relationship, and levels of comfort, all of which have implications for understanding how social support systems function. This approach reduces larger concepts and is more pertinent to understanding how relationships function in everyday life. Feelings and perceptions about answering a request for help become real when viewed within a specific relationship. Thus, the main advantage of this approach is that it taps at realities of daily living. The reaction of a 19

year-old male respondent reflects this idea:

"This questionnaire has given me the opportunity to think about favors and myself. I conclude that I am self-centered and unaware in this area of my life. I will now become more aware. Thank you."

Perhaps the most interesting findings of the study relate to favors among the elder adult group. As in the pilot study, elder adults expressed comfort about doing favors. The factor scales, however, enabled the larger study to tap at phenomena below the surface (i.e., attitudes toward reciprocity), suggesting that favor-doing might have different ramifications for this group. While this was a unique sample of elder adults, due to their good health and high level of activity, it would be important to compare this group to a less well-functioning sample.

Still another theoretical explanation may account for findings regarding the elder sample and women respondents, both of whom exhibited seeming contradictions in their responses. Katz (1982) has noted that ambivalent attitudes may result in response amplification. For example, a person who is prejudiced against a minority group feels ambivalently towards members of that group, and would be likely to respond inappropriately (either positively or negatively) towards this group. It may be wondered then, whether a degree of ambivalence toward going out of one's way to do a favor may have influenced elder and female respondents. Fewer favors of the elder adults would be likely to be reciprocated, considering that many occurred within serious circumstances, such as illness and death. Similarly,

women may have ambivalent feelings based upon males' possession of greater resources. The presence of inner conflicts such as these can only be speculated upon, as they were not measured by the questionnaire.

Limitations of the study

Because the current study was cross-sectional rather than longitudinal, findings relating to variations in the favor transaction across three adult life stages cannot be viewed as evidence of developmental differences. Nonetheless, the data are highly suggestive of the influence of age on the favor transaction.

Maturation factors and different experiences influence socialization throughout the life cycle. Equally important is the influence of social norms which change within each generation. Over the past century, norms of interpersonal conduct have changed dramatically. For example, Rands and Levinger (1979) studied college students and senior citizens (two generations apart), and found that generation exerted strong effects on differences in behavior. Their most significant finding was that close heterosexual friends of today's generation were more likely to express positive and negative feelings than pairs of their grandparents' generation. Such generational differences might have influenced the response styles of elder adults to the questionnaire, making them less apt to reveal negative feelings. Indeed, findings concerning the elder adults suggest that changes occurring during old age require further

understanding. Thus, as a result of generational differences, it is possible that age differences are confounded by diverse experiences in early-life socialization.

In addition, since the entire sample was drawn from suburban environment, it would be important to find out whether city dwellers in these age groups react differently to doing favors, and also to catalogue differences in the types of their favors. For example, a large proportion of suburban favors revolve around transportation. What would take the place of favor requests for transportation in the city, where most people do not have cars? Would there be an increase in people-related favors? Would the level of favor-doing decrease due to the heightened isolation of the urban setting?

All of the interpretations discussed must, of course, be assessed within the limited context of this study. The overall response rate was 42.3 percent, which raises questions of differences in attitudes between respondents and non-respondents. This problem in sampling makes it inappropriate to generalize results of this research. In fact, the act of participating in this study was an example of performing a favor for a stranger. Thus, it is impossible to ascertain whether respondents had more positive, pro-social attitudes toward favor-doing in general, than those people who declined participation.

The survey method itself has a number of drawbacks. First, this questionnaire was lengthy and especially difficult for many elder respondents to complete. (In fact, the majority of this

group did not complete the second part of the questionnaire.) Second, attitudes communicated by people on paper may differ from their actual behavior due to social desirability factors. Future research on favor-doing might consider a laboratory study. While true experiments have often proven to be artificial, it might be feasible to study actual pairs of friends in the laboratory, using a structured action situation. For example, a pair of friends could be instructed to engage in favor-asking and doing, immediately following which their reactions could be assessed using structured interviews and/or a questionnaire.

Further research is also called for regarding gender differences, particularly aspects relating to reciprocity and altruism as motives for doing favors. The norm of reciprocity may be another widely held tenet of psychology and sociology that is based upon norms of male behavior. While the current study perceived an aspect of this possible gender difference, the method was not sufficiently sensitive to totally understand its meaning. If this belief in owing is more characteristic of males than of females, what are its broader societal implications? For example, help-giving and help-seeking in extreme situations virtually negates the possibility of reciprocity. Does this mean that a person is more likely to receive such help from a woman than from a man?

The undertaking of a research project focusing on an aspect of everyday behavior, previously not considered from a social psychological perspective, has contributed to greater

understanding of the significance of favor-doing in relationships. Viewing favor-doing within three distinct age groups highlighted developmental shifts that might remain unnoticed in a sample not broken down by age (or gender). Of course, it would be important to examine favor-doing among age groups not included in this study, to determine whether the shifts observed are more gradual when all ages are considered. What occurs during the years of early adolescence, or between early adulthood and middle-age? A continuum approach would fill in these gaps, contributing to the development of a life-span theory of helping behavior.

In conclusion, this research affirms the complexity of studying behavior that transpires in the course of relationships. Even focusing on aspects of a specific interaction, the request and performance of a favor, incurred many nuances of interpretation. Despite the many pitfalls of the correlational design and survey method, the study has demonstrated the importance of examining subjective experience at the level of a specific event. Moreover, doing so from a life-span perspective allowed for the discernment of variations that would have remained unnoticed in a uniform age sample. The discovery that in general, people seem to enjoy doing favors for their friends is an affirmation of the basic human need to sustain attachments .

APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Description of the Sample

Sex and Age Distribution

A total of 258 respondents (86 males and 172 females) completed the survey. (Since two of the female respondents did not supply demographic data, they are not included in the tables herein.) The sex and age distribution of the sample population is described in Table A-1.

Overall 33.6 percent of the population was male and 66.4 percent female. The age breakdown was as follows: 25.4 percent were in the 18-22 year-old group; 40.6 percent were in the 35-50 year-old group; 34.0 percent were in the 65-84 year-old group.

TABLE A 1

SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

AGE GROUP		MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL SAMPLE
18 - 22	%	41.5	58.5	25.4
	(N)	(27)	(38)	(65)
35 - 50	%	28.8	71.4	40.6
	(N)	(30)	(74)	(104)
65 - 84	%	33.3	66.7	34.0
	(N)	(29)	(58)	(87)
TOTALS	%	33.6	66.4	100.0
	(N)	(86)	(170)	(256)

Ethnicity and Religious Affiliation

Most respondents (90%) were Caucasian. Blacks and Hispanics comprised another 8 percent and were predominately in the young adult group (see Table A-2).

TABLE A 2

ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS OF THE THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP		WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC	ASIAN	TOTAL SAMPLE
18 - 22	%	81.0	7.9	11.0	0.0	25.5
	(N)	(51)	(5)	(7)	(0)	(63)
35 - 50	%	91.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	40.5
	(N)	(91)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(100)
65 - 84	%	96.4	2.4	0.0	1.2	34.0
	(N)	(81)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(84)
TOTALS	%	90.3	4.0	4.0	1.7	100.0
	(N)	(223)	(10)	(10)	(4)	(247)

The religious affiliation most frequently mentioned was Catholic (41.9%); the remainder of the sample was Jewish (36.9%), Protestant (18.4%), and other unspecified religions (2.8%). While over half of the young and middle-aged groups were Catholic (51.1% and 54.5%, respectively), the older adult group was predominantly Jewish (65.7%). Religion was unreported by 78 respondents (see Table A-3).

TABLE A 3
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF THE THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP		JEWISH	CATHOLIC	PROTESTANT	OTHER	TOTAL SAMPLE
18 - 22	%	20.0	51.1	22.2	6.7	25.3
	(N)	(9)	(23)	(10)	(3)	(45)
35 - 50	%	19.7	54.5	24.3	1.5	37.1
	(N)	(13)	(36)	(16)	(3)	(67)
65 - 84	%	65.7	23.9	9.0	1.4	37.6
	(N)	(44)	(16)	(6)	(1)	(67)
TOTALS	%	36.9	41.9	18.4	2.8	100.0
	(N)	(66)	(75)	(32)	(5)	(178)

Education

The sample was well-educated, as shown in Table A-4: all respondents completed high school, and 84 percent attended college. Of the 46.8 percent who graduated from college, 26.8 percent went on to study for advanced degrees. The middle-aged group was the most highly educated with nearly half (49.0%) having completed courses at the graduate level.

TABLE A 4

AGE GROUP		HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION				TOTAL SAMPLE
		HIGH SCHOOL	SOME COLLEGE	COLLEGE	GRAD SCHOOL	
18 - 22	%	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	26.0
	(N)	(0)	(65)	(0)	(0)	(65)
35 - 50	%	12.0	15.0	24.0	49.0	40.0
	(N)	(12)	(15)	(24)	(49)	(100)
65 - 84	%	32.9	15.3	30.6	21.2	34.0
	(N)	(28)	(13)	(26)	(18)	(85)
TOTALS	%	16.0	37.2	20.0	26.8	100.0
	(N)	(40)	(93)	(50)	(67)	(250)

Income Level and Working Status

The information on income levels indicates that the sample was predominantly middle to upper middle class, with 52.3 percent earning above \$40,000 annually, 28.0 percent of whom earn above \$60,000 annually (see Table A-5). More than half (56.5%) of the total population was currently working, as shown in Table A-6. Yet 84.5 percent of the oldest (65-84) group was not working, as might be expected.

TABLE A 5

AGE GROUP	INCOME LEVELS OF THE THREE AGE GROUPS				TOTAL SAMPLE	
	UNDER \$20,000	\$20-39,000	\$40-59,000	OVER \$60,000		
18 - 22	8	24.6	23.0	31.1	21.3	25.5
	(N)	(15)	(14)	(19)	(13)	(61)
35 - 50	8	7.1	22.2	27.3	43.4	41.4
	(N)	(7)	(22)	(27)	(43)	(99)
65 - 84	8	24.1	46.8	15.2	13.9	33.1
	(N)	(19)	(37)	(12)	(11)	(79)
TOTALS	8	17.2	30.5	24.3	28.0	100.0
	(N)	(41)	(73)	(58)	(67)	(239)

TABLE A 6

MEMBERS OF SAMPLE POPULATION CURRENTLY WORKING

AGE GROUP		YES	N O	TOTAL SAMPLE
18 - 22	%	72.3	27.7	26.2
	(N)	(47)	(18)	(65)
35 - 50	%	80.8	19.2	39.9
	(N)	(80)	(19)	(99)
65 - 84	%	15.5	84.5	33.9
	(N)	(13)	(71)	(84)
TOTALS	%	56.5	43.5	100.0
	(N)	(140)	(108)	(248)

Occupational Range

The occupational range of the total sample was predominantly middle to upper middle class. Table A-7 indicates that semi-professionals (nurses, engineers, journalists, accountants, teachers) accounted for 28.2 percent of the sample, while white collar workers (sales people, office workers) accounted for 23.5 percent. Managers or supervisors (such as business executives or bank managers) comprised 9.8 percent of the sample. Professionals (e.g., doctors, lawyers) accounted for 2.4 percent of the sample, while 27.5 percent of the occupational range was composed of students. (Of the seventy full-time students in the sample, 65 were in the young adult group.)

TABLE A 7
OCCUPATIONS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

AGE GROUP		BLUE COLLAR	WHITE COLLAR	MANA- GERIAL	PROPES- SIONAL	SEMI- PROFES'L	STUDENT	HOUSEWIFE	MISSING
18 - 22	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
	(N)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(65)	(0)	(0)
35 - 50	%	0.0	26.0	15.4	3.8	43.3	3.8	0.0	7.7
	(N)	(0)	(27)	(16)	(4)	(45)	(4)	(0)	(8)
65 - 84	%	2.3	38.4	10.5	2.3	31.4	1.2	4.7	9.3
	(N)	(2)	(33)	(9)	(2)	(27)	(1)	(4)	(8)
TOTALS	%	0.8	23.5	9.8	2.4	28.2	27.5	1.6	6.3
	(N)	(2)	(60)	(25)	(6)	(72)	(70)	(4)	(16)

Health Status

In general, the health of the overall population ranged from good to excellent (89.6%) (see Table A-8). This figure was surprisingly consistent across groups including the older population, of which 76.2 percent reported good or excellent health.

TABLE A 8

AGE GROUP		POOR	FAIR	GOOD	EXCELLENT
18 - 22	%	0.0	3.1	49.2	47.7
	(N)	(0)	(2)	(32)	(31)
35 - 50	%	1.0	3.0	42.6	53.3
	(N)	(1)	(3)	(43)	(54)
65 - 84	%	3.6	20.2	58.3	17.9
	(N)	(3)	(17)	(49)	(15)
TOTAL	%	1.6	8.8	49.6	40.0
SAMPLE	(N)	(4)	(22)	(124)	(100)

Available Spare Time

Approximately two-thirds of the sample reported having under thirty-six spare hours per week, while one-fifth of the sample (21.8%) had less than nine discretionary hours weekly (see Table A-9). Older adults had the most spare time, with 34.9 percent reporting more than thirty-six free hours a week.

TABLE A 9

NUMBER OF SPARE HOURS PER WEEK FOR THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP		1 TO 9	10 TO 13	14 TO 20	21 TO 35	36 TO 98
18 - 22	%	14.8	16.4	24.6	26.2	18.0
	(N)	(9)	(10)	(15)	(16)	(11)
35 - 50	%	24.0	26.0	25.5	17.0	8.0
	(N)	(24)	(26)	(25)	(17)	(8)
65 - 84	%	23.3	11.6	11.6	18.6	34.9
	(N)	(20)	(10)	(16)	(16)	(30)
TOTAL	%	21.8	18.5	20.2	19.8	19.8
SAMPLE	(N)	(53)	(46)	(50)	(49)	(49)

Marital Status

Over half of the sample was married (50.8%), while one-third of the sample was single, as shown in Table A-10. One-fifth of the sample was currently living alone, and 65 percent of these respondents were in the older adult group, of which 31.8 percent was widowed.

TABLE B 1 0

TIME INVESTED IN DOING THE FAVOR FOR THE THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP		LITTLE	< ONE DAY	1 - 3 DAYS	> 3 DAYS	TOTAL SAMPLE
18 - 22	%	34.9	49.2	11.1	4.8	26.0
	(N)	(22)	(31)	(7)	(3)	(63)
35 - 50	%	14.1	59.6	13.1	13.1	40.9
	(N)	(14)	(59)	(13)	(13)	(99)
65 - 84	%	12.5	60.0	15.0	12.5	33.1
	(N)	(10)	(48)	(12)	(10)	(80)
TOTALS	%	19.0	57.0	13.2	10.7	100.0
	(N)	(46)	(138)	(32)	(26)	(242)

Available Support by Extended Family

Most respondents reported having more than six relatives living within a fifty-mile radius. The youngest group reported most relatives living within this radius: 41 percent claiming to have more than 19 relatives. About one-third of the older respondents reported 10 or more relatives living close-by; a similar percentage of middle-aged and older respondents (approximately 28%) reported fewer than six. Older adult respondents reported having fewer relatives living nearby, the likelihood being that their relatives had either moved to other locations or were no longer living (see Table A-11).

TABLE A 1 1

		NUMBER OF RELATIVES LIVING WITHIN 50 MILE RADIUS			
AGE GROUP		1 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 18	19 - 98
18 - 22	%	19.0	20.7	19.0	41.3
	(N)	(11)	(12)	(11)	(24)
35 - 50	%	28.1	22.5	21.3	28.1
	(N)	(25)	(20)	(19)	(25)
65 - 84	%	28.7	38.7	16.3	16.3
	(N)	(23)	(31)	(13)	(13)
TOTAL	%	25.9	27.6	19.3	27.2
SAMPLE	(N)	(59)	(63)	(43)	(62)

Correlations between demographics and favor-doing

Pearson correlations were used to assess relationships between demographic variables and level of favor-doing, as measured by the check-list of favors. A highly significant correlation was found between yearly income and level of favor-doing ($r = .19, p < .005$), indicating that respondents in higher income levels reported performing more favors than those in lower income levels. Another highly significant correlation emerged between level of education and favor-doing ($r = .16, p < .005$). In addition, respondents who were currently retired reported performing significantly more favors than those who were still working ($r = .17, p < .005$). No relationship, emerged however, between level of favor-doing and available spare time. These findings are illustrated in Table A-12.

TABLE A 1 2

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES & FAVOR-DOING

VARIABLE	(N)	CORRELATION	P
YEARLY INCOME	229	.19	.002
CURRENTLY RETIRED	236	.17	.004
LEVEL OF EDUCATION	238	.16	.005
CURRENTLY WORKING	236	.08	n. s.
SPARE HOURS	258	.03	n. s.

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL TABLES

Following are additional tables, including frequencies for reported willingness to perform favors, means and sigmas for all variables tested, and frequencies for the content analysis dimensions.

TABLE B 1

FREQUENCY TABLE FOR LEVEL OF FAVOR-DOING

NO. OF FAVORS	(N)	%
0	(1)	0.4
1	(1)	0.4
2	(1)	0.4
3	(1)	0.4
4	(6)	2.3
5	(6)	2.3
6	(10)	3.9
7	(8)	3.1
8	(14)	5.4
9	(11)	4.3
10	(22)	8.5
11	(28)	10.9
12	(19)	7.4
13	(23)	8.9
14	(27)	10.5
15	(25)	9.7
16	(18)	7.0
17	(10)	3.9
18	(8)	3.1
19	(2)	0.8
20	(1)	0.4
MISSING	(16)	6.2
TOTALS	(258)	100.0

MEAN = 11.8

MEDIAN = 12.1

MODE = 11.0

TABLE B 2
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR FAVORS REPORTED
HAVING GRANTED

AGE GROUP	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	(65)	11.8	3.4
35 - 50	(102)	12.8	3.4
65 - 84	(76)	10.9	4.5
TOTALS	(243)	11.9	3.8

TABLE B 3
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR FACTOR III SCALE SCORES *
WHEN FAVOR GRANTED

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	2.74	0.67
	FEMALES	(38)	2.22	0.73
	TOTAL	(64)	2.43	0.75
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	2.30	0.73
	FEMALES	(73)	2.05	0.60
	TOTAL	(103)	2.13	0.65
65 - 84	MALES	(27)	2.43	0.83
	FEMALES	(55)	2.56	0.76
	TOTAL	(82)	2.52	0.78
TOTALS		(249)	2.33	0.74

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS STRONGLY DISAGREE AND 4 MEANS STRONGLY AGREE

TABLE B 4
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR FACTOR I VARIABLE *
WHEN FAVOR GRANTED

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	3.39	0.63
	FEMALES	(38)	3.25	0.63
	TOTAL	(64)	3.31	0.63
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	3.51	0.64
	FEMALES	(73)	3.28	0.64
	TOTAL	(103)	3.35	0.64
65 - 84	MALES	(27)	3.56	0.92
	FEMALES	(53)	3.28	0.65
	TOTAL	(80)	3.37	0.75
TOTALS		(247)	3.35	0.67

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS STRONGLY DISAGREE AND 4 MEANS STRONGLY AGREE

TABLE B 5
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR FACTOR II SCALE SCORES *
WHEN FAVOR GRANTED

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	2.52	0.51
	FEMALES	(38)	2.58	0.53
	TOTAL	(64)	2.56	0.52
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	2.39	0.33
	FEMALES	(73)	2.48	0.42
	TOTAL	(103)	2.45	0.39
65 - 84	MALES	(27)	2.47	0.39
	FEMALES	(54)	2.56	0.39
	TOTAL	(81)	2.53	0.39
TOTALS		(248)	2.50	0.60

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS STRONGLY DISAGREE AND 4 MEANS STRONGLY AGREE

TABLE B 6
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR INCONVENIENCE VARIABLE *
 (WHEN FAVOR WAS GRANTED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	2.96	1.76
	FEMALES	(38)	3.37	1.58
	TOTAL	(64)	3.20	1.65
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	2.63	1.54
	FEMALES	(73)	3.47	1.68
	TOTAL	(103)	3.22	1.67
65 - 84	MALES	(28)	2.54	1.67
	FEMALES	(57)	2.65	1.74
	TOTAL	(85)	2.61	1.71
TOTALS		(252)	3.01	1.70

* BASED UPON A 7-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS VERY LITTLE INCONVENIENCE AND 7 MEANS A GREAT DEAL OF INCONVENIENCE

TABLE B 7
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR ASCRIBED COMFORT *

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	3.46	1.48
	FEMALES	(38)	2.50	1.35
	TOTAL	(64)	2.89	1.47
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	3.20	1.67
	FEMALES	(73)	3.10	1.56
	TOTAL	(103)	3.13	1.58
65 - 84	MALES	(27)	2.82	2.17
	FEMALES	(57)	1.82	1.27
	TOTAL	(84)	2.14	1.67
TOTALS		(251)	2.73	1.64

* BASED UPON A 7-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS EXTREMELY COMFORTABLE, 4 MEANS NEITHER COMFORTABLE OR AWKWARD AND 7 MEANS FELT EXTREMELY AWKWARD

TABLE B 8
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR CLOSENESS VARIABLE *
(WHEN FAVOR WAS GRANTED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
	MALES	(23)	1.96	1.66
18 - 22	FEMALES	(33)	4.61	0.86
	TOTAL	(56)	3.52	1.81
	MALES	(13)	5.15	1.07
35 - 50	FEMALES	(39)	4.82	1.07
	TOTAL	(52)	4.90	1.07
	MALES	(7)	5.57	1.40
65 - 84	FEMALES	(14)	4.93	1.27
	TOTAL	(21)	5.14	1.32
TOTALS		(129)	4.34	1.63

* BASED UPON A 7-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS FELT MUCH CLOSER, 4 MEANS NO CHANGE AND 7 MEANS FELT MUCH MORE DISTANT

TABLE B 9
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR LIKING VARIABLE *
(WHEN FAVOR WAS GRANTED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
	MALES	(20)	1.70	1.34
18 - 22	FEMALES	(33)	4.45	0.79
	TOTAL	(53)	3.42	1.69
	MALES	(13)	4.54	0.78
35 - 50	FEMALES	(39)	4.51	0.85
	TOTAL	(52)	4.52	0.83
	MALES	(8)	5.13	1.36
65 - 84	FEMALES	(14)	5.00	1.24
	TOTAL	(22)	5.05	1.26
TOTALS		(127)	4.15	1.46

* BASED UPON A 7-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS FELT MUCH CLOSER, 4 MEANS NO CHANGE AND 7 MEANS FELT MUCH MORE DISTANT

TABLE R 1 0

TIME INVESTED IN DOING THE FAVOR FOR THE THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP		LITTLE	< ONE DAY	1 - 3 DAYS	> 3 DAYS	TOTAL SAMPLE
18 - 22	̄	34.9	49.2	11.1	4.8	26.0
	(N)	(22)	(31)	(7)	(3)	(63)
35 - 50	̄	14.1	59.6	13.1	13.1	40.9
	(N)	(14)	(59)	(13)	(13)	(99)
65 - 84	̄	12.5	60.0	15.0	12.5	33.1
	(N)	(10)	(48)	(12)	(10)	(80)
TOTALS	̄	19.0	57.0	13.2	10.7	100.0
	(N)	(46)	(138)	(32)	(26)	(242)

TABLE B 1 1

TIME INVESTED IN DOING FAVORS FOR MALES AND FEMALES

GENDER		LITTLE	< ONE DAY	1-3 DAYS	3 + DAYS	TOTALS
MALE	̄	22.9	50.6	14.5	12.0	34.0
	(N)	(19)	(42)	(12)	(10)	(83)
FEMALE	̄	18.0	59.6	12.4	9.9	66.0
	(N)	(29)	(96)	(20)	(16)	(161)
TOTALS	̄	19.7	56.6	13.1	10.7	100.0
	(N)	(48)	(138)	(32)	(26)	(244)

TABLE B 1 2
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR TIME DIMENSION *
 (CONTENT ANALYSIS)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	0.92	0.80
	FEMALES	(37)	0.81	0.87
	TOTAL	(63)	0.86	0.80
35 - 50	MALES	(29)	1.03	0.78
	FEMALES	(70)	1.34	0.88
	TOTAL	(99)	1.25	0.86
65 - 84	MALES	(27)	1.56	1.05
	FEMALES	(53)	1.13	0.68
	TOTAL	(80)	1.28	0.84
TOTALS		(242)	1.16	0.86

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 0 MEANS VERY LITTLE TIME AND 3 MEANS MORE THAN 3 DAYS

TABLE B 1 3
 RESOURCES INVOLVED IN DOING THE FAVOR FOR THE THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP		NONE	SMALL	MODERATE	HIGH	TOTAL SAMPLE
18 - 22		8.1	64.5	22.6	4.8	25.1
	(N)	(5)	(40)	(14)	(3)	(62)
35 - 50		4.0	58.0	30.0	8.0	40.5
	(N)	(4)	(58)	(30)	(8)	(100)
65 - 84		17.6	58.8	18.8	4.7	34.4
	(N)	(15)	(50)	(16)	(4)	(85)
TOTALS		9.7	59.9	24.3	6.1	100.0
	(N)	(24)	(148)	(60)	(15)	(247)

TABLE B 1 4

RESOURCES INVOLVED IN DOING FAVORS FOR MALES AND FEMALES

GENDER		NONE	SMALL	MODERATE	HIGH	TOTALS
MALE	%	6.0	59.5	26.2	8.3	33.7
	(N)	(5)	(50)	(22)	(7)	(84)
FEMALE	%	12.1	59.4	23.6	4.8	66.3
	(N)	(20)	(98)	(39)	(8)	(165)
TOTALS	%	10.0	59.4	24.5	6.0	100.0
	(N)	(25)	(148)	(61)	(15)	(249)

TABLE B 1 5

**MEANS & SIGMAS FOR RESOURCE DIMENSION *
(CONTENT ANALYSIS)**

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	1.19	0.69
	FEMALES	(36)	1.28	0.66
	TOTAL	(62)	1.24	0.67
35 - 50	MALES	(29)	1.72	0.70
	FEMALES	(71)	1.30	0.66
	TOTAL	(100)	1.42	0.70
65 - 84	MALES	(28)	1.21	0.63
	FEMALES	(57)	1.05	0.79
	TOTAL	(85)	1.11	0.74
TOTALS		(247)	1.27	0.72

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 0 MEANS NO RESOURCES AND 3 MEANS HIGH RESOURCES

TABLE B 1 6

EMOTIONAL COST INVOLVED IN DOING THE FAVOR FOR THE THREE AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP		NONE	LITTLE	MODERATE	MUCH	TOTAL SAMPLE
18 - 22	%	11.1	65.1	20.6	3.2	25.2
	(N)	(7)	(41)	(13)	(2)	(63)
35 - 50	%	18.6	50.0	23.5	7.8	40.8
	(N)	(19)	(51)	(24)	(8)	(102)
65 - 84	%	10.6	58.8	23.5	7.1	34.0
	(N)	(9)	(50)	(20)	(8)	(85)
TOTALS	%	14.0	56.8	22.8	6.4	100.0
	(N)	(35)	(142)	(57)	(16)	(250)

TABLE B 1 7

EMOTIONAL COST OF FAVOR DOING FOR MALES AND FEMALES

GENDER		NONE	LITTLE	MODERATE	MUCH	TOTALS
MALE	%	14.1	65.9	16.5	3.5	33.7
	(N)	(12)	(56)	(14)	(3)	(85)
FEMALE	%	14.4	52.1	25.7	7.8	66.3
	(N)	(24)	(87)	(43)	(13)	(167)
TOTALS	%	14.3	56.7	22.6	6.3	100.0
	(N)	(36)	(143)	(57)	(16)	(252)

TABLE B 1 8
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR EMOTIONAL DIMENSION *
 (CONTENT ANALYSIS)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	0.85	0.54
	FEMALES	(37)	1.38	0.64
	TOTAL	(63)	1.16	0.65
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	1.07	0.64
	FEMALES	(72)	1.26	0.90
	TOTAL	(102)	1.21	0.84
65 - 84	MALES	(28)	1.39	0.69
	FEMALES	(57)	1.21	0.77
	TOTAL	(85)	1.27	0.75
TOTALS		(250)	1.21	0.76

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 0 MEANS HARDLY ANY EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND 3 MEANS A GREAT DEAL OF INVOLVEMENT

TABLE B 1 9
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR CLOSENESS OF RELATIONSHIP *
 (WHEN FAVOR WAS GRANTED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	1.73	0.53
	FEMALES	(38)	1.84	0.37
	TOTAL	(64)	1.80	0.44
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	1.60	0.50
	FEMALES	(73)	1.51	0.53
	TOTAL	(103)	1.53	0.52
65 - 84	MALES	(29)	1.24	0.51
	FEMALES	(57)	1.60	0.50
	TOTAL	(86)	1.48	0.53
TOTALS		(253)	1.58	0.52

* BASED UPON A DICHOTOMOUS SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS NOT CLOSE AND 2 MEANS CLOSE

TABLE B 2 0
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR GENDER OF FAVOR REQUESTER *
 (WHEN FAVOR WAS GRANTED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	1.27	0.45
	FEMALES	(38)	1.66	0.48
	TOTAL	(64)	1.50	0.50
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	1.23	0.43
	FEMALES	(73)	1.69	0.47
	TOTAL	(103)	1.55	0.50
65 - 84	MALES	(26)	1.54	0.51
	FEMALES	(55)	1.84	0.37
	TOTAL	(81)	1.74	0.44
TOTALS		(248)	1.60	0.49

* 1 = MALE
 2 = FEMALE

TABLE B 2 1
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR DURATION OF RELATIONSHIP *
 (WHEN FAVOR WAS GRANTED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	3.00	1.41
	FEMALES	(38)	2.68	1.09
	TOTAL	(64)	2.81	1.23
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	3.57	1.19
	FEMALES	(73)	3.49	1.38
	TOTAL	(103)	3.52	1.32
65 - 84	MALES	(28)	3.46	1.35
	FEMALES	(57)	4.14	1.16
	TOTAL	(85)	3.92	1.26
TOTALS		(252)	3.47	1.34

* BASED UPON A 5-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS LESS THAN 6 MONTHS AND 5 MEANS OVER 10 YEARS

TABLE B 2 2
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR FACTOR I VARIABLE
(WHEN DENYING A FAVOR)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	2.21	1.10
	FEMALES	(33)	1.98	0.77
	TOTAL	(59)	2.08	0.93
35 - 50	MALES	(21)	2.28	0.85
	FEMALES	(52)	1.67	0.62
	TOTAL	(73)	1.84	0.74
65 - 84	MALES	(16)	2.16	0.78
	FEMALES	(26)	2.33	1.19
	TOTAL	(42)	2.27	1.05
TOTALS		(174)	2.03	0.90

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS STRONGLY DISAGREE AND 4 MEANS STRONGLY AGREE

TABLE B 2 3
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR FACTOR II VARIABLE
(WHEN DENYING A FAVOR)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	2.72	0.78
	FEMALES	(33)	2.61	0.71
	TOTAL	(59)	2.66	0.74
35 - 50	MALES	(21)	2.90	1.20
	FEMALES	(52)	2.40	1.05
	TOTAL	(73)	2.55	1.11
65 - 84	MALES	(16)	2.47	0.71
	FEMALES	(27)	3.07	1.25
	TOTAL	(43)	2.85	1.11
TOTALS		(175)	2.66	1.00

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS STRONGLY DISAGREE AND 4 MEANS STRONGLY AGREE

TABLE B 2 4
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR FACTOR III VARIABLE *
 (WHEN DENYING A FAVOR)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(25)	2.62	0.97
	FEMALES	(33)	2.61	1.08
	TOTAL	(58)	2.61	1.03
35 - 50	MALES	(21)	2.00	0.89
	FEMALES	(52)	2.95	0.94
	TOTAL	(73)	2.68	1.02
65 - 84	MALES	(16)	2.16	0.76
	FEMALES	(26)	2.63	0.91
	TOTAL	(42)	2.45	0.88
TOTALS		(173)	2.60	0.99

* BASED UPON A 4-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS STRONGLY DISAGREE AND 4 MEANS STRONGLY AGREE

TABLE B 2 5
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR INCONVENIENCE VARIABLE *
 (WHEN FAVOR WAS DENIED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	5.50	1.82
	FEMALES	(33)	4.97	2.26
	TOTAL	(59)	5.20	2.07
35 - 50	MALES	(22)	4.32	2.30
	FEMALES	(53)	5.30	1.89
	TOTAL	(75)	5.01	2.05
65 - 84	MALES	(16)	4.38	2.22
	FEMALES	(33)	4.84	2.17
	TOTAL	(49)	4.69	2.17
TOTALS		(183)	4.99	2.09

* BASED UPON A 7-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS VERY LITTLE INCONVENIENCE AND 7 MEANS A GREAT DEAL OF INCONVENIENCE

TABLE B 2 6
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR CLOSENESS VARIABLE *
 (WHEN FAVOR WAS DENIED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	4.27	0.96
	FEMALES	(33)	4.42	0.66
	TOTAL	(59)	4.36	0.80
35 - 50	MALES	(22)	4.41	0.73
	FEMALES	(53)	4.47	0.85
	TOTAL	(75)	4.45	0.81
65 - 84	MALES	(16)	4.69	1.07
	FEMALES	(34)	4.62	1.33
	TOTAL	(50)	4.64	1.24
TOTALS		(184)	4.47	0.95

* BASED UPON A 7-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS FELT MUCH CLOSER, 4 MEANS NO CHANGE AND 7 MEANS FELT MUCH MORE DISTANT

TABLE B 2 7
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR LIKING VARIABLE *
 (WHEN FAVOR WAS DENIED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	4.23	0.77
	FEMALES	(33)	4.27	0.57
	TOTAL	(59)	4.25	0.66
35 - 50	MALES	(21)	4.43	0.93
	FEMALES	(53)	4.36	1.02
	TOTAL	(74)	4.38	0.99
65 - 84	MALES	(16)	4.81	1.28
	FEMALES	(35)	4.31	1.08
	TOTAL	(51)	4.47	1.16
TOTALS		(184)	4.36	0.95

* BASED UPON A 7-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS FELT MUCH CLOSER, 4 MEANS NO CHANGE AND 7 MEANS FELT MUCH MORE DISTANT

TABLE B 2 8
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR CLOSENESS OF RELATIONSHIP *
(WHEN FAVOR WAS DENIED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	3.50	2.20
	FEMALES	(34)	2.85	2.08
	TOTAL	(60)	3.13	2.14
35 - 50	MALES	(23)	3.61	1.95
	FEMALES	(54)	3.82	2.10
	TOTAL	(77)	3.75	2.05
65 - 84	MALES	(16)	4.06	1.77
	FEMALES	(34)	3.71	2.05
	TOTAL	(50)	3.82	1.96
TOTALS		(187)	3.57	2.06

* BASED UPON A DICHOTOMOUS SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS NOT CLOSE AND 5 MEANS CLOSE

TABLE B 2 9
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR GENDER OF FAVOR REQUESTER *
(WHEN FAVOR WAS DENIED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(25)	1.24	0.44
	FEMALES	(30)	1.80	0.41
	TOTAL	(55)	1.55	0.50
35 - 50	MALES	(21)	1.43	1.54
	FEMALES	(48)	1.81	0.45
	TOTAL	(69)	1.70	0.93
65 - 84	MALES	(15)	1.40	0.51
	FEMALES	(30)	1.80	0.41
	TOTAL	(45)	1.67	0.48
TOTALS		(169)	1.64	0.70

* 1 = MALE
2 = FEMALE

TABLE B 3 0
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR DURATION OF RELATIONSHIP *
(WHEN FAVOR WAS DENIED)

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(26)	3.62	1.53
	FEMALES	(33)	3.30	1.61
	TOTAL	(59)	3.44	1.57
35 - 50	MALES	(23)	4.48	1.38
	FEMALES	(54)	3.96	1.53
	TOTAL	(77)	4.12	1.50
65 - 84	MALES	(16)	4.38	1.50
	FEMALES	(34)	4.35	1.52
	TOTAL	(50)	4.36	1.50
TOTALS		(186)	3.97	1.56

* BASED UPON A 5-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS LESS THAN 6 MONTHS AND 5 MEANS OVER 10 YEARS

TABLE B 3 1
MEANS & SIGMAS FOR AMOUNT OF FAVORS
REQUESTED OVER A THREE MONTH PERIOD

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(27)	22.05	25.81
	FEMALES	(36)	21.89	26.72
	TOTAL	(63)	22.05	26.12
35 - 50	MALES	(29)	9.48	8.54
	FEMALES	(73)	9.03	12.62
	TOTAL	(102)	9.16	11.57
65 - 84	MALES	(25)	9.04	18.99
	FEMALES	(49)	7.45	8.24
	TOTAL	(74)	7.99	12.80
TOTALS		(239)	12.19	17.89

TABLE B 3 2
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR PERCENTAGES OF FAVORS GRANTED
 TO RESPONDENT OVER A THREE MONTH PERIOD

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN %	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(27)	85.41	18.67
	FEMALES	(38)	88.40	11.77
	TOTAL	(65)	87.15	14.97
35 - 50	MALES	(30)	84.80	30.62
	FEMALES	(74)	86.99	24.62
	TOTAL	(104)	86.36	26.35
65 - 84	MALES	(27)	74.00	39.65
	FEMALES	(56)	64.70	41.67
	TOTAL	(83)	67.72	41.02
TOTALS		(252)	80.42	31.17

TABLE B 3 3
 MEANS & SIGMAS FOR LEVEL OF COMFORT EXPERIENCED *
 WHEN REQUESTING A FAVOR

AGE GROUP	GENDER	(N)	MEAN	STD. DEV.
18 - 22	MALES	(27)	3.56	1.42
	FEMALES	(36)	3.53	1.65
	TOTAL	(63)	3.54	1.54
35 - 50	MALES	(25)	3.28	1.54
	FEMALES	(63)	3.00	1.71
	TOTAL	(88)	3.08	1.66
65 - 84	MALES	(19)	2.47	1.68
	FEMALES	(35)	2.89	1.75
	TOTAL	(54)	2.74	1.72
TOTALS		(205)	3.13	1.66

* BASED UPON A 7-POINT SCALE WHERE 1 MEANS EXTREMELY COMFORTABLE, 4 MEANS NEITHER COMFORTABLE OR AWKWARD AND 7 MEANS FELT EXTREMELY AWKWARD

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE MAIN STUDY

1. Below is a list of favor that people frequently ask of each other. Consider each favor as though a FRIEND has asked YOU if you would be willing to do it.

Place a check mark in the appropriate space, noting whether you would rate each favor as small, medium-sized or big. In addition, place a check in the appropriate box if the favor is something you have ACTUALLY DONE, if it is something that you have REFUSED TO DO, or if it is something that has NEVER BEEN ASKED of you.

	FAVOR IS			Have done this favor	Have refused this favor	Never asked this favor
	Small	Medium	Big			
a. Going shopping for groceries or other necessities for a friend						
b. Cashing a friend's personal check.						
c. Babysitting for a friend for an afternoon or evening						
d. Babysitting over an entire weekend						
e. Driving someplace your friend requested (under 30 minutes)						
f. Driving someplace your friend requested (over one hour).						
g. Driving a friend someplace (such as to an appointment or a job) on a fairly regular basis						
h. Lending a friend a sum of money, under \$25.00						
i. Lending a friend a sum of money between \$25.00 and \$100.00.						
j. Lending a friend a sum of money over \$100.00.						
k. Taking care of a friend's pet for at least one weekend.						
l. Using your influence or contacts to help a friend find a job, get into a school or club, or obtain a bank loan						
m. Lending your car or motorcycle.						
n. Lending valuable equipment such as a camera or stereo.						
o. Lending items of lesser value such as books, tapes or records.						
p. Lending personal items such as clothing or jewelry						
q. Allowing a friend to use your room, house or apartment in your absence.						
r. Helping a friend prepare for an important test, write a speech, prepare a resume or complete an important project.						
s. Covering a friend's paid job or volunteer work for one day.						
t. Donate time tutoring a friend, teaching driving or using a computer.						

2. You have probably been involved in favors not listed above. What are they? Try to think of at least one SMALL and one BIG favor in your experience. List them below. You may add others if you wish.

	FAVOR	SIZE
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

3. Recall the MOST RECENT MEDIUM SIZED favor a friend ASKED of you that you granted. What was the favor?

4. Try to remember how the person asked, and write the words he or she used in the space below.

5. Who was the person who asked? (Check ALL items that apply.)

Best friend Social friend Business Associate Neighbor

Close friend Room mate Co worker Other _____

6. Check whether person was _____ Male or _____ Female.

7. How long have you known this person?

Less than 6 months 1 year to 3 years Over 5 years

6 months to 1 year 3 years to 5 years Over 10 years

8. How did you feel about BEING ASKED TO DO this favor? (Circle the number that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with ALL of the following items: 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree).

	1	2	3	4
	strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree
a. I felt I was being helpful.	1	2	3	4
b. I knew the person would do the same for me.	1	2	3	4
c. I felt flattered.	1	2	3	4
d. I could understand the position the person was in.	1	2	3	4
e. Being able to grant the favor gave me a sense of power.	1	2	3	4
f. I felt obligated because this person has done favors for me.	1	2	3	4
g. Granting the favor made me feel useful.	1	2	3	4
h. I felt somewhat resentful when I granted this favor.	1	2	3	4
i. Granting the favor made me feel more certain of our relationship.	1	2	3	4
j. I felt it was my duty to grant the favor.	1	2	3	4
k. I enjoyed helping this person.	1	2	3	4
l. Being able to do the favor made me feel the person trusted me.	1	2	3	4
m. Even though I did the favor, I felt the person was taking advantage of me.	1	2	3	4
n. Friends owe each other favors.	1	2	3	4
o. Please fill in other feelings you had about being ASKED TO DO this favor:				

9. How much inconvenience was involved for you? (Circle the appropriate number below.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

very little moderate great deal of

inconvenience inconvenience inconvenience

10. How do you imagine the person felt about asking you? (Circle the appropriate number below.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

felt extremely felt neither comfortable felt extremely

comfortable nor awkward awkward

11. Did your agreeing to do the favor affect your relationship to the person who asked? (Circle appropriate number below.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

felt much closer no change felt much more distant

12. Did you like the person better or less for having requested the favor? (Circle the appropriate number below.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

liked much better no change liked much less

13. Now recall the MOST RECENT time a friend asked you to do a MEDIUM-SIZED favor and you refused. What was the favor?

14. Who was the person who asked? (Check ALL items that apply.)

Best friend Social friend Business Associate Neighbor
 Class friend Room-mate Co-worker Other _____

15. Check whether person was male or female

16. How long have you known this person?

Less than 6 months 1 year to 3 years Over 5 years
 6 months to 1 year 3 years to 5 years Over 10 years

17. Why did you REFUSE TO DO the favor? (Circle the number that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with ALL of the following items; 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree)

	strongly disagree	disagree	Agree	strongly agree
a. I felt the favor was inappropriate.	1	2	3	4
b. The favor was against my values.	1	2	3	4
c. I did not trust the person who asked for the favor.	1	2	3	4
d. I did not have enough time.	1	2	3	4
e. The favor was something I considered illegal, immoral or dishonest.	1	2	3	4
f. In the past, this person has not returned my favors.	1	2	3	4
g. I was unable to do the favor because it interfered with my plans.	1	2	3	4
h. I felt the person was taking advantage of me.	1	2	3	4
i. Doing the favor would have been too expensive for me.	1	2	3	4
j. I felt "put on the spot" by this request.	1	2	3	4
k. I felt I was being asked to take on too much responsibility.	1	2	3	4
l. I was annoyed by this person's request.	1	2	3	4
m. The person stepped "out of bounds" by asking me to do this favor.	1	2	3	4
n. The favor was something I considered distasteful or unpleasant.	1	2	3	4
o. Doing this favor would have involved a violation of trust.	1	2	3	4
p. Please fill in other reasons why you REFUSED TO DO this favor.				

18. How much inconvenience would have been involved for you had you granted the favor? (Circle appropriate number.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 very little moderate a great deal of
 inconvenience inconvenience inconvenience

19. Did your disagreeing to do the favor affect your relationship to the person who asked? (Circle appropriate number.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 felt much closer no change felt much more distant

20. Did you like the person better or less for having requested the favor? (Circle appropriate number below)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 liked much better no change liked much less

Now think back over the past three months and try to remember all the favors YOU HAVE ASKED.

21. About how many favors do you recall asking? _____
22. Try to estimate what percentage of these favors were
 Small favors _____ %
 Medium sized favors _____ %
 Big favors _____ %
23. Of all the favors you asked during the past three months, what percentage of them were granted? _____ %
24. Of all these favors, what percentage did you request from:
 Friends _____ % Family members _____ % Business acquaintances _____ %
 Social acquaintances _____ % Spouse or romantic partner _____ % Strangers _____ %

25. Now recall the MOST RECENT TIME YOU asked a FRIEND to do a MEDIUM-SIZED favor, and your request was granted.

Please describe the favor you requested:

26. Try to remember the exact words you used and write them in the space below.

27. Who was the person you asked? (Check ALL items that apply.)
- | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Best friend | <input type="checkbox"/> Neighbor | <input type="checkbox"/> Business associate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Close friend | <input type="checkbox"/> Room-mate | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (describe below): |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Social friend | <input type="checkbox"/> Co-worker | _____ |

28. Check whether the person was _____ male or _____ female

29. How long have you known the friend?
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than 6 months | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 year to 3 years | <input type="checkbox"/> Over 5 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 6 months to 1 year | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 years to 5 years | <input type="checkbox"/> Over 10 years |

30. How much inconvenience was involved for the person you asked? (Circle appropriate number below.)
- | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|---------------------------|---|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| very little
inconvenience | | | moderate
inconvenience | | | a great deal of
inconvenience |

31. How did you feel about asking for the favor? (Circle appropriate number below.)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|--|---|---|---------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| felt extremely
comfortable | | | felt neither
comfortable
nor awkward | | | felt extremely
awkward |

32. With respect to ASKING for this favor, circle the number that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with ALL of the following items (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a. I wanted to see if the person cared enough for me to grant the favor	1	2	3	4
b. I wondered what the person would expect from me in return.	1	2	3	4
c. I did not like the feeling of being dependent on someone for help.	1	2	3	4
d. When the person granted my favor, I felt s/he was concerned with my well-being.	1	2	3	4
e. I expected the person to grant this favor and felt I owed nothing in return.	1	2	3	4
f. It was difficult for me to assert myself to ask for this favor.	1	2	3	4
g. Being able to ask this person for a favor confirmed our feelings of friendship.	1	2	3	4
h. Since I had done favors for this person, I felt s/he owed me one	1	2	3	4
i. If my favor had been refused, I would have considered it a personal rejection.	1	2	3	4
j. Being able to depend on each other for favors is one of the most important aspects of a friendship.	1	2	3	4
k. The person probably granted my favor because s/he felt obligated to me for favors I have done in the past.	1	2	3	4
l. Even though I needed this favor, I had a hard time asking for it.	1	2	3	4
m. In granting this favor, this person probably felt relieved about being able to pay me back.	1	2	3	4
n. I hoped the person would not feel annoyed when I asked for the favor.	1	2	3	4
o. Please fill in other feelings about ASKING FOR this favor:				

33. Did this person's decision to grant your favor affect your relationship? (Circle the appropriate number below.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
felt much closer			No change			felt much more distant

34. Did you like the person better or less for having granted your favor? (Circle the appropriate number below.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
liked much better			No change			liked much less

35. Now recall the MOST RECENT time you asked a friend for a MEDIUM-SIZED favor and you were TURNED DOWN. What was the favor?

36. Who was the person who turned down your favor? (Check ALL items that apply.)

- Best friend Room-mate Neighbor
 Close friend Business associate Other (describe below)
 Social friend Co-worker

37. Check whether this person was male or female.

38. How long have you known this person?

- Less than 6 months 1 year to 3 years Over 5 years
 6 months to 1 year 3 years to 5 years Over 10 years

39. How much inconvenience would this favor have involved for the person who turned you down? (Circle number)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 very little moderate a great deal of
 inconvenience inconvenience inconvenience

40. Why do you think the person turned down the favor you requested? (Circle the number that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with ALL of the following items (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree))

	strongly disagree 1	disagree 2	Agree 3	strongly agree 4
a. The person thought my favor was "out of line" or inappropriate.	1	2	3	4
b. The person had a limited amount of spare time.	1	2	3	4
c. My favor conflicted with this person's values.	1	2	3	4
d. The person considered the favor I requested to be something illegal, immoral or dishonest.	1	2	3	4
e. The person probably did not trust me.	1	2	3	4
f. I have not returned this person's favors in the past.	1	2	3	4
g. The person did not want to assume the responsibility for doing my favor.	1	2	3	4
h. Please fill in other reasons why you believe your favor was TURNED DOWN.	_____			

41. When the favor you asked was not granted, how did you feel about your relationship to this person? (Circle number below.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 felt much closer No change felt much more distant

42. Did your degree of liking for the person change as a result of having your favor turned down? (Circle appropriate number.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 liked much better No change liked much less

43. If there is anything else you would like to add about your experiences with favors, please do so in space below.

Kindly fill in some information about yourself below:

Male _____ Female _____ Age _____

Highest degree: High school _____ College _____ Graduate School _____

Are you working now? _____ Yes _____ No

Occupation (current or former): _____

Are you retired? _____ Yes _____ No

Marital Status: _____ Single _____ Married
_____ Divorced _____ Widowed

Your ethnic background: (check all that apply)

- _____ White of European descent
- _____ Black
- _____ Hispanic
- _____ Asian
- _____ Jewish
- _____ Catholic
- _____ Protestant
- _____ Other (please describe) _____

Number of relatives living within 50 miles of you? _____

Living Arrangement:

- _____ Alone
- _____ Spouse
- _____ Family
- _____ Dormitory
- _____ Apartment
- _____ Single family house
- _____ Group home

Number of people living with you at present _____

Income level of family: (Check one.)

- _____ Under \$20,000
- _____ \$20,000 - \$39,999
- _____ \$40,000 - \$59,999
- _____ \$60,000 or more

Health Status: _____ Poor _____ Fair _____ Good _____ Excellent

How many spare hours you have to do anything you choose during a typical week (7 days):

_____ HOURS per week

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE PILOT STUDY

Dear Student:

I am working on my doctoral dissertation in social psychology at the Graduate Center of City University of New York. My topic is "The Favor as a Social Act: A Psychological Analysis".

According to Webster, a favor is an "act or instance of kindness, especially one marked by benevolence in the agent, or keen gratification in the recipient; an act of grace rather than of justice or remuneration".

I would consider it a favor if you would kindly fill in responses to the questions below.

Recall a favor someone ASKED of you.
What was the favor?

Who was the person who asked? (Indicate the nature of your relationship.)

How do you imagine the person felt about asking you?

Was the favor one you considered appropriate or inappropriate? Explain.

How did you feel about being asked to do this favor?

Did you or did you not grant the favor? Explain.

Did your agreeing or disagreeing to do the favor affect or change your relationship to the person who asked? How?

Did you like the person better or less for having requested the favor? Please explain.

Now recall the last time YOU asked a favor of someone.
Who was the person you asked? (Indicate the nature of your relationship.)

What was the favor you requested?

How did you feel about asking?

How did the person react to your asking?

Did whether or not they responded by granting the favor affect the nature of your relationship in any way? Explain.

Did you like the person better or less depending upon how they handled your request? Explain.

Have you ever been asked to do a favor you would not grant? What was it?

What were your reasons for denying the favor?

Have you ever rejected a GIFT ? If yes, what was the gift and what were your reasons for refusing to accept it?

If you have any other thoughts, comments or feelings about favors, please feel free to share them with me on the reverse side of this page.

Kindly fill in the information below:

Male _____ Female _____ Age _____

Number of children in family? _____ Your birth order _____

Level of Education Undergraduate _____ Graduate _____

Occupation _____ Marital Status _____

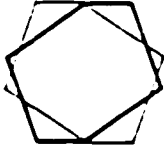
Please complete this questionnaire and bring it with you to next week's class. Your responses will be considered confidential. Thanks so much for doing me a favor.

Sincerely,

Valerie L. Wiener

Valerie L. Wiener

APPENDIX E: LETTERS TO PROSPECTIVE RESPONDENTS



The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York
Graduate Center 33 West 42 Street, New York, N. Y. 10036

April , 1985

Dear Montclair State Student:

People frequently help each other out by doing favors. You have probably done many favors for others, been asked to do some favors that you may have refused, and sometimes requested a favor for yourself. As you know, favors can be big or small, and may occur in many different relationships, but usually occur among people who know each other well.

I am interested in social support systems; that is, how people depend upon each other in the course of daily living. In this connection, I am studying the psychology of favors. Would you please do me a favor by taking the time to fill out this questionnaire?

This study is part of my doctoral dissertation at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Your responses are confidential. If you would like to receive the results of the study, write your name and address in the space provided at the bottom of this page. Otherwise, your name and address are not needed. Thank you for doing me a big favor.

Sincerely,

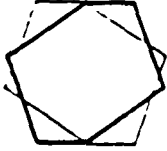
Valerie L. Wiener

Valerie L. Wiener

Yes, I wish to receive the results of this study:

Name: _____

Address: _____



The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York
Graduate Center, 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

April , 1985

Dear Seton Hall Student:

People frequently help each other out by doing favors. You have probably done many favors for others, been asked to do some favors that you may have refused, and sometimes requested a favor for yourself. As you know, favors can be big or small, and may occur in many different relationships, but usually occur among people who know each other well.

I am interested in social support systems; that is, how people depend upon each other in the course of daily living. In this connection, I am studying the psychology of favors. Would you please do me a favor by taking the time to fill out this questionnaire?

This study is part of my doctoral dissertation at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Your responses are confidential. If you would like to receive the results of the study, write your name and address in the space provided at the bottom of this page. Otherwise, your name and address are not needed. Thank you for doing me a big favor.

Sincerely,

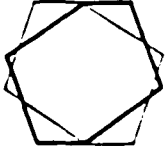
Valerie L. Wiener

Valerie L. Wiener

Yes, I wish to receive the results of this study:

Name: _____

Address: _____



The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York
Graduate Center 33 West 42 Street, New York, N Y 10036

April , 1985

Dear Second Careers Student:

People frequently help each other out by doing favors. You have probably done many favors for others, been asked to do some favors that you may have refused, and sometimes requested a favor for yourself. As you know, favors can be big or small, and may occur in many different relationships, but usually occur among people who know each other well.

I am interested in social support systems; that is, how people depend upon each other in the course of daily living. In this connection, I am studying the psychology of favors. Would you please do me a favor by taking the time to fill out this questionnaire?

This study is part of my doctoral dissertation at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Your responses are confidential. If you would like to receive the results of the study, write your name and address in the space provided at the bottom of this page. Otherwise, your name and address are not needed. Thank you for doing me a big favor.

Sincerely,

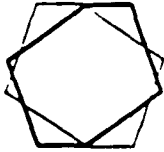
Valerie L. Wiener

Valerie L. Wiener

Yes, I wish to receive the results of this study:

Name: _____

Address: _____



The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York
Graduate Center 33 West 42 Street, New York, N. Y. 10036

April, 1985

Dear Life Long Learning Student:

People frequently help each other out by doing favors. You have probably done many favors for others, been asked to do some favors that you may have refused, and sometimes requested a favor for yourself. As you know, favors can be big or small, and may occur in many different relationships, but usually occur among people who know each other well.

I am interested in social support systems; that is, how people depend upon each other in the course of daily living. In this connection, I am studying the psychology of favors. Would you please do me a favor by taking the time to fill out this questionnaire?

This study is part of my doctoral dissertation at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Your responses are confidential. If you would like to receive the results of the study, write your name and address in the space provided at the bottom of this page. Otherwise, your name and address are not needed. Thank you for doing me a big favor.

Sincerely,

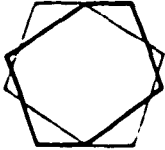
Valerie L. Wiener

Valerie L. Wiener

Yes, I wish to receive the results of this study:

Name: _____

Address: _____



The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York
Graduate Center, 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

April , 1985

Dear Senior Center Member:

People frequently help each other out by doing favors. You have probably done many favors for others, been asked to do some favors that you may have refused, and sometimes requested a favor for yourself. As you know, favors can be big or small, and may occur in many different relationships, but usually occur among people who know each other well.

I am interested in social support systems; that is, how people depend upon each other in the course of daily living. In this connection, I am studying the psychology of favors. Would you please do me a favor by taking the time to fill out this questionnaire?

This study is part of my doctoral dissertation at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Your responses are confidential. If you would like to receive the results of the study, write your name and address in the space provided at the bottom of this page. Otherwise, your name and address are not needed. Thank you for doing me a big favor.

Sincerely,

Valerie L. Wiener
Valerie L. Wiener

Yes, I wish to receive the results of this study:

Name: _____

Address: _____

This study was approved by the Human Subjects Committee of the Graduate School and University Center of City University of New York.

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