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ETHNICITY, ATTACHMENT, AND GENDER ROLE SOCIALIZATION AS
PREDICTORS OF LEVEL OF VOICE IN ADOLESCENT GIRLS:
THE CUMULATIVE IMPACT ON RELATIONSHIPS
AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

By

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ABSTRACT

PREDICTORS OF LEVEL OF VOICE IN ADOLESCENT GIRLS: THE CUMULATIVE IMPACT ON RELATIONSHIPS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

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Gilligan and colleagues (1990) argue that girls experience “loss of voice” in adolescence, which can be understood as girls’ inability to voice their own opinions. They propose that this is the result of societal pressure, and is manifested by inauthentic relationships. The purpose of this study was to empirically examine this theory, and test a theoretical model for loss of voice in an ethnically diverse and lower SES sample. Thus, this study examined both predictors (parental attachment and gender role socialization) and outcomes (quality of friendship, romantic relationship, dating conflict, and psychological well-being) of level of voice. One-hundred and eight 14-year-old girls were administered measures of parental attachment, gender role socialization, level of voice, quality of friendship, quality of romantic relationship, dating conflict, depression, self-esteem, and social support. Structural equation modeling results indicated, overall, that the data was a good fit for the proposed models, suggesting support for a theoretical model of level of voice. Specifically, gender role socialization predicted level of voice, and parental attachment only significantly predicted level of voice with authority figures, but not level of voice with peers. The results supported the androgyny model of gender role socialization for level of voice with authority while the results supported the masculinity model for level of voice with peers. Level of voice predicted the quality of friendships

and psychological well-being, and approval and emotional social support with authority figures moderated the relationship between level of voice with authority figures and depressive symptomatology. Level of voice with authority figures was a significant predictor of quality of romantic relationships, while it did not predict dating conflict. Finally, girls who attended a school with a higher percentage of ethnic minority students had higher levels of generalized peer voice than girls who attended a school with fewer ethnic minority students, while across schools, girls of color had higher levels of voice than Caucasian girls with classmates and with teachers. The results from this study help contribute to empirical understanding of level of voice, and elucidate the mechanisms that contribute to loss of voice in the context of intimacy and mutuality.

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KEY FOR THE MEASUREMENT MODELS

Predictors of voice

Attachment

BSQ

Security – attachment system	<i>secatt</i>
Security – caregiving system	<i>seccare</i>
Security – affiliation system	<i>secaff</i>
Dismissing – attachment system	<i>disatt</i>
Dismissing – caregiving system	<i>discare</i>
Dismissing – affiliation system	<i>disaff</i>

Gender Role Socialization

CSRI

Masculinity	<i>masc</i>
Femininity	<i>fem</i>

Voice

Voice

ISR	Self in Relationships	<i>inauthself</i>
TV	Mother	<i>mvoice</i>
	Father	<i>fvoice</i>
	Teacher	<i>tvoice</i>
	Best friend	<i>bfvoice</i>
	Classmates	<i>clvoice</i>

Outcomes of Voice

Friendship

FQS

Conflict	<i>conflict</i>
Security	<i>sec</i>
Closeness	<i>close</i>

Psychological Well-being

CDI	Depression	<i>depress</i>
RSEQ	Self-esteem	<i>selfest</i>

Outcomes of Voice cont.

Romantic Relationships

CADRI

Threatening behavior	<i>threat</i>
Relational Abuse	<i>rel</i>
Physical Abuse	<i>phys</i>
Verbal emotional abuse	<i>verbal</i>

RRS

Satisfaction w/relationship	<i>relsat</i>
Togetherness	<i>together</i>
Possessiveness	<i>possess</i>
Growth	<i>grow</i>
Communication	<i>comm</i>
Toleration	<i>toler</i>
Appreciation	<i>appre</i>
Emotional support	<i>emosupt</i>
Painfulness	<i>pain</i>
Specialness	<i>spec</i>

Social Support

SPSS

Mother	<i>moapprov</i>
Father	<i>faapprov</i>
Best friends	<i>bfapprov</i>
Classmates	<i>clapprov</i>
Teachers	<i>teapprov</i>
Romantic Interest	<i>roapprov</i>

PSS

Family	<i>faemot</i>
Friends	<i>fremot</i>

INTRODUCTION

The current study examined predictors and outcomes of loss of voice. Loss of voice can be understood as girls' difficulty in discussing their own opinions, and negotiating conflicts with others. Research has generally neglected to examine why some girls and not others might experience loss of voice, and what might be the possible effects of loss of voice. Therefore, this study examined two predictors of loss of voice: attachment to parents and gender role socialization. In addition, the relationship between level of voice and several relational outcomes (i.e., quality of friendships, romantic relationships, and dating conflict) and an individual-level outcome (i.e., psychological well-being) was examined.

As girls enter adolescence, they experience greater depression and lower self-esteem than do boys during this time (Hill & Lynch, 1983; Steinberg & Morris, 2001). While much has been written lately in the popular literature about the emotional risks that pervade early adolescence for girls (Pipher, 1994; Spangler, 1999), to date, little empirical research has examined these risks and the context of the risks. Theorists suggest that early adolescence can be a time of uncertainty for girls; as their bodies change, so do the societal rules for all kinds of relationships, including familial, platonic, and romantic (L.M. Brown, 1998; L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992). In general, girls value relationships, and may define themselves by their relationships (Miller, 1991).

As girls search for their own identities, they may find that what they knew to be true as young girls is no longer true as adolescents. Girls may discover that societal norms frown upon putting their own needs before others, and they may receive implicit messages from those around them to subvert their own interests to preserve their

relationships. This “silencing of the self,” (Jack, 1991) “loss of voice,” (Gilligan et al., 1990), or “false self” (Harter, 1997), can lead to negative consequences for girls, such as dissociation from their own feelings, which may lead to depression and lowered self-esteem (L.M. Brown, 1998). Thus, some girls may sacrifice their own sense of self, and be nice and compliant with others, in order to preserve their relationships.

However, not every girl loses her sense of self during early adolescence, or even later. In addition, research has demonstrated that girls who do self-silence do not present with the same self-silencing behavior across different contexts (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998b). Thus, girls may display different levels of self-silencing with parents, teachers, friends, or classmates.

Little research has examined what might differentiate girls who experience a silencing of the self, or a loss of voice, from those who do not. Attachment between parents and daughter would be likely to affect how much an adolescent silences herself. For example, individuals who are ambivalently attached are thought to be preoccupied with relationships (Salzman, 1997). Therefore, a girl who is ambivalently attached might be more likely to self-silence, in order to preserve relationships that are important to her. In contrast, a girl who is securely attached may be less likely to self-silence, because she has a secure base from which to relate to others, and thus may be more likely to test societal norms for women (see Pathway A in Figure 1). In addition, it was hypothesized that girls with a feminine orientation would be more likely to self-silence (see Pathway B in Figure 1), as they also would be more likely to accept cultural norms of women as caretakers (Jack, 1991).

While some researchers have started to investigate loss of voice in adolescent girls (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1997c; Harter et al., 1998b), to date, this research has only examined the impact of loss of voice on psychological well-being, but no one has demonstrated the immediate repercussions for loss of voice upon the quality of relationships in girls' lives. Given Gilligan and colleagues' assertions that girls with lower levels of voice tend to have inauthentic relationships (Gilligan et al., 1990), it is possible that girls who self-silence will have less intimate friendships (see Pathway C in Figure 1) and lower quality of romantic relationships (see Pathway E in Figure 1). In addition, it is likely that girls who self-silence would be more likely to experience dating conflict (see Pathway D in Figure 1). Finally, it is likely that girls pay a price for self-silencing, and this suppression of voice may be associated with depressive symptomatology and low self-esteem (see Pathway F in Figure 1). However, the relationship between level of voice and psychological well-being may be moderated by emotional support and approval support from significant persons in their lives (see Pathway G in Figure 1).

In order to understand the construct of level of voice, which involves one's feelings of identity and the construction of the self, it is important to review traditional definitions of the self. The following sections will review identity theory, feminist critiques of identity theory, and will explore relational theorists' definitions of the female self.

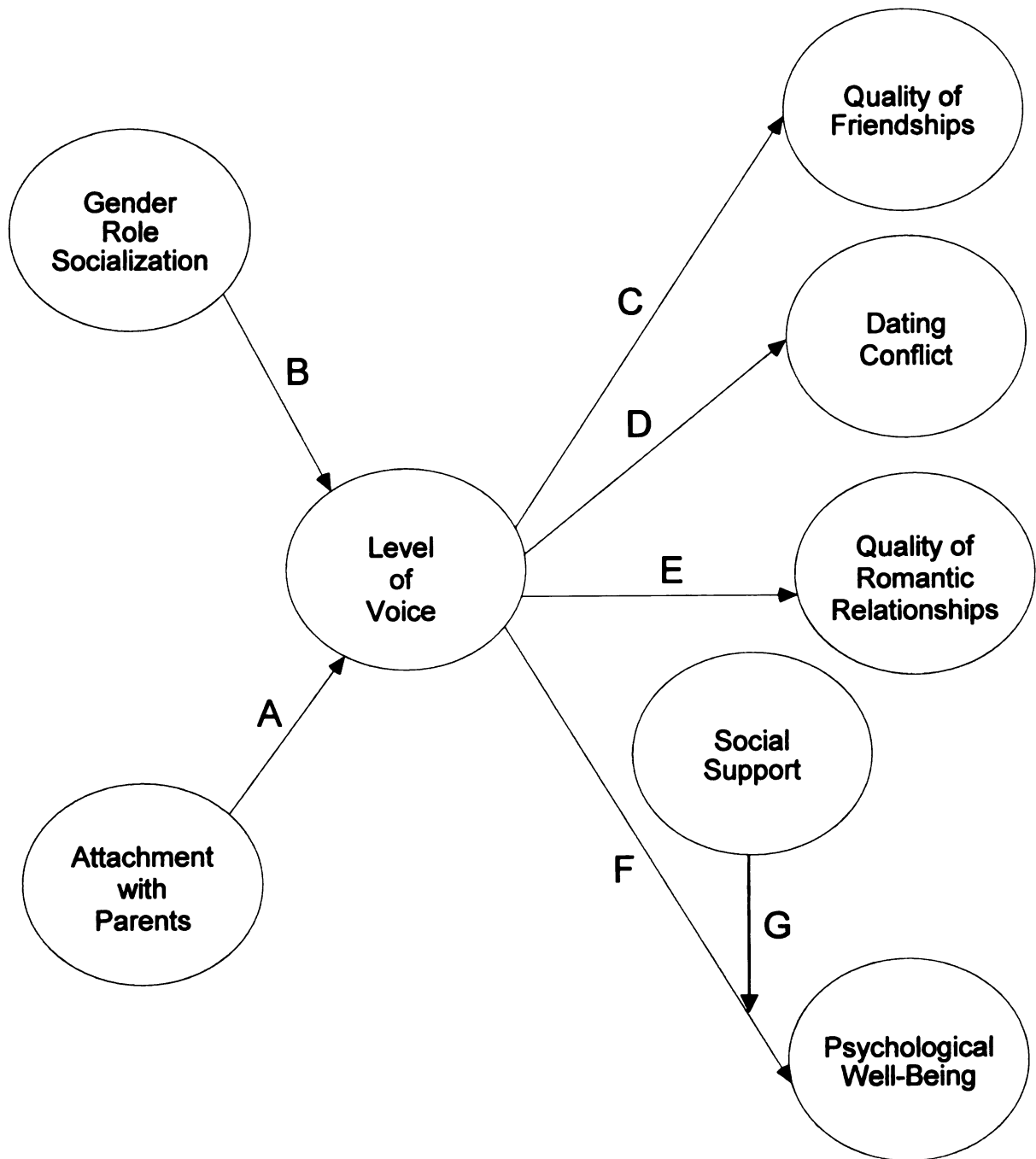


Figure 1: Conceptual Model

Level of Voice

Identity Theory

Historically, both developmental psychologists and psychoanalytic theorists (e.g., Erikson, Freud, and Blos) have viewed the establishment of individuation and identity as essential elements in the construction of the self. Jack (1991) discussed Freud's theory of the self as autonomous and his idea that relationships are not valuable in and of themselves but only in that they serve basic drives and needs.

Erikson argued that once identity has been established, intimacy can develop in later adulthood (Erikson, 1963, 1968). Erikson's popular theory of the self involves eight developmental stages across the life span in which the initiation of the next stage is dependent upon successful completion of the developmental "crisis" of the current stage. After the first stage, trust versus mistrust, the goal of the next four stages, infancy through late adolescence, is the individuation from the family of origin, and emotional autonomy.

Traditionally, adolescence was viewed as a time of separation from the family of origin; Blos viewed detachment from parents as necessary to overcome oedipal struggles (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986). In addition, evolutionary views of intimacy emphasize the importance of separation from family, and, specifically for males, the formation of autonomy is paramount (Steinberg, 1988, as cited in W.A. Collins & Repinski, 1994).

Researchers have critiqued traditional views of identity that mandate detachment in adolescence as a necessary prerequisite for identity formation (Frank, Avery, & Laman, 1988; Hill & Holmbeck, 1986; Ryan & Lynch, 1989). Hill and Holmbeck argue that underlying the concept of autonomy are assumptions of detachment from parents and freedom from parental influence, and note that "autonomy, as a label for freedom from

parental attachments and influence is ... misleading. Close relationships with parents not only continue to exist during the second decade of life but parents continue to influence their offspring” (p. 181).

More current conceptualizations of emotional autonomy in adolescence acknowledge the importance of the family structure. While some researchers (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985) support Erikson’s traditional views that identity formation involves the formation of a distinct self, and note that the individual needs to feel significant and separate from the family of origin as part of the socialization process, they also note that the self is constructed within a relational context. Indeed, findings from their own research support the importance and significance of both individuality and connectedness within the family of origin (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). As a result, Grotevant and Cooper argue that emotional autonomy involves the transformation of the adolescent’s relationship with parents, rather than the rejection of the relationship.

The concept of emotional autonomy remains controversial and can be positively associated with parental rejection, and negatively associated with attachment (W.A. Collins & Repinski, 1994). Some researchers have argued that emotional autonomy, or separation-individuation, in later adolescence is in fact two different factors: positive separation feelings and independence from parents (Rice, Cole, & Lapsley, 1990).

The definition of emotional autonomy was reconceptualized by Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) as different from detachment from parents; they argued that it can be construed as a process of individuation, in which the adolescent “relinquishes childish dependencies on, and conceptualizations of them [the parents]” (p. 843). Ryan and Lynch

(1989) argued that this definition of emotional autonomy was very negative, and was analogous to detachment. Their research indicated that emotional autonomy was associated with avoidant attachment to parents (Ryan & Lynch, 1989). Research addressing Ryan and Lynch's (1989) concerns that the context of the family was not addressed in conceptualizations of emotional autonomy (e.g., Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986) demonstrated that adolescents who reported feeling supported by their parents were better adjusted than those who did not feel such support (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993). Therefore, despite theoretical assertions that increased emotional autonomy is related to greater psychological well-being and decreased behavior problems (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986), research findings are more complicated, and suggest that for healthy adolescent adjustment, a balance between individuation and support is optimal (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993).

Hill and Holmbeck (1986) posited that traditional psychoanalytic theory, which emphasizes detachment from the family of origin, is based primarily on males' socialization experiences; separation from families may be more advantageous to boys than girls. There are conflicting results about gender differences in emotional autonomy; some researchers found that girls were more autonomous than boys (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986), while other researchers found that boys were more emotionally autonomous than girls (Frank et al., 1988; Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990; Ryan & Lynch, 1989). One study found that although time spent with family decreases over time during high school, time spent talking with family, especially mothers, did not decrease. Indeed, for girls, the time spent discussing interpersonal issues with their mothers increased (Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck, & Duckett, 1996).

This suggests that girls have different socialization experiences in terms of identity development than do boys, and that separation from the family is not a prerequisite for development.

Hill and Lynch (1983) proposed a “gender-intensification hypothesis” (p. 201). They defined this as an acceleration of gender-differential socialization during early adolescence, specifically around the time of puberty. According to this hypothesis, the adoption of gender-specific beliefs and behaviors becomes increasingly apparent during adolescence (Jones & Costin, 1995). The gender intensification hypothesis suggests that “...behavioral, attitudinal, and psychological differences between adolescent boys and girls increase with age and are the result of increased socialization pressures to conform to traditional masculine and feminine sex roles” (Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990, p. 1905). Hill and Lynch (1983) argued that this occurs especially for girls, and that girls may feel increased pressure to conform to societal norms in areas such as achievement, aggression, and emotional well-being.

Research generally supports this idea that in early adolescence, girls increasingly conform to societal norms for women. Boldizar (1991) found that femininity declines in the second through the sixth grade, and then increases in seventh grade, a time of transition for many adolescents. Another study found that older adolescents, as compared to younger adolescents, manifested greater differences between boys’ and girls’ endorsement of their relational characteristics, such as feeling responsible for the welfare of others, and experiencing difficulty in being assertive in relationships (Aube, Fichman, Saltaris, & Koestner, 2000). This supports Hill and Lynch’s (1983) premise that girls adopt gender-specific beliefs in adolescence. Other studies have found no gender

differences in depression or self-esteem in childhood, however, in early adolescence, girls experience an increase in depressive symptoms and a decrease in self-esteem (Simmons & Rosenberg, 1975; Wichstrom, 1999). In addition, while one study found that the relationship between self-image and achievement decreased from sixth to seventh grade, supporting the gender intensification hypothesis, the relationship between self-image and achievement increased from seventh to eighth grade, which does not support the gender intensification hypothesis (L.R. Roberts, Sarigiani, Petersen, & Newman, 1990). The authors suggest that the gender intensification hypothesis may be temporary, and may be especially salient in a time of transition.

As indicated earlier, identity in early adolescence does not necessarily involve separation from the family of origin. In addition, the gender-intensification hypothesis suggests that girls and boys have different socialization experiences in early adolescence based upon society's expectations for them. The next section will discuss feminist critiques of identity theory and review relational theory, an alternative way of viewing females' ways of relating to others. In addition, theory and research related to level of voice will be discussed.

Feminist Critiques of Identity Theory

Some theorists have argued that theories of identity and emotional autonomy are based on men's experiences only (Gilligan, 1982; Jack, 1991; Jordan, 1997; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991). They argue that males and females have different ways of understanding their identity, based upon both unconscious identification with the mother as well as societal expectations. As a result of both of these processes, girls and boys are socialized differently, and thus have different relational experiences.

Feminist theorists and researchers have also argued that Erikson does not fully account for the development of intimacy in his hierarchical eight-stage lifespan theory of development (Franz & White, 1985; Jordan, 1997). They argue that while Erikson's theory of development may neglect a female perspective, the most problematic weakness is its neglect of interpersonal attachment as a crucial element of each stage of development, and that a comprehensive theory of personality and identity development must account for both individuation and interpersonal connectedness.

In addition, with the exception of the first stage, trust versus mistrust, the goal of each subsequent stage until young adulthood is increased separation or individual self-development (Miller, 1991). Intimacy is predicated upon the establishment of identity (Jordan et al., 1991). Thus, when the individual reaches the sixth stage (intimacy vs. isolation) in early adulthood, s/he is supposed to be intimate with another person, and enter into a mutual relationship, while having spent the earlier stages of development striving for individuation (Miller, 1991).

Franz and White (1985) argued that, with the exception of the trust and intimacy stages, when Erikson refers to the "connectedness" of the individual, he interprets these connections as institutional connections (e.g., family, school, society, etc.) rather than as individual interpersonal attachments. Therefore, because Erikson neglects these interpersonal attachments throughout the stages of his developmental theory, he fails to adequately explain how an individual could become truly intimate and generative as an adult (Franz & White, 1985).

Chodorow (1987) argued that as a result of the mother as the primary identification object, boys and girls have different experiences in developing gender

identity. While boys must develop their gender identity as the “not-mother,” and thus differences become salient to their identities, girls do not have to do this, and have more of a sense of continuity of self.

Therefore, as a byproduct of their unbroken identification with their primary caregiver, girls feel less separate than do boys, which results in girls “experiencing another’s needs or feelings as one’s own” (Chodorow, 1987, p. 167). Furthermore, because girls do not need to separate from their mothers to form a gender identity, they retain their earliest identification with their mothers, “[they] not only reproduce mothering but also are prepared to repeat the specific behaviors, attitudes, and values of their mother’s nurturing role and to take on the cultural devaluation of her female gender” (Jack, 1991, p. 12).

Chodorow contended that autonomy does not have to be based on a self-other distinction. It “can be based on the fundamental interconnectedness, not synonymous with merger, that grows out of our earliest unconscious developmental experience and that enables a nonreactive separateness” (Chodorow, 1987, p. 62). Jack (1991) argued that individuals do not need to separate from others in order to form a sense of self. In contrast, intimacy is necessary across the lifespan; as opposed to the traditional psychoanalytic idea of separation, closeness with others enhances the development of the self. Individuals are differentiated by the assertion of one’s agency as defined by needs, feelings, and capacities within relationships (Jack, 1991).

One study tested Chodorow’s theory that development for males is equivalent to separation from parents, while development for women is akin to differentiated levels of interpersonal connectedness (Frank et al., 1988). The researchers found support for

Chodorow's theory; overall, results indicated that young women were more connected to their parents than were men, and the most difference in connectedness was between daughters and sons in relation to their mothers. Daughters experienced significantly less emotional autonomy in relation to their mothers than did sons. Women were more likely to describe competent/connected relationships, while men described individuated relationships more often.

Relational Theory

Psychologists who study women from a developmental perspective, a clinical orientation, or a psychoanalytic point of view all agree that women's orientation to relationships is the central component of female identity and emotional activity (Jack, 1991). According to the relational view, the self is embedded in relationships.

These researchers propose that for women, the primary experience of the self is relational. Women define themselves within the context of relationships, rather than within the context of external accomplishments. The self-in-relation model suggests that aspects of the self (e.g., creativity, autonomy) develop from within the context of relationships, and that separation is not necessary to enhance and create the self (Jordan et al., 1991).

Thus, for women, the ultimate ideal of being in relationships is the full realization of relationships, involving intimacy, trust, and authenticity. Researchers and clinicians at the Stone Center describe the importance of mutuality in relationships, and assert that to have meaningful, authentic relationships, individuals must be able to represent their own inner experiences in relationships, and, in turn, encourage authenticity in the other person (Miller, Jordan, Kaplan, Stiver, & Surrey, 1997). This authentic mutual relationship

involves a balance of accommodation (self-sacrificing) and self-involvement (other-sacrificing). They note that “mutuality involves commitment to engage in the development and support of both people; it involves respectfully building a relationship together that both sustains and transcends the individuals engaged in it” (Miller et al., 1997, pp. 31-32).

Research indicates that individuals who identified themselves as having a mutual style in their intimate relationship and identified their partners as also having a mutual style had the highest levels of authenticity in their relationships (Harter et al., 1997b). Individuals who identified themselves as having a style in which they were “other” focused (i.e., their partner’s needs had a higher priority than their own), valuing intimacy above all other aspects, and identifying their partner as having a “self” orientation in which the partner was dominant in the relationship, reported the lowest levels of authenticity within the relationship (Harter et al., 1997b).

While relational theory elegantly elucidates the importance of relationships for females, relational theorists (e.g., Jordan, 1997; Miller et al., 1997), never explain the process by which a mutual relationship occurs. While they make an important distinction between being authentic in relationships, where mutuality is essential for a healthy relationship, and being inauthentic in relationships, where mutuality breaks down and the self is lost, they fail to detail the process by which one obtains, and hence maintains, authentic and mutual relationships. Therefore, their theory does not address possible factors that may help women maintain mutual relationships. As mentioned earlier, it is possible that secure attachment and non-stereotypical gender role socialization could result in girls being less likely to lose their voices. The following review on theory and

research related to level of voice, a manifestation of inauthenticity in relationships, will discuss this construct, and then the following sections will discuss predictors and outcomes of level of voice.

Theory and Research on Level of Voice

Relational theory explains the importance of relationships for females, yet girls may struggle with maintaining them during adolescence (Miller, 1991). Miller argues that given this conflict, girls will begin to lose “more of the sense that they can bring their agency and sexuality, as they experience it, into the relationship” (Miller, 1991, p. 21).

Thus, girls may arrive at puberty with a different interpersonal orientation, from identification with their mother (Chodorow, 1978), and a different range of social experiences than boys, as a result of societal expectations, both of which may contribute to the loss of voice in early adolescence. There are various motives (Harter et al., 1998b) for losing one’s voice. Feminists assert that one motive is that our society values a “good woman” who is unassertive, polite, pleasant and quiet (Gilligan, 1990). This creates conflict for adolescent girls wherein they must resist this archetype in order to be faithful to themselves, but must accept it to remain in their relational role, because the “good woman” put others’ needs and desires ahead of her own.

Theorists elaborate on the connection between loss of voice and the “good woman stereotype” and argue that a girl may be “caught between speaking what she knows from experience about relationships and increased pressure to negate this knowledge for an idealized and fraudulent view of herself and her relationships – the view rendered credible by the possibility of being a perfect girl” (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992, p. 61). Brown and Gilligan (1998; 1992) suggest that the powerful appeal of this “good woman”

stereotype is clear in that girls may feel that it promises them love and attention, and they may bask in the recognition of being good girls. However, the cost of adopting this stereotype is high; girls must subvert their sense of self, and may feel trapped in this role. One girl noted that "... at the end of the day I go home and I usually just yell because I can't – we're always so quiet during the day" (L.M. Brown, 1998, p. 95).

Gilligan and others argue that girls hit a relational impasse at adolescence (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1995). Girls have been socialized all their lives to emphasize the importance of intimacy and relationships. When they reach adolescence, it is assumed that they will continue to nurture and value relationships; however, society does not value this, and does not reward them for their relational approach. Instead, society values individualism, assertiveness, and independence. Thus, girls are taught to both devalue relationships and achieve independence and autonomy (Steiner-Adair, 1990). An example from one of Brown's qualitative studies (1998) elucidates the tension between relationships and achievement when two best friends take the same exam, and one girl gets a better grade than the other. The girl who received the lower grade says that she feels jealous of her friend, and wishes that her friend had also gotten a lower grade. Therefore, authentic relationships may suffer at the cost of achievement, and Brown (1998) notes that "... the girls move out of psychological relationship with one another in their search for individual merit and the highest honors..." (p. 127).

Thus, according to level of voice theory, girls lose either way, in that they either lose their relationship with their inner self to preserve relationships, or they give up

relationships with others to become self-sufficient (Taylor et al., 1995). The friction and conflict between the two results in girls' ambivalence and subsequent loss of voice.

Therefore, Gilligan and her colleagues argue that during this relational impasse, girls have to decide to be selfish (i.e., become independent and self-sufficient) or selfless (if they remain responsive to others), and girls often choose to be selfless (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1990). According to theory, to remain in relationships, the "good woman" puts others' needs ahead of her own, and the "good woman" ends up dissociating from her voice to live in society, and gives up herself to maintain these relationships (L.M. Brown, 1998). Adolescent girls may recognize that this is paradoxical, and struggle with how to stay in touch with themselves and others.

Thus, this theory suggests that girls, as the result of both a relational impasse in early adolescence and identification with their mothers, may compromise their true selves in relationships for the sake of preserving relationships, and inauthentic relationships result (Gilligan et al., 1990). Girls may recognize that to speak their minds might threaten relationships which might lead to abandonment (Harter et al., 1998b). An example of this is a girl in one of Brown and Gilligan's (1992) studies who at age 12 was not afraid to voice her opinion, and was savvy about her relationships with others, but at age 13, when faced with a conflict with a peer, did not know how to act because she "had to be nice," since the peer was friends with her family. Unlike during childhood, when she spoke her opinions and could distinguish between what authorities said and what she knew to be true, in adolescence, she did not know how to express her true feelings and how to balance her inner conflicts with the priorities of relationships. Ultimately, she removed herself from the relational conflict to preserve relationships, and stifled her

feelings of dislike. By removing herself from the conflict, she dissociated from her true self, and inauthentic relationships resulted (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1993).

The theory grounding the loss of voice in adolescence is both dynamic in nature, in terms of its origins in the identification with the early maternal figure (Chodorow, 1987), and systemic in nature, in terms of girls' relational impasse (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Steiner-Adair, 1990; Taylor et al., 1995). Gilligan's work (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan et al., 1990) involves girls discussing how the loss of voice affects their involvement in relationships, specifically their literal voice. However, Gilligan's work is controversial, in that her data is not accessible to others (Sommers, 2000), she does not give any empirical evidence of her findings, and her research has primarily involved middle-class to upper-class Caucasian girls. Thus, it is difficult to generalize her theories to the population of adolescent girls at large.

Harter and colleagues are some of the first researchers to examine the idea of loss of voice both empirically and quantitatively, which has improved our understanding of level of voice theory, given the above critiques of Gilligan's work. Harter and her colleagues view the loss of voice, or false-self behavior, as manifested by the presence or absence of specific verbal behavior, such as not saying what one thinks, not expressing opinions, or saying what one thinks others want to hear (Harter et al., 1998b).

During mid-adolescence, Harter et al. (Harter, Bresnick, Bouche, & Whitesell, 1997a) found that both boys and girls have more of the cognitive skills to list possibly contradictory attributes about the self, but still do not have the maturity to integrate these into a unified self. During late adolescence, individuals had the capacity to integrate

possible contradictions within the self, and perhaps even found it desirable to act differently with different people.

In addition, it was found that the most commonly reported conflictual attributes across roles were with mothers versus fathers (Harter et al., 1997a). Harter and her colleagues also found that there was conflict between attributes related to self with parents versus self with peers. Interestingly, some gender differences were found in terms of emotions related to conflictual self-descriptions; girls were more upset than boys, across age groups, over conflicting attributes. Harter et al. (1997a) reported that adolescent girls, particularly those with a more feminine orientation, may struggle over whom is the “real self.” While those in early adolescence (i.e., sixth grade) reported that they were always their “true selves,” seventh graders can understand the salience of the true self versus the false self. Adolescents’ descriptions of their true selves included “‘the real me inside,’ ‘my true feelings,’ ‘what I really think and feel,’ ‘behaving the way I want to behave and not how someone else wants me to be.’ False selves were described as ‘being phony,’ ‘putting on an act,’ ‘expressing things you don’t really believe or feel,’ ‘changing yourself to be something that someone *else* wants you to be.’” (Harter, Marold, Whitesell, & Cobbs, 1996a, p. 360).

Rather than construing voice as a universal construct, Harter’s research indicates that voice is context dependent (Harter et al., 1997c; Harter et al., 1998b). Harter and colleagues (Harter et al., 1997c) found that adolescents reported the highest levels of self-reported false self behavior with their fathers (30-40% of attributes), lower levels of false self behavior (20-25%) with classmates, teachers, and their mothers, and the least false self behavior with close friends (10-15%). Another study by Harter and colleagues

(1998b) found that girls, compared to boys, had higher levels of voice with female classmates and close friends; for boys and girls, level of voice with close friends was higher than other relationships. In addition, results from a qualitative study indicated that girls had higher levels of voice in private rather than public settings. One girl noted that she learned from her mother that "...when I'm at home I can be myself but when I'm at school I'm supposed to behave and stuff" (L.M. Brown, 1998, p. 151).

When asked why they engaged in false self behavior, adolescents reported three main reasons. First, they noted that they wanted to please others, impress others, and/or gain acceptance from others. Second, they described an alienation process from their true self, due to lack of validation from others. Finally, they reported that they were experimenting with different versions of themselves, akin to trying on different styles of clothing, and were trying to figure out which self was the best fit (Harter et al., 1996a). When asked to choose one of the above reasons as the most important explanation for false self behavior, approximately 60% of early adolescents chose the first reason, 30% chose the second, and 10% chose the third. Interestingly, results were similar across gender, and were similar for false self behavior with parents and peers. In addition, adolescents who reported false self behavior because they or others devalued their true selves reported more false self behavior than did adolescents who endorsed the other two explanations for false self behavior.

Harter and colleagues (1998b) disagree with Gilligan that this phenomena occurs with all girls, and argue that there is more variation in voice within gender than between genders. Harter et al.'s (1998b) study found that femininity and sex-role socialization, rather than gender, were more salient aspects of voice. Feminine girls reported lower

levels of voice in public versus private settings, as opposed to androgynous girls, whose level of voice did not differ within different contexts. Thus, gender itself does not seem to predispose one to risk loss of voice; rather, gender orientation, specifically femininity, may be the more salient risk factor.

Finally, several qualitative studies have indicated that loss of voice may be less likely to occur with girls from ethnic minority groups (Clark, 1999; Way, 1995) and girls from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (L.M. Brown, 1998). Way (1995) found that by junior or senior year in high school, ten of the 12 adolescent girls interviewed, all of whom were ethnic minorities and working class, felt that they were open and honest in many of their relationships. Way notes that “these outspoken voices were focused not only on expressing anger and disagreement in relationships, but also on voicing care and connection” (p. 107). Way suggests that these girls may have less difficulty speaking their minds because they were not raised to be as passive as White girls. Way also notes that ethnic minority parents may socialize their daughters differently, and raise them to be strong and outspoken, because they recognize that “if their daughters are passive and quiet, they may simply disappear in a society in which they and their daughters are already pushed to the margins” (p. 124).

Brown’s (1998) study indicates that girls from lower socioeconomic backgrounds were less likely to lose their voices, and were more likely to express their anger in school settings. However, similar to the relational theorists’ inability to demarcate the ways for women to have mutual relationships, Brown does not analyze why girls from lower socioeconomic backgrounds may be less likely to lose their voices, which is a significant

weakness of her study. As indicated earlier, research in general has failed to examine individual and societal factors that might precipitate loss of voice.

Thus, research indicates that Gilligan's idea of the "good woman" seems to appear only in certain contexts, and with feminine girls. In addition, it may be less likely to occur in girls of different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. However, Harter's research has been focused on middle-class white girls, and the studies by Brown (1998), Clark (1999), and Way (Way, 1995) had very small samples. In addition, in Way's work, the majority of the girls had gained their voices by late adolescence, and she did not talk to them when they were in early adolescence, at a time of transition.

While all of the preceding theory and research on level of voice involves adolescent girls, Jack (1991) argues that the relational conflicts that girls experience in adolescence continue to affect women through adulthood. Jack's (1991) silencing the self theory suggests that women who have inauthentic relationships as a result of loss of voice may be more vulnerable to depression in adulthood. She suggests that their inner conflict between their actual and ideal self contributes to depression. From her qualitative interviews with women, Jack developed a scale, the Silencing the Self Scale (STSS) to quantitatively examine self-silencing (Jack & Dill, 1992).

There have been inconsistent gender differences for adults when the STSS was utilized. Several studies (Duarte & Thompson, 1999; Gratch, Bassett, & Attra, 1995; Koutrelakos, Baranchik, & Damato, 1999) found that men displayed higher levels of self-silencing than did women, depending upon the subscale, while other research indicates that men and women do not differ (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Spratt, Sherman, & Gilroy, 1998). However, Duarte and Thompson (1999) hypothesized that men and women self-

silenced for different reasons. They suggested that boys are socialized to suppress emotion and intimacy, and that this suppression has less negative consequences for men than for women. Duarte and Thompson (1999) found that for women, the subscales Care as Self-sacrifice and the Divided Self were significantly correlated, providing preliminary support that when women sacrifice their own needs for the sake of others' needs, they may experience a loss of self. However, the relationship between these two subscales was not significant for men, suggesting that the consequences for men's self-sacrificing behavior are less negative than for women.

Ethnic differences are also evident from the STSS. One study found that when comparing African-Americans, Asians, Caucasians, and Hispanics, Asians were far more likely to indicate self-silencing than were any other ethnic group (Gratch et al., 1995). Yet another study found that while scores on the STSS for Caucasian and African-American women did not differ significantly from each other, STSS scores were not related to depression for African-American women, but were related significantly to depression for Caucasian women (Carr, Gilroy, & Sherman, 1996). This finding suggests that the process of losing one's self is manifested differently in different cultural contexts; given that the loss of self may be a cultural and societal phenomenon, women in more collectivist societies may experience loss of voice as a normative process. Carr et al. (1996) suggest that the negative repercussions from the loss of self may, in part, be specific to Western patriarchal cultures, with the emphasis on independence and separation. Therefore, it is clear that to date, research studies have lacked a thorough understanding of the antecedents of loss of self, and how this is differentiated in different ethnic populations. It is apparent that the concept of loss of self is heterogeneous, and

cannot be generalized to every ethnic group and population. In addition, as stated earlier, all research utilizing the STSS has been conducted with adults.

In summary, research indicates that not all girls and women are vulnerable to loss of voice and self-silencing. However, the majority of both qualitative and quantitative research has involved upper-middle-class and middle-class white girls (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan et al., 1990; Harter et al., 1998b), with a few exceptions in the qualitative literature (L.M. Brown, 1998; Taylor et al., 1995; Way, 1995). The study of white middle-class girls makes it difficult to generalize findings to the general population. Therefore, the current study contributes to the field by using a population of girls in which ethnic minorities are represented, and all the participants are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

In addition, those who displayed the highest levels of false self behavior reported lower self-esteem and higher depressive symptomatology (Harter et al., 1996a). Therefore, those who experience high levels of false self behavior are more at risk for negative mental health outcomes, thus supporting Gilligan and colleagues' (1992; 1990) argument that loss of voice has negative repercussions. The relationship between loss of voice and psychological well-being will be discussed later.

Finally, research on loss of voice has been promising, however, little work has been done to examine predictors and outcomes of voice; this lack of research results in a vague understanding of what might cause loss of voice, and how loss of voice might affect girls' lives. There is little understanding of why some girls and not others are vulnerable to loss of voice, which is especially important given that qualitative and quantitative research both indicate that not all girls lose their voice in early adolescence

(Harter et al., 1998b; Way, 1995). The next two sections will discuss attachment and gender role socialization as predictors of level of voice.

Predictors of Level of Voice

Attachment

Attachment theory suggests that infants are motivated to seek nurturance from the mother, and that the success of the reciprocal relationship is thought to determine later responses to security threats (Bowlby, 1969/1982). Thus, when a caregiver, primarily the mother, is available and sensitive to an infant's needs, the infant develops a sense of the mother as a secure base from which to explore the outside world, and the infant is comforted by the mother when upset. As adolescents and adults, those with secure attachment will feel comforted by those around them, value caregiving, and enjoy and value reciprocal and mutual relationships (Furman, Simon, Shaffer, & Bouchey, 2002).

However, infants without the foundation of a healthy relationship with their mother develop insecure attachment, which includes both insecure-avoidant and insecure-ambivalent attachment. Those in the third insecure subtype, disorganized attachment, lack a coherent behavioral strategy as infants; this classification will not be discussed in this review as it is a small minority of those assessed [as little as 4% of an adolescent sample (Furman et al., 2002)] and most of the adolescent and adult attachment research has been conducted using the three group model (Feeney, 1999).

Children in the insecure-avoidant subtype lack confidence in their caregivers, and have expectations of rejection; in adolescence and adulthood, this is termed "dismissing" attachment, and an adolescent may have little interest in seeking help from parents, and not perceive friends and family members as reassuring in stressful times (Furman, 1999).

Children in the insecure-ambivalent subtype typically have caregivers who were inconsistently and unpredictably responsive and available to their child's needs, and consequently may distort their attachment needs to receive a response from a caregiver (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). In adolescence and adulthood, this is termed "preoccupied" attachment, and someone with this attachment may find it difficult to feel comforted when upset, may be too concerned about others' problems, and "may overinvest in relationships in a self-sacrificing manner" (Furman, 1999, p. 142). The preoccupied group is so emotionally hungry for nurturance that they will adopt a strategy of compliance to feel accepted (Feeney, 1999).

Research on Attachment

Bowlby (1969/1982) argued that interpersonal connectedness plays an important role throughout development, not just in infancy. Research does indicate that parent-child attachment is important throughout the lifespan (Greenberg, Siegel, & Leitch, 1983), and the quality of parent-child attachment at infancy has been shown to predict later social functioning in childhood and adolescence (Elicker, Englund, & Sroufe, 1992; Shulman, Elicker, & Sroufe, 1994; Sroufe, Carlson, & Shulman, 1993; Weinfield, Ogawa, & Sroufe, 1997).

Sroufe and his colleagues have conducted a longitudinal study since the early 1970's that has examined the effects of infant attachment on aspects of functioning with teachers, peers, and romantic partners. They argue that personality is developed from, and organized by, attachment relationships (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). In addition, they suggest that the consistency and continuity of attachment over time is due to the transactional nature of attachment, and stated "...a child who has positive expectations

concerning others, feelings of worth and confidence, and a conception of relationships as responsive and mutually enhancing engages and responds to peers in positive ways, expects and elicits positive and age-appropriate support from adults, and stretches his or her abilities in setting goals and meeting challenges” (Sroufe et al., 1993, p. 334).

Therefore, insecurely attached girls may be more likely to have low levels of voice, in that they do not have a secure base of relationships which would allow them to be honest and open about threats to relationship.

Secure attachments in infancy lead to intimacy in later relationships for three main reasons. First, a relationship in which the primary caregiver is responsive and empathic toward the child would lead the child to expect others to react similarly (W.A. Collins, Hennighausen, Schmit, & Sroufe, 1997). Second, such caregivers are role models for how to be empathic and have mutually reciprocal interactions (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). Third, responsive care and autonomy support strengthens a sense of self-efficacy, which would make an individual attractive to others (Elicker et al., 1992). Thus, adolescents with secure attachment may be less likely to lose their voice. Given their experience with responsiveness, empathy, and mutually reciprocal relationships, these adolescents may not feel threatened by challenging assertions of gender stereotyping, and may have safe mutual relationships that allow them to be honest in relationships.

Research with children supports Bowlby’s (1969/1982) theory that secure attachment predicts later self-reliance, and that insecurely attached children are more dependent (Sroufe et al., 1993; Turner, 1991). In addition, during preschool, the friendships of avoidant children were less likely to be characterized by mutuality, responsiveness, and affective involvement. In later childhood, avoidant and resistant

children were rated as more dependent than secure children in behavioral observations with peers. Research indicates that attachment security at infancy was positively correlated with social skills in middle childhood (Weinfield et al., 1997). Therefore, it seems that since insecure children lack mutuality and responsiveness in their peer relationships, they may have lower levels of voice given that these two elements are essential for mutual relationships (Miller et al., 1997).

In middle-childhood, children who were securely attached were more socially competent, and were more likely to form friendships (Elicker et al., 1992; Shulman et al., 1994). In descriptions of dyads of children with the same attachment history, there were remarkable differences in children's conflict management and peer interaction styles (Shulman et al., 1994; Sroufe et al., 1993). Secure children were found to have a "semi-permeable membrane" in that they played near others, invited others to join their groups, and were not threatened by a friend engaging in activities with others (Sroufe et al., 1993). With a secure-secure pair of children, when one of the children felt abandoned by the other child, she talked to this friend and asked her if they were still friends (Shulman et al., 1994). Shulman and colleagues (1994) described the interaction, and noted that "they argued, they exchanged points of view, each directly expressing emotion" (p. 350). In this way, the girls they describe are demonstrating high levels of voice, and are indicating their ability to discuss relational issues. Importantly, the conflict ended with the second child reassuring the first, and both girls appeared to be happy, and to have attained a new level of closeness.

In contrast, avoidant children were found to have a "non-permeable membrane" in that they only played together, were jealous of others, and when one was absent, the other

seemed lost (Sroufe et al., 1993). A pair of children with insecure-avoidant attachment histories appeared to be close, but there was little affect between them, and no conflict arose (Shulman et al., 1994). Shulman and colleagues (1994) describe this pair as having “a ‘raw’ less sophisticated need for intimacy” (p. 356) that attracts them to each other. However, there was little exploration of the relationship, and the avoidant pair was described as having a “protected closeness” (p. 356) that obfuscated the emergence, let alone the resolution, of conflicts.

Resistant children were found to have a “totally permeable membrane” in that they had problems sustaining relationships in groups; one might become absorbed by the group and leave the other behind, or one might become overwhelmed by the difficulty of coordinating multiple relationships and become separated from the group (Sroufe et al., 1993). The lack of conflict in the resistant pair is similar to the avoidant pair, but in contrast, the resistant pair is described as having a sporadic friendship, in which genuine closeness is apparent, but is not maintained (Shulman et al., 1994). Because of the sporadic nature of their relationship, the children never fought, and thus experienced neither conflict resolution, nor the closeness post-conflict that the secure pair experienced. This supports the concept that adolescents with insecure attachment may have lower levels of voice, in part due to their inability to discuss conflict. In addition, this inability to discuss conflict may hamper their intimacy with others.

These studies (Shulman et al., 1994; Sroufe et al., 1993) support assertions (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986) that patterns of relationships with early caregivers continue into development. Children with insecure attachment did not develop long-term meaningful

relationships, and displayed unrelatedness, while the avoidant pair described above had little personal agency, and demonstrated a clear inability to explore their relationship.

There is little research on attachment in adolescents; this is a significant deficit given that adolescence is a time of transition and change (L.S. Brown & Wright, 2001). Research that has been conducted has found that secure adolescents had a greater capacity for emotional vulnerability and sustained dating relationships (W.A. Collins & Sroufe, 1999). Secure attachment from infancy was significantly related to intimacy in peer relationships in adolescence (W.A. Collins & Sroufe, 1999). In mid-adolescence, at age 15, secure adolescents had the capacity to be vulnerable with others; that is, they were able to be open to feelings, and were open to a range of experiences. Adolescents' capacity for vulnerability distinguished insecure and secure groups (Sroufe et al., 1993). This capacity for vulnerability seems to be an essential element of being able to express one's voice; one must be able to trust in another, and feel accepted. Therefore, adolescents who do not have this may be more vulnerable to loss of voice.

Cross-sectional research indicates that attachment to caregivers is salient in terms of psychosocial adjustment in adolescence. Attachment to parents is positively correlated with general self-concept and self-esteem (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Kerns, Klepac, & Cole, 1996; Salzman, 1996), especially in a time of transition (Papini & Roggman, 1992). Attachment to mothers and fathers is negatively related to depressive symptoms (Armsden, McCauley, Greenberg, Burke, & Mitchell, 1990; Cole-Detke & Kobak, 1996; Kenny, Lomax, Brabeck, & Fife, 1998; Kobak, Sudler, & Gamble, 1991; Salzman, 1996), anxiety (Armsden et al., 1990; Kenny et al., 1998), and eating disorders (Cole-Detke & Kobak, 1996).

Attachment is also salient in respect to adolescents' relationships with parents, peers, and romantic partners. Attachment to parents is positively correlated with parent support (Cotterell, 1992). Security is positively correlated with social acceptance, as reported by peers (Allen, Moore, & Kuperminc, 1997), and, in addition, securely attached adolescents show greater social competence with peers, and are more likely to make friends, have securely attached friends, and be more popular (Doyle & Markiewicz, 1996). Attachment security is related to satisfaction with best friend (Levendosky, Huth-Bocks, & Semel, 2002), and adolescents who perceive their mothers as available and have a sense of autonomy have closer, supportive, and more secure friendships (Lieberman, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 1999). In addition, attachment to caregivers is somewhat predictive of later attachment to romantic partners (Blain, Thompson, & Whiffen, 1993; N.L. Collins & Read, 1990; Owens et al., 1996). Therefore, this evidence supports assertions that attachment to caregivers continues to be salient throughout development (Sroufe et al., 1993; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986).

Attachment may be especially salient during adolescence; Armstrong and Roth (1989) argued that a sense of security is made up of layers of interactions, and, thus, a secure attachment is beneficial during the separation anxiety period during adolescence when struggles with identity formation and intimacy issues are salient.

Connection between Loss of Voice and Attachment

The mechanisms for transmission of voice may be societal (e.g., Gilligan et al., 1990), in terms of girls' experiences of a relational impasse, but loss of voice may also be related to insecure attachment. As Bowlby (1969/1982) suggests, the initial mother-infant relationship creates an Internal Working Model (IWM), which is the unconscious

model of the self and other that represents the early attachment relationship between the infant and the caregiver. IWMs affect other relationships, and help determine the ability to be intimate. Thus, the mother-daughter relationship represents the initial model of a relationship in a child's developmental trajectory, and affects all subsequent relationships in the child's life (Surrey, 1991).

Harter and colleagues (Harter et al., 1997a) suggest that the origins of early false self behavior may be found in early attachment relationships. They note that parents help children construct a narrative of the child's inner experience, and create an autobiography. Harter and her colleagues speculate that if parents convey to their children that certain experiences should be forgotten or erased from their memories, such a distortion may contribute to a child's false self behavior.

No empirical research has been conducted to examine the relationship between attachment and loss of voice in adolescence, although two studies that examined this relationship in adults found that preoccupied attachment was associated with silencing of the self, using Jack's STSS scale (Remen, Chambless, & Rodebaugh, 2002; J.M. Thompson & Hart, 1996). Thus, at least with adults, this is preliminary evidence of a link between insecure attachment and loss of voice.

In one of Carol Gilligan's studies (Gilligan et al., 1990), a researcher conducted qualitative interviews with nine girls with insecure attachment. Girls who were in a subgroup analogous to preoccupied attachment, as assessed by the author through a qualitative interview, were harsh judges of themselves and had low self-confidence (Salzman, 1990). These girls struggled to admit to feelings of anger, and were reluctant to admit that their needs to be taken care of remained unfulfilled. Preoccupied girls often

had to sacrifice their own needs to take care of others, especially their mothers, to the extent that they were no longer aware of their own burgeoning needs. Another qualitative study (Salzman, 1997) found that girls who were preoccupied reported that the most undermining quality of their relationship with their mothers was the strength and unpredictability of their mothers' attacks on their self-esteem. In a sense, they lost their own voices, and according to Salzman, in adolescence, "listen(ed) to my mother's voice," (p. 254) which was extremely negative and denigrating.

Salzman (Salzman, 1990) wrote that girls who were in the dismissing group learned "to fear revealing themselves to people whom they care about, people with the power to hurt them. As a result, they have cultivated the habit of censoring certain truths about themselves within relationships, of holding a lot inside, of hiding their inner vulnerability" (p. 139). Thus, they were less likely than the preoccupied group to have the ability to have truly intimate relationships, and place value on relationship. One girl noted "I am not honest even to those closest to me, because I don't want to get that involved in a relationship. I don't want to trust that much in a relationship, so I don't really allow them to see the real me, and I am constantly lying about the person that I am and how I feel" (Salzman, 1990, pp. 139-140).

Despite the paucity of research linking attachment and level of voice, there are several empirical findings from studies examining attachment in adolescents that support the connection between attachment and level of voice. These studies indicate that insecure female adolescents are less assertive, and have more gender-stereotyped behavior, and that insecure adolescents overall have more rejecting and critical mothers, and have poorer communication and conflict management skills than secure adolescents.

Research indicates that insecure girls are less assertive than secure girls (Turner, 1991). Specifically, one study found that college-age students who were classified as preoccupied were less assertive than dismissing or secure adults (Kobak & Sceery, 1988). In addition, secure adolescents also had balanced aggressiveness with their mothers in problem-solving discussions (Kobak, Cole, Ferenz-Gillies, Fleming, & Gamble, 1993), and were not dominated by their mothers as were the insecure adolescents.

Traditional gender role socialization for girls has been associated with lower levels of voice (Harter et al., 1998b). Interestingly, one study found that pairs of friends, where one was secure and one was insecure, demonstrated more gender-stereotyped patterns (i.e., they complained more about their mothers) of self-disclosure than did pairs of friends who were both secure (Kerns et al., 1996). Another study found that insecure girls also had higher levels of positive expressive behavior than did secure girls (Turner, 1991). Turner interpreted this expressive behavior as a way of avoiding conflict, and suggested that insecure girls may do this to maintain peer groups. This provides more evidence for the relationship between attachment and voice, as girls with insecure attachment display similar communication patterns (i.e., more traditional gender-stereotyping) as do girls with low levels of voice.

Gilligan notes that some girls may not resist the relational crisis in adolescence because they do not have a significant adult figure with whom to connect, thus resulting in lower levels of voice (Gilligan, 1990). One research study found that insecure adolescents who experience their attachment figure as rejecting deactivate from attachment, thereby minimizing their distress (Cole-Detke & Kobak, 1996). As a result of deactivating from attachment, girls may also lower their voices to maintain

relationships. Another research study found that insecure attachment mediated the relationship between maternal coldness and self-criticism (R. Thompson & Zuroff, 1999). Therefore, insecure attachment is related to girls' being more self-critical. This self-critical behavior may be related to level of voice, in that girls who are more self-critical would be more susceptible to low level of voice

Research indicates that secure adolescents are better at communicating than are insecure adolescents, and that security was significantly related to reports of companionship and validation in their best friendships (Kerns, 1996). Secure adolescents had constructive problem-solving strategies that were less avoidant and were characterized by less dysfunctional anger (Kobak et al., 1993). In addition, pairs of friends where both were secure were observed to be more responsive and less critical in behavioral observations than were pairs of friends where one was insecure and one was secure (Kerns et al., 1996). In addition, insecure attachment was related to poorer conflict management skills (Schneider & Younger, 1996); this indicates that insecurely attached girls would be likely to have lower level of voice, as they would not be able to discuss problems and negotiate conflicts.

Kerns and her colleagues noted that secure attachment involves responsive care from an attachment figure, and open and relaxed communication between attachment figure and child, involving both negative and positive affect (Kerns, Tomich, Aspelmeier, & Contreras, 2000). Therefore, since these children are able to integrate both positive and negative affect, they will be more likely to speak their mind about relationships, and be less likely to lose their voices. Also, securely attached children reported feeling less

lonely (Kerns, 1996; Kerns et al., 1996); this is another connection between attachment and voice in that if girls have low levels of voice, they will likely be more lonely.

Girls who are insecurely attached in Gilligan's previously mentioned qualitative studies (Gilligan et al., 1990) viewed the expression of anger as either dangerous or futile, with the consequence of being unable to resolve conflict in relational situations (Salzman, 1990). These girls deal with anger by either denying the existence of conflict or removing themselves from the conflictual situation. Given their problematic attachment histories, they are unable to use family attachment as a context for resolving conflict.

In summary, it is clear that attachment is important throughout the lifespan (Greenberg et al., 1983; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986), and that quality of attachment is related to intimacy, vulnerability, and mutuality in peer and romantic relationships in childhood and adolescence (W.A. Collins & Sroufe, 1999; Greenberg et al., 1983; Shulman et al., 1994; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). In addition, studies regarding attachment in adolescence have found that insecure female adolescents were less assertive and more likely to have gender-stereotyped behavior (Kerns, 1996; Turner, 1991), both of these characteristics are similar to manifestation of low levels of voice in girls (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Harter et al., 1998b). Finally, research indicates that insecure adolescents have poorer communication styles and poorer conflict management skills than do secure adolescents (Kerns, 1996; Kerns et al., 1996; Kerns et al., 2000; Kobak et al., 1993; Schneider & Younger, 1996). Therefore, while no studies to date have examined the relationship between attachment and loss of voice in adolescents, there is preliminary evidence that the two may be related. The current study contributes to the field by being the first to

examine the relationship between attachment and loss of voice in adolescence (see Pathway A in Figure 1).

As discussed earlier, loss of voice may be related to insecure attachment. In addition, there may be a societal influence of voice upon girls, as a result of the relational impasse discussed by Gilligan and her colleagues (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Gilligan et al., 1990). The next section will discuss the relationship between gender role socialization and level of voice (see Pathway B in Figure 1).

Child's Gender Role Socialization

Gender role socialization can be defined as the way in which we are socialized to internalize different personality attributes that have been culturally defined to represent either masculinity or femininity (Boldizar, 1991). In addition, there are individual differences in the extent to which individuals internalize attributes stereotypically related to their own gender or the other gender. Research does support the existence of masculinity and femininity as two separate components (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975), although they are not necessarily dichotomous (Unger & Crawford, 1992). Androgyny is attained when someone internalizes attributes stereotypically related to both genders (Unger & Crawford, 1992).

Researchers have examined three different models of gender role socialization as they relate to psychological well-being in adolescents (Cate & Sugawara, 1986; Lamke, 1982; Whitley, 1983). The congruence model suggests that the best outcome is when one's gender role is congruent with one's gender. The androgyny model suggests that the best outcome is when one is high on both masculinity and femininity. Finally, the

masculinity model suggests that the best outcome is when one has a masculine sex role orientation (Whitley, 1983).

Research has generally supported the masculinity and androgyny models, both of which involve the creation of categories of gender role socialization, based upon level of masculinity and femininity scores (Markstrom-Adams, 1989; Whitley, 1983). However, in general, when the androgyny model is examined with continuous scores, it is found that the contribution of masculinity is the most salient predictor of psychological well-being, rather than the dual contribution of both masculinity and femininity (Boldizar, 1991; Cate & Sugawara, 1986; Lamke, 1982; Wells, 1980). Thus, research indicates that it is best to utilize both categorical and continuous methods of classifying gender role socialization (Cate & Sugawara, 1986; Lamke, 1982; Wells, 1980).

One interesting study found that masculinity is more salient for females than for males (Cate & Sugawara, 1986). For males, being high or low on masculinity did not affect their self-esteem, but for females, masculinity was correlated with greater self-worth. The authors suggested that for females, higher masculinity makes them feel valued by society, but for males, simply the status of being male in society is sufficient enough to impact their self-esteem positively.

As discussed earlier, Gilligan argues that female adolescents experience a crisis of identity when they are pressured by society to accept the “good woman” stereotype, which emphasizes caring and relatedness even in the face of self-sacrificing. However, as discussed earlier in relation to the literature on gender role socialization, adolescent girls vary in terms of their gender role socialization, and it is likely that not all girls accept the “good woman” stereotype. Indeed, one study found that only 38% of adolescent girls

could be classified as feminine (Rose & Montemayor, 1994). Therefore, it is possible, given the societal pressure that underlies loss of voice, that high femininity, rather than gender per se, might predict level of voice and that girls would differ in their level of voice as a function of their gender role socialization.

Harter et al. (1998b) found this to be the case. In addition, the context of voice mattered; in private contexts with close friends and family, feminine girls and androgynous girls did not differ in their levels of voice, while in public settings, such as in school, feminine girls had significantly lower levels of voice than androgynous girls (Harter et al., 1998b). However, given the literature that suggests it is best to examine gender role socialization as two separate, continuous variables (masculinity and femininity) and that information and statistical variance are lost by categorizing gender role socialization (Boldizar, 1991; Hoffman & Borders, 2001; Spence et al., 1975; Wells, 1980), it seems surprising that Harter and her colleagues did not examine the independent contributions of masculinity and femininity.

In one of the few studies examining the connection between level of voice and gender role socialization, Tolman and Porche (2000) found that, for eighth grade girls, there was a connection between the femininity scale of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and their measure of voice, although it was only a trend. Another study found that both the femininity scale and the masculinity scale from the BSRI were correlated with silencing of self in adolescents (Hart & Thompson, 1996). However, it is likely the BSRI is not the best means of measuring gender role socialization in adolescents for two reasons. First, the BSRI was normed on adults, and second, it was created in the 1970's; society's conceptions of gender roles have changed significantly since this time period

(Hoffman & Borders, 2001). The use of the BSRI in these studies may have affected their results (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Tolman & Porche, 2000).

Therefore, there is some preliminary evidence that gender role socialization may impact level of voice. That is, if girls have internalized the societal ideal of the “good woman,” they may be more likely to lose their voice during adolescence, and feel that they cannot have both close relationships and honest relationships. However, it is clear that more research needs to be done to examine this relationship, given the methodological problems of the extant research. The current study improved upon previous research in that a more current measure of gender role socialization was used (Boldizar, 1991), the independent contributions of masculinity and femininity were examined (see Pathway B in Figure 1), and the differential contributions of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny were examined.

While the previous two sections have focused on possible predictors of voice, both intraindividual and societal, it is also important to examine how level of voice might influence different areas of girls’ lives, such as their relationships with peers, romantic partners, and their psychological well-being. The next section will examine these possible outcomes of level of voice.

Outcomes of Level of Voice

Quality of Friendships

As discussed earlier, low levels of voice in adolescence may result in inauthentic relationships; thus, it is likely that level of voice would affect the quality of friendships. Peer relationships are certainly important during adolescence; friendships can buffer against stress, and are related to positive psychological adjustment and developmental

outcomes (Bukowski, Newcomb, & Hartup, 1996; Wenz-Gross, Siperstein, Untch, & Widaman, 1997).

Traditionally, research has neglected the study of adolescent's friendships, and research that was conducted lacked empirical data (Inderbitzen-Pisaruk & Foster, 1990). Theory about adolescent friendship has been neglected as well. One of the few theories about friendship was conceptualized by Harry Stack Sullivan; recent research on friendship and intimacy has been based upon Sullivan's theories (Furman, 1993). Sullivan (1953) noted that true, reciprocal love first appears in children's relationships with a same-sex friend, and that preadolescence is characterized by the need for personal intimacy. Sullivan argued that intimacy is the most salient aspect of adolescent friendship, and that intimacy can be defined as closeness. Sullivan suggested that intimate friendships provide the essential experience of being understood and validated. He stated,

“intimacy is the type of situation involving two people which permits validation of all components of personal worth. Validation of personal worth requires a type of relationship which I call collaboration, by which I mean clearly formulated adjustments of one's behavior to the expressed needs of the other person in the pursuit of increasingly identical – that is, more and more nearly mutual – satisfactions, and in the maintenance of increasingly similar security operations” (Sullivan, 1953, p. 246).

Therefore, according to Sullivan, friendships in adolescence are the first relationships to involve mutual collaboration, and the establishment of intimacy in friendships provides the basis for meaningful romantic intimate relationships later in life. Given Sullivan's

theory, it seems essential that these beginning intimate relationships are authentic; if false relationships develop in early adolescence, then these false relationships will be the basis of all subsequent relationships, and will affect the quality and intimacy of future intimate relationships. Therefore, the possible loss of voice in early adolescence has important implications for the intimacy of friendships, which may then impact future relationships, and possibly render them more inauthentic.

Shulman and Knafo (1997) proposed a developmental model of adolescent friendship. In their model, adolescent friendships begin at the stage of “closeness orientation” in which adolescents have chosen their friends in terms of attraction to each other, and they understand commitment and obligations to the friendship. The second stage, “negotiating differences,” involves an awareness of each other’s needs, and friends become skilled at negotiating conflicts that arise. The final, most integrated stage is “mutuality-intimacy.” Shulman and Knafo also argue that attachment history is especially relevant to the negotiation of each of these stages; they stipulate that adolescents with secure attachment are more able than those with insecure attachment to process conflicts in a mutually satisfactory manner. In contrast, adolescents with an insecure attachment are more likely to refrain from conflict.

Thus, Shulman and Knafo’s (1997) model of friendship as moderated by attachment is analogous to how level of voice would affect the quality of friendship; it is likely that adolescents with a low level of voice would act similarly to adolescents with an insecure attachment, and avoid conflict with close friends. Therefore, it seems possible that girls with lower levels of voice will be arrested at the second stage,

“negotiating differences,” which will be represented by lower levels of intimacy in friendships.

Kerns (1996) offers several reasons why a secure attachment would facilitate peer relationships. First, a secure attachment may promote increased exploration, including peer friendships. Second, caretakers of securely attached children are responsive to their needs, which may promote the formation of a responsive interaction style that carries over to other relationships. Third, the development of a positive internal working model allows the child to form positive views of others. Kerns suggests that the internal working model also allows the child to see both sides of the attachment relationship, and she argues that, for example, children with a sensitive mother are likely to be sensitive towards others, and treat others sensitively. Therefore, children with secure internal working models are likely to try to establish close responsive peer relationships similar to those developed with the primary attachment figure.

Some research has indicated that the quality of the friendship is a salient predictor of psychological adjustment (Bukowski, Hoza, & Boivin, 1993). Therefore, the quality of the friendship, both positive and negative aspects (Berndt, 1996), must be assessed for a full understanding of peer relationships (Aboud & Mendelson, 1996). In addition, children’s perceptions of their friendships and their understanding of their peer friendships are fundamental determinants of the quality and features of the relationship (Bukowski, Hoza, & Boivin, 1994; Furman, 1996).

Parker and Asher (1993) proposed that quality of friendship, which includes elements of companionship, supportiveness, intimate exchange, and level of conflict, was an important construct of friendship adjustment. Other researchers (e.g., Mendelson &

Aboud, 1999) stipulate as well that intimacy is an essential element of adolescent friendship. Intimacy in friendship involves sensitivity and openness to honest expressions of thought, feelings, and personal information (Mendelson & Aboud, 1999).

Intimacy is salient in adolescence as adolescents experience developmental changes. As children progress from preadolescence to adolescence, their friendships are characterized by an increase in intimacy (Kerns, 1996) and an increase in complexity (Grazysk & Henry, 2001). In addition, adolescents report more support from their friends than do children (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). Intimate friendships have positive effects upon psychological adjustment; for example, one study found that supportive best friendships contributed significantly to students' involvement in school (Berndt & Keefe, 1995).

It is important that within the context of the relationship, the adolescent feels the opportunity to feel valued and appreciated by the friend (Bukowski et al., 1994).

Buhrmester (1990) suggested that there are several theoretical reasons why intimacy is important in adolescence. First, adolescence can be a stressful time, and intimacy may help buffer the stress, and second, close friendships provide a sense of validation, which is helpful.

There are gender differences in friendship experiences. Girls report more intimacy in their friendships than do boys (Buhrmester, 1990); they also report higher levels of the quality of the friendship (Jones & Costin, 1995). Evidence also suggests that girls are more attuned to subtle differences in features of friendships than are boys; for girls, friendship may be a more multi-dimensional relationship (Grazysk & Henry, 2001).

In addition, the quality of best friendships affected the adjustment of girls more than boys (Berndt & Keefe, 1995).

In summary, Sullivan's (1953) theory of intimacy of friendships in adolescence involves mutuality and increasingly secure operations, and research indicates that intimacy and quality of friendships become increasingly salient in adolescence (Buhrmester, 1990; Inderbitzen-Pisaruk & Foster, 1990; Kerns, 1996). In addition, some research suggests the maturity and intimacy of friendship is related to attachment (Shulman & Knafo, 1997). Given this, it seems possible that level of voice would also affect intimacy of friendship. According to level of voice theory, low levels of voice inherently involve inauthentic relationships, which might be related to the lack of intimacy of friendship. In addition, research indicates that mutuality of relationships is important; this is another important aspect of level of voice. Finally, it is likely that girls might be especially susceptible to level of voice affecting their intimate relationships, given evidence that they are more attuned than boys to differences in friendship (Grazysk & Henry, 2001) and that the quality of their friendships influences their adjustment (Berndt & Keefe, 1995).

Therefore, the current study hypothesized that level of voice would influence the intimacy of friendships (see Pathway C, Figure 1). For example, it is likely that adolescents with a low level of voice would perceive themselves as having close friendships, in that they have compromised their own selves for relationships in their lives. Thus, while these adolescents would appear to rate high on elements of friendship such as loyalty and availability, their friendships would be lower on dimensions of intimacy, which involve honest expression.

The next section will review research on romantic relationships in adolescence, and discuss how level of voice may be related to both the quality of romantic relationships and abuse during romantic relationships.

Romantic Relationships

Quality of romantic relationships

Adolescents become increasingly intimate with both friends and romantic partners during adolescence (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992), and adolescent romantic relationships are an important mechanism through which adolescents sort through issues of identity (B.B. Brown, Feiring, & Furman, 1999). Romantic relationships have recently begun to be examined by researchers, although most researchers have examined the differences in adolescents who are dating and not dating (Connolly & Johnson, 1996), and have neglected the qualitative aspects of adolescent romantic relationships.

Wyndol Furman and his colleagues (Furman & Simon, 1999; Furman & Wehner, 1994, 1997) have proposed a behavioral systems theory of adolescent relationships akin to the concept of the internal working model proposed by attachment theorists, but more encompassing of additional aspects of relationships. Furman suggests that adolescents have views of relationships. Views are defined as “representations of a particular type of relationship, the self in that type of relationship, and the partner in that type of relationship” (Furman et al., 2002). Views of relationships are similar to internal working models in that they are thought to guide behavior, but differ in that views are thought to incorporate all of the behavioral systems that are active at that time.

Furman and his colleagues propose that adolescents’ views of others encompass four main behavioral systems: attachment, caretaking, affiliation, and sexuality (Furman

& Simon, 1999; Furman & Wehner, 1994). Furman proposes that in the parent-child relationship, attachment is the primary behavioral system, whereas affiliation is the primary behavioral system in peer relationships. Therefore, an individual's attachment to the mother may influence later views of affiliation with peers; Furman suggests that this is borne out by evidence that a child's parental attachment predicts later peer competence, a non-attachment process (Weinfield et al., 1997).

Furman also suggests that friendships are related to romantic relationships in that the affiliative process with a peer may shape romantic relationships, which encompass views of all four behavioral systems (Furman et al., 2002). Furman's theoretical link between friendships and romantic relationships is supported by evidence that early adolescents perceived romantic relationships more in terms of friendship and companionship than did older adolescents (Feiring, 1996; Shulman & Scharf, 2000).

Therefore, there is evidence of a relationship between adolescents' peer relationships and romantic experiences, and it is possible that level of voice would affect the quality of both types of affiliative relationships. While no one has examined the relationship between level of voice and the quality of romantic relationships in adolescence, Furman and Shaffer (in press) have alluded to the connection between the two constructs. They suggested that adolescents are likely to act in ways that they feel will attract romantic partners; for example, heterosexual girls, may act in stereotypically feminine ways to attract males (Furman & Shaffer, in press).

Thus, the current study examined the connection between loss of voice and quality of romantic relationships. It may be that some girls feel pressure to attract males by acting stereotypically feminine, and that this behavior would result in loss of voice, since

they might not be able to voice their own opinions. Given that level of voice is a relational construct, it is possible this loss of voice would impact relationships with romantic partners. The current study examined this relationship (see Pathway E, Figure 1). If girls do subvert their voice in romantic relationships, this may put them more at risk for abuse in relationships, specifically psychological abuse, which is relational in nature (see Pathway D, Figure 1). The next section will review research on violence in adolescent romantic relationships.

Violence in Romantic Relationships

Attitudes toward dating violence and experience of psychological, physical, or sexual violence in a relationship may also affect the quality of romantic relationships. Violence in adolescent romantic relationships, other than college-age samples, has been rarely researched (Feiring & Furman, 2000). Research that has been conducted has found that adolescent girls were as likely as boys to be the instigators of abusive behavior in intimate relationships; however, the actions of boys were more severe than those of girls (Molidor & Tolman, 1998). Indeed, girls' use of violence in a relationship is more accepted and perceived as more justified than boys' use of violence (Price & Byers, 1999; Smith Slep, Cascardi, Avery-Leaf, & O'Leary, 2001).

In addition, Molidor and Tolman (1998) found that boys were as likely as girls to experience some physical violence in a dating relationship. This indicates that while the level of prevalence may not differ, the level of severity does differ, which may impact boys and girls in different ways. Girls were more likely to report negative physical and emotional effects of the violence than were boys, and girls were more likely to physically fight back when they experienced physical violence from their partner, which may

account for some of the physical abuse reported by boys. However, another study (Foshee, 1996) found that even after controlling for self-defense, girls reported perpetrating more physical violence than boys toward their partners.

As understood by the research on adult domestic violence, psychological abuse may be experienced more frequently than physical abuse, and may have more detrimental and long-lasting effects (Campbell & Lewandowski, 1997; Ellington & Marshall, 1997). Psychological abuse can include isolation, threatening behavior, relational abuse (e.g., spreading rumors about one's partner), and verbal and emotional abuse (Molidor, 1995; Wolfe et al., 2001). Indeed, one study found that while 59% of high school students had at least one experience with physical violence in a relationship, 96% had experienced psychological abuse in a relationship (Jezl, Molidor, & Wright, 1996).

One barrier for investigating violence in adolescent romantic relationships has been the lack of appropriate measures (Smith Slep et al., 2001; Wolfe et al., 2001). Research on adolescents has traditionally used versions of the Conflict Tactics Scale, a widely used measure with adult populations (Straus, 1979). Not only has the CTS been normed on college-age and adult populations, but some of the items are clearly inappropriate for an adolescent sample, as they relate to economic abuse, or use of children as coercion (Wolfe et al., 2001).

Attachment problems may pose a risk factor for dating violence (Wekerle & Wolfe, 1998; Wolfe & Feiring, 2000). Some research (Flanagan & Furman, 2000) has attempted to link relational views to sexual victimization in adolescence and early adulthood. The authors found that college-age women who were victims of sexual assault were more likely to be preoccupied than women who were not victimized;

however, the same pattern was not true for high school women (Flanagan & Furman, 2000).

Another study that examined the roles of child maltreatment and attachment in predicting dating violence found that while maltreatment was the most salient predictor of male abusive behaviors, the interaction of attachment history and maltreatment was significant for both avoidant and ambivalent males, suggesting that attachment is a moderator of the relationship between child maltreatment and violent behavior towards a partner in adolescence (Wekerle & Wolfe, 1998). For females, while maltreatment history was the most salient predictor of being a victim of abuse, being avoidantly attached was also a significant predictor (Wekerle & Wolfe, 1998).

Given the paucity of research on level of voice, it is not surprising that only one study has examined the relationship between voice and abuse. A qualitative study by Salzman (1990) found that girls who had both low levels of voice and insecure attachment were more likely to be in harmful romantic relationships than girls without both of these risk factors. However, as previously mentioned, this study only involved nine girls, and was not empirical, both of which make it difficult to generalize the findings.

There is a dearth of research on the relationship between level of voice and violence in dating relationships; if some girls do present with a loss of voice in early adolescence, and, as a result, feel uncomfortable speaking their mind, and feel that relationships are to be valued above their sense of self, they may very well be at risk for staying in a relationship that is no longer healthy, due to physical or emotional abuse. Therefore, the current study examined this relationship (see Pathway D, Figure 1).

Psychological Well-Being

Depression

Jack's (1991; Jack & Dill, 1992) theory suggests that women use self-silencing to cultivate and maintain relationships, and, as a result, may experience depression as they inhibit their own true feelings about relationships. While Bowlby (1980) proposed that depression is connected to feelings of past and present loss of an object, Jack (1991) suggests that for women, rather than the loss of an object, depression is connected to a loss of self in relation to others.

Other theorists also maintain that the experience of depression may be connected to experiences in relationships (Blatt & Maroudas, 1992). Blatt's work suggests that diverse psychological theories, such as interpersonal, attachment, psychoanalytic ego psychology, and cognitive behavioral, all propose two types of depression: first, those preoccupied with, and dependent upon, interpersonal relationships, and second, those preoccupied with achievement and self-worth (Blatt & Maroudas, 1992).

It is well-established that while there are no gender differences in depression in childhood, after early adolescence and into adulthood, females have higher rates of depression than do males (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Kenny, Moilanen, Lomax, & Brabeck, 1993; Petersen, Sarigiani, & Kennedy, 1991; Renouf & Harter, 1990; Wichstrom, 1999). Nolen-Hoeksema (1994) proposed that adolescent girls may have higher rates of depression than do adolescent boys because of three factors. First, biological changes occur in early adolescence that cause girls to have increased body fat, and boys to have increased muscle; these distinctly different changes cause girls to be more self-conscious, whereas boys tend to be proud of their body changes. Second, girls

are at increased risk for sexual victimization (e.g., sexual exploitation) in adolescence (Sroufe & Rutter, 1985). Third, in early adolescence, gender intensification (Hill & Lynch, 1983) may occur, in which girls are pressured to adopt stereotypically feminine gender roles, and may feel frustrated at having their roles restricted by society.

Nolen-Hoeksema and Girgus (1994) proposed a model of gender differences in adolescent depression in which girls have more risk factors, such as a relational style, than boys do before adolescence, and that those risk factors lead to depression when girls are faced with challenges that increase in early adolescence, as discussed above.

Therefore, they suggest that preexisting gender differences in early adolescence, such as gender differences in relational styles, interact with challenges in adolescence to engender gender differences in depression. This is consistent with research that indicates that the challenges that girls faced in adolescence were predictive of gender differences in depression in later adolescence (Petersen et al., 1991; Wichstrom, 1999).

Several studies have examined the effects of aspects of a relational orientation upon depression. One study found that several relational characteristics, such as feeling too responsible for the welfare of others and having difficulty being assertive were predictors of depressive symptoms in girls, rather than gender or femininity per se (Aube et al., 2000). A similar study found that other negative aspects of an extreme relational orientation, such as ruminating, and silencing the self, accounted for 59% of the variance in depressive symptoms (Hart & Thompson, 1996). Finally, one study found that after controlling for gender, adolescents' abilities to communicate assertively were negatively related to depressive symptoms (Kobak & Ferenz-Gillies, 1995). It is interesting to note

that gender itself did not predict depressive symptoms in any of the studies cited above (Aube et al., 2000; Hart & Thompson, 1996); (Kobak & Ferenz-Gillies, 1995).

Thus, it may be that feminine traits themselves do not put adolescents at risk for depressive symptomatology, but, rather, the negative aspects of a relational orientation (e.g., when one sacrifices the self for the sake of relationships), are risk factors for depression. Therefore, if the negative aspects of relational characteristics are predictive of depressive symptoms, it is likely that loss of voice, when girls lose their sense of selves, will predict depressive symptomatology.

Research has also demonstrated that during adolescence, boys and girls experience depression in different ways, and with different symptoms. One study that performed a factor analysis on the Children's Depression Inventory (Kovacs, 1992) found gender differences on each of the six factors; the most notable difference was that adolescent girls experienced more symptoms of depression related to low self-concept than did adolescent boys (Donnelly & Wilson, 1994). In addition, when adolescents were asked if they experienced anger when depressed, and, if so, who was the target of their anger, girls were more likely than boys to report more anger toward themselves than towards others, indicating that girls are more likely than boys to internalize their anger (Renouf & Harter, 1990).

While only three studies have examined the relationship between level of voice and depression in adolescence, these studies have all found that depressive symptoms were negatively correlated with level of voice; that is, as level of voice declined, depressive symptoms increased (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Harter et al., 1996a; Tolman & Porche, 2000).

In summary, there is abundant evidence that girls experience greater depressive symptomatology in adolescence than do boys (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Petersen et al., 1991; Renouf & Harter, 1990; Wichstrom, 1999); some theory suggests that for women, depression may result from the loss of connection with others, and dependence upon personal relationships (Blatt & Maroudas, 1992; Jack, 1991). Studies have found that aspects of a lack of mutuality in relationships (e.g., ruminating and silencing of the self) were predictors of depressive symptomatology (Aube et al., 2000; Hart & Thompson, 1996), as was the lack of ability to communicate assertively (Kobak & Ferenz-Gillies, 1995). In addition, preliminary results from the three studies examining the relationship between loss of voice and depressive symptomatology in adolescent girls found that the two constructs were significantly related to each other (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Harter et al., 1996a; Tolman & Porche, 2000).

Therefore, given evidence of a relationship between level of voice and depressive symptomatology discussed above, it seems possible that level of voice may be related to depressive symptomatology. The current study examined this relationship (see Pathway F, Figure 1). While there is preliminary evidence, as discussed above, of a relationship between level of voice and depression, the current study contributed by examining different settings and contexts of voice. Another measure of psychological well-being, self-esteem, may also be affected by level of voice, given preliminary evidence from current research on gender differences in self-esteem (Harter & Marold, 1994; Rose & Montemayor, 1994).

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is highly relevant to the construct of level of voice. Some theory suggests that when girls enter adolescence, and become aware of the conflict between being “good women” and the pressure to achieve, both academically and emotionally, they subsequently become less able to voice their anger, especially in public settings (L.M. Brown, 1998; L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan et al., 1990). Girls learn that their anger is not socially acceptable, and, furthermore, their anger could threaten their relationships (L.M. Brown, 1998). Therefore, it is possible that if girls have low levels of voice, then they will internalize their feelings of being silenced, and have lower self-esteem.

Brown (1998) notes that this anger is often justified, and thus when girls are unable to voice their anger, they internalize their feelings, and start to doubt themselves. In her book, Brown gives an example of this mechanism. Middle-school boys receive preferential treatment in the classroom over girls. Although the girls in her study, within their all-female small group, all discussed how they do not feel listened to by their teachers, when asked if they felt that the teachers discriminated in the classroom based on gender, the girls were unable to acknowledge the gender discrimination, and instead, told Brown that it must be their fault, and that they should speak louder in the classroom. By doing this, these girls then created a double-bind for themselves: it would be difficult to speak up in the classroom if they did not feel as though they would be heard, and when they did not speak up, they internalized the blame. Brown (1998) argued that this internalization leads to dissociation from valid feelings, and it is also plausible that this

leads to lower self-esteem as girls may continue to doubt their own abilities to be self-advocates, and to be efficacious and create systems change.

Following Brown's (1998) theories, girls should have lower self-esteem than boys, given that she suggests that boys do not silence their own anger to the extent that girls do. Research lends supports to this theory; in early adolescence, girls do have lower self-esteem than boys (Lintunen, Leskinen, Oinonen, Salinto, & Rahkila, 1995; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1975). When different arenas of self-esteem are measured, however, findings differ. One study found that adolescent boys had greater physical competence than adolescent girls, while girls had greater social competence than boys (Cate & Sugawara, 1986). However, the study used a measure of self-esteem that was normed for children, which may have affected the results (Cate & Sugawara, 1986). Overall, research indicates that adolescent boys have higher self-esteem than adolescent girls regarding their social behavior and appearance, and girls have higher self-esteem than boys regarding their higher perceived romantic self-worth (Harter & Marold, 1994; Rose & Montemayor, 1994). This research is consistent with theory regarding level of voice; if girls have low levels of voice, they will be likely to have low self-esteem regarding their social behavior, as described by Brown's (1998) example.

In summary, theory suggests that as result of the relational impasse experienced in early adolescence, girls may stifle their feelings, and especially anger (L.M. Brown, 1998; L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan et al., 1990). Brown (1998) suggests that girls then become dissociated from themselves, and consequently may experience lower self-esteem. Empirical research supports this theory; girls do have lower self-esteem than boys, specifically in respect to their social behavior (Harter & Marold, 1994; Rose &

Montemayor, 1994). Therefore, given theory that suggests a relationship between level of voice and self-esteem, it seems possible that level of voice would predict self-esteem.

The current study examined this relationship (see Pathway F, Figure 1).

Social Support

While research indicates intimacy of relationships is salient in adolescence, social support is another important aspect of peer relationships. The next section will review different types of social support that are important in adolescents' lives, and will discuss the relationship between social support and level of voice.

Social support has been associated with better physical and psychological health (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Flannery & Wieman, 1989; Kessler & McLeod, 1985). Most of the research on social support has been conducted with adults, and only recently has research begun to examine social support in the lives of adolescents (Cauce, Mason, Gonzales, & Hiraga, 1996). Social support is certainly relevant in the lives of adolescents; research has found that social support is predictive of psychological adjustment (Moran & Eckenrode, 1991). Studies have found that emotional support is related to school competence, peer competence, and perceived self-competence (Cauce, 1986; Cauce et al., 1996; Robinson, 1995). In addition, social support can provide emotional support around developmental issues salient in adolescence (e.g., puberty, changes in familial relationships) (Cauce et al., 1996).

One type of support, approval from family and peers, was more salient to self-worth than either emotional or instrumental support (Robinson, 1995). In general, research has indicated that approval social support from parents, classmates, and close friends predicts depression (Harter, Marold, & Whitesell, 1992), and is a strong predictor

of self-esteem (Harter et al., 1992; Harter, Stocker, & Robinson, 1996b). Approval from others is important in that “any form of support that clearly communicates that others approve of the self may be internalized as positive feelings toward the self” (Robinson, 1995, p. 255). Therefore, self-worth (or self-approval) is derived from internalization of approval from others (Harter et al., 1992).

Approval support, or feeling validated, is related to true self behavior; one study found that the ability to be authentic in relationships was significantly correlated to feeling validated within the relationship (Harter et al., 1997b). In addition, as discussed earlier, lack of validation from others was a reason that adolescents cited for false-self behavior (Harter et al., 1996a). Research also indicates that individuals who identified themselves as having a mutual style in their intimate relationships and identified their partners as also having a mutual style had the highest levels of validation within their relationships (Harter et al., 1997b).

In adolescence, it is important to distinguish between different sources of social support, such as friends and family, given the evidence that friends become increasingly more important in adolescence (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992; Procidano & Heller, 1983). Studies have found differential effects for different sources of social support. One study found that family social support was related to parental attachment (Cauce et al., 1996). Harter and her colleagues examined validation support from four different sources of support. They found that validation support was predictive of self-worth, and that this was significantly stronger when sources, or contexts, were the same, indicating context-specific social support (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1998a).

Research has indicated that social support is particularly salient in terms of loss of voice; Harter and her colleagues found a relationship between hope about future support and true/false self behavior (Harter et al., 1996a). Their research indicated that hope about future support mediated the relationship between quality of support and true/false self behavior in that hopelessness about future support was predictive of false self behavior (Harter et al., 1996a). In addition, the majority of adolescents cited “approval of others” as the most important reason for their false self behavior, and the second most common reason cited was an alienation process from their true self, due to lack of validation from others. These two reasons accounted for 90% of false self behavior (Harter et al., 1996a), indicating the relevance of social support as a protective factor against loss of voice.

In summary, social support is associated with better physical and psychological health, and is salient during adolescence (Cauce, 1986; Cauce et al., 1996; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Flannery & Wieman, 1989; Kessler & McLeod, 1985; Robinson, 1995). Therefore, although Harter and colleagues (1996a; 1998a; 1997b) did not test for moderating effects of social support on an outcome such as psychological well-being, approval support may be especially salient to psychological well-being (Robinson, 1995), and research indicates that “approval of others” was the most important reason that adolescents displayed false self behavior (Harter et al., 1996a). This suggests that social support may have a role as a moderator between level of voice and psychological well-being. Thus, it was hypothesized that if social support was a moderator of this relationship, it would be particularly helpful for those with low levels of voice. The current study will assess this relationship (see Pathway G, Figure 1).

Rationale

Adolescent girls may be more at risk than are adolescent boys for negative outcomes in adolescence (Petersen, 1988; Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Relational theory proposes that for women, the primary experience of the self is relational, and that females place a high value on relationships. However, relational theory also suggests that it is important that relationships are mutual and reciprocal (i.e., a balance of accommodation and self-involvement) (Jordan et al., 1991; Miller et al., 1997). Gilligan, Brown, and their colleagues propose that girls lose their voice in early adolescence (L.M. Brown, 1998; L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992, 1993; Gilligan et al., 1990). They suggest that loss of voice is manifested by girls' difficulty in expressing their own opinions, and is indicated by the preservation of relationships that may be inauthentic. This theory of loss of voice in adolescent girls has been scarcely researched.

The current study contributes to the current research in a number of ways. First, most of the research has involved qualitative studies, and there is a need for quantitative research to corroborate the qualitative findings (Harter et al., 1998b).

Second, most of the work on loss of voice theory has involved studies of white, middle-class girls (Taylor et al., 1995); this makes it difficult to generalize the theory and its findings to adolescent girls at large. This is salient given the evidence from several qualitative studies that girls from diverse ethnic backgrounds and lower SES may be less vulnerable to loss of voice (L.M. Brown, 1998; Clark, 1999; Way, 1995). Therefore, there is a need for quantitative research that involves girls from lower SES and who are ethnically diverse. The current study directly addressed this need in that it involved a

group of girls who are ethnically diverse and from low socioeconomic backgrounds; this is the first quantitative study on level of voice to involve such a group of girls.

Third, while researchers acknowledge that loss of voice does not occur in all girls (L.M. Brown, 1998; Taylor et al., 1995), there is little understanding of why some girls and not others may be vulnerable to loss of voice in adolescence. Given this deficiency in our understanding of loss of voice, there is a need for research that addresses predictors of voice. The current study directly addressed this need by examining two possible predictors of voice: attachment to parents and gender role socialization.

Research on attachment theory indicates that attachment continues to be salient throughout the lifespan, and that the quality of parent-child attachment is related to competency and intimacy in later relationships in childhood and adolescence (Elicker et al., 1992; Shulman et al., 1994; Sroufe et al., 1993; Weinfield et al., 1997). Although no one has quantitatively examined the relationship between attachment and loss of voice, results from a small qualitative study suggest that quality of attachment would impact loss of voice, and that insecure attachment would be a risk factor for loss of voice (Salzman, 1990). In addition, insecure adolescents, and girls in particular, display a constellation of behaviors that are analogous to loss of voice. Insecurely attached female adolescents, compared to those who are securely attached, are less assertive, exhibit more gender-stereotyped behavior than secure female adolescents (Kerns, 1996; Turner, 1991), and have poorer conflict management skills (Kerns, 1996; Kerns et al., 1996; Kobak et al., 1993; Schneider & Younger, 1996). These are all qualities that might impact level of voice.

Therefore, given the connection between attachment and intimacy in adolescence, and the outcomes of insecure attachment in adolescence, it is important to examine the relationship between attachment and loss of voice. As previously explained, while there is some preliminary evidence for a connection between the two constructs (Salzman, 1990), no studies to date have empirically examined this relationship. Understanding the connection between attachment and level of voice is an important step in beginning to comprehend why some girls and not others may be vulnerable to loss of voice. Therefore, the current study contributes to the extant literature on voice by being the first to empirically examine the relationship between attachment and loss of voice (see Pathway A in Figure 1)

Another possible predictor of voice is gender role socialization; Gilligan's (Gilligan et al., 1990) discussion of the "good woman" archetype suggests that girls who are more feminine would be more likely to lose their voice. In addition, the gender intensification hypothesis suggests that girls become more feminine in early adolescence (Hill & Lynch, 1983); some research indicates girls start to feel pressure to be "perfect" (e.g., soft-spoken, intelligent, etc.) in early adolescence (L.M. Brown, 1998), and that this is related to lower levels of voice.

There is preliminary quantitative evidence that gender role socialization may impact level of voice (Harter et al., 1998b). However, studies that have examined the relationship between gender role socialization and loss of voice had methodological problems in that they either used an outdated measure of gender role socialization (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Tolman & Porche, 2000) or did not examine the independent contributions of masculinity and femininity (Harter et al., 1998b). The current study

improved upon previous research in that it used a more current measure of gender role socialization (Boldizar, 1991) and examined the independent contributions of masculinity and femininity to level of voice (see Pathway B in Figure 1).

In addition, it is important to determine the consequences of loss of voice, if any. The current study examined the impact of level of voice upon three different aspects of adolescent girls' lives: quality of friendships, dating conflict, quality of romantic relationships, and psychological well-being (see Pathways C, D, E, and F in Figure 1).

While research has examined the relationship between voice and psychological well-being, no studies to date have examined the effects of loss of voice upon relationships. Given that level of voice is an inherently relational construct, loss of voice may affect the quality of relationships in adolescents' lives. As discussed earlier, girls in a qualitative study who experienced loss of voice felt that their friendships were less intimate as a result of loss of voice (L.M. Brown, 1998). This study contributes to the current body of research on voice in that it is the first study to empirically examine the relationship between loss of voice and friendship (see Pathway C in Figure 1).

In addition, just as girls' low levels of voice may compromise the intimacy of their platonic friendships (L.M. Brown, 1998), their low levels of voice may also compromise the intimacy of their romantic relationships (Jack, 1991) (see Pathway E in Figure 1). It may also be that level of voice will impact abusive relationships in adolescence; there is some preliminary evidence that loss of voice in women is related to unhealthy romantic relationships (Jack, 1991), and it is possible that girls who are at risk for loss of voice would be more wary of leaving an unhealthy relationship. Therefore, the current study was the first to empirically examine the relationship between loss of voice

and dating conflict (see Pathway D in Figure 1) and loss of voice and the quality of romantic relationships (see Pathway E in Figure 1).

There is preliminary evidence to suggest that loss of voice is related to depression and self-esteem (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Harter et al., 1996a; Tolman & Porche, 2000), although more research is needed. The current study examined the relationship between loss of voice and these two aspects of psychological well-being (see Pathway F in Figure 1).

Research on approval support and emotional support suggests that these constructs are highly relevant to loss of voice (Harter et al., 1996a; Harter et al., 1997b; Robinson, 1995). The ability to be authentic in relationships was related to feeling validated in the relationship (Harter et al., 1997b), and lack of validation was cited as a reason for false-self behavior (Harter et al., 1996a). It may be that this tends to be more true for girls who have lower levels of voice than girls with higher levels of voice, suggesting that social support may moderate the relationship between level of voice and psychological well-being. The current study was the first to examine the role of social support as a moderator between level of voice and psychological well-being (see Pathway G in Figure 1).

The current study also has possible practical implications for adolescent development. Given that previous research indicates that loss of voice is more prevalent in public settings, such as the school, than private settings (L.M. Brown, 1998; Harter et al., 1998b), if girls are at risk for loss of voice, schools could possibly intervene, and create preventative mechanisms to buffer girls against loss of voice.

Hypotheses

Predictors of Voice Model

Given that voice is assessed in five different contexts, with mother, father, teacher, classmates, and best friends, and given differential findings of voice based upon the private context of voice versus the public context of voice (Harter et al., 1997c; Harter et al., 1998b), each model was run twice, for the different settings. The structure of these different settings was determined by an exploratory factor analysis of the different contexts of voice. Please see Figure 2 for the structural model of predictors of voice.

1. Children's attachment to their parents, based upon their self-report, would both be significantly and positively related to their level of voice within any given context of voice. Specifically, secure attachment would be positively related to higher levels of voice.
2. Children's gender role socialization, based upon their self-report, would be significantly related to their level of voice. Given the structure of the latent construct of gender role socialization, it was impossible to know the specific relationships of masculinity and femininity to voice through the structural modeling, and so additional multivariate analyses were performed to examine the relationship between gender role socialization and level of voice (see Hypothesis 8).

Friendship and Well-being Outcomes of Voice Model

Please see Figure 3 for this structural model.

3. Level of voice would be significantly and positively related to quality of friendship.
4. Level of voice would be significantly and positively related to psychological well-being.

Romantic Relationship Outcomes of Voice Model

Given that not all participants will have had romantic relationships, this outcome model will be run separately. Please see Figure 4 for this structural model.

5. Level of voice would be significantly and positively related to quality of romantic relationships.
6. Level of voice would be significantly and negatively related to dating violence.

Additional Hypotheses

Given the paucity of research on level of voice, several additional hypotheses regarding level of voice were considered. These explored the relationship between voice and social support, gender role socialization, dating violence, romantic relationships, and ethnicity. These hypotheses were as follows:

7. Multiple regressions tested the hypothesis that social support would moderate the relationship between voice and depression and self-esteem, corroborating the buffering model of social support.
8. The median-split method of using the CSRI was used, and using the categories of androgynous, undifferentiated, masculine, and feminine, it was anticipated that feminine girls would have lower levels of voice than would masculine or androgynous girls.
9. Level of voice was dichotomized based upon the median-split method into high voice and low voice, and it was anticipated that girls in the low voice category would have more emotional abuse in their relationships and have lower satisfaction in their relationships than girls in the high voice category.

10. Caucasian girls would tend to have lower levels of voice than girls of color, and this would not be a function of SES. In addition, given the different ethnic/racial make-up of the three middle schools (see Table 13), the effect of school was covaried, by controlling for the different schools.

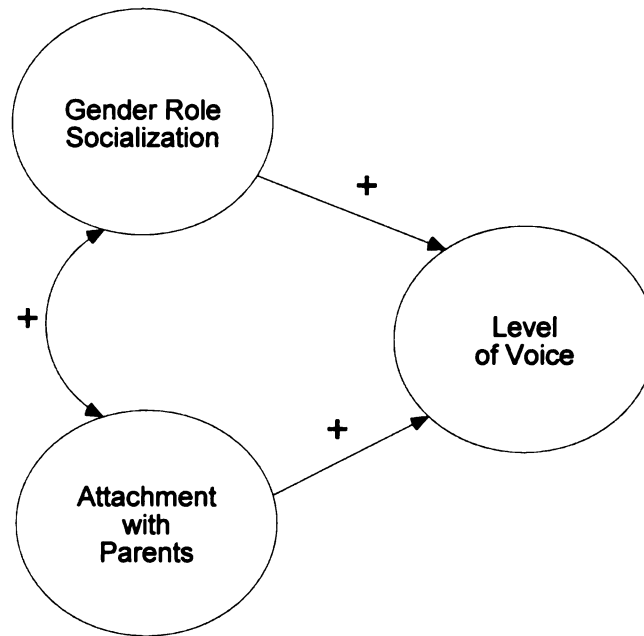


Figure 2: Structural model of attachment and gender role socialization as predictors of voice

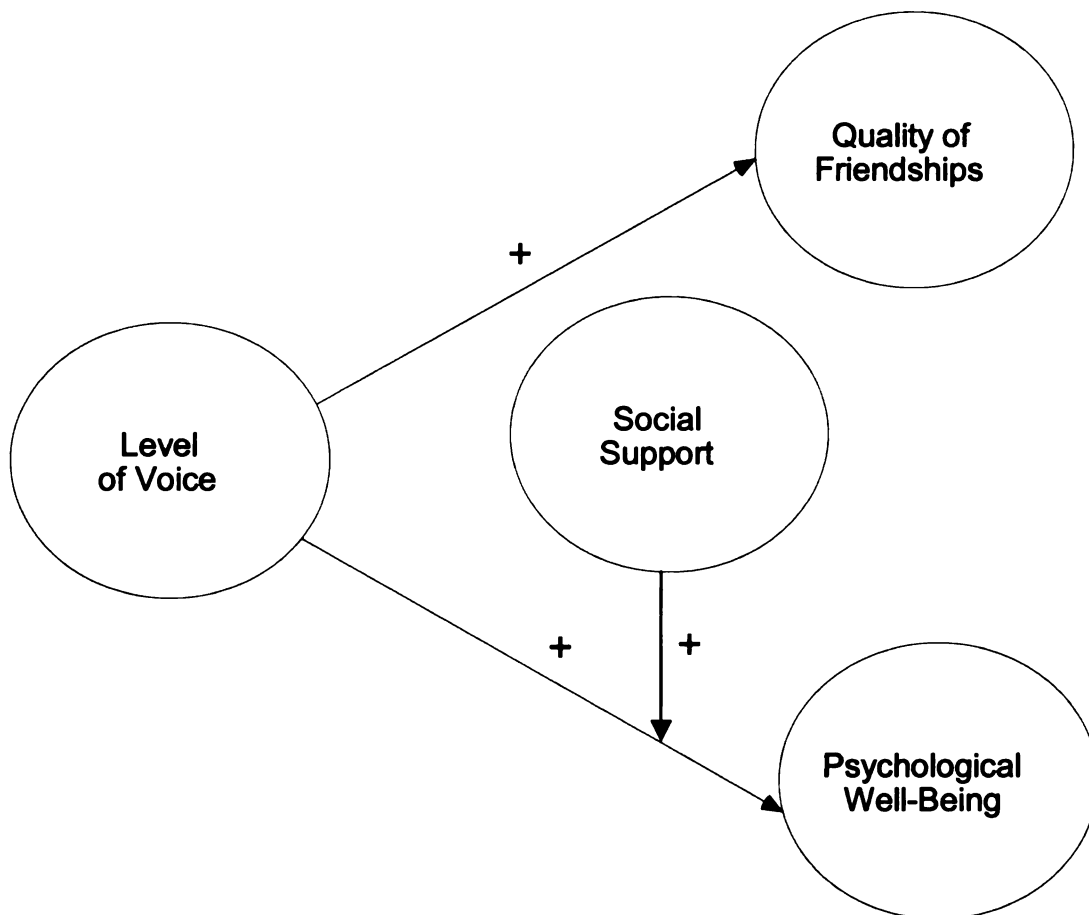


Figure 3: Structural model of friendship and well-being as outcomes of voice

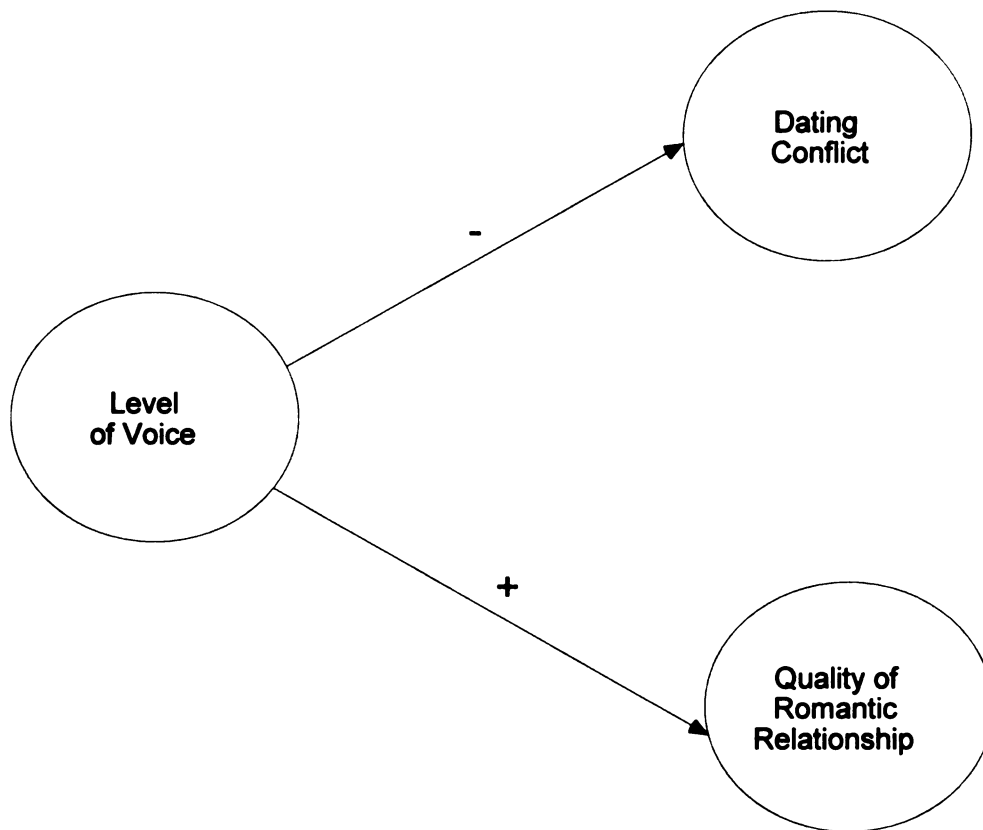


Figure 4: Structural model of romantic relationship outcomes of voice

METHODS

Participants

One-hundred and eight girls in the 8th grade were recruited to participate in the current study (see Table 1 for demographic information). Girls were recruited through the Lansing School District (LSD) in three middle schools.¹ The overall response rate was 57%. The inclusion criteria were that participants had to be at least in early puberty, to ensure that girls were in approximately the same stage of development, because research indicates that with the onset of puberty, girls may experience lower self-esteem, increased depressive symptomatology, changes in familial and peer relationships, decreased body satisfaction, and increase in cognitive abilities (Dorn, Crockett, & Petersen, 1988; Hill & Lynch, 1983; Petersen, Leffert, & Graham, 1995). Thus, to ensure that the findings were related to individual differences, and not pubertal differences, all participants had to be at least in early puberty. All participants met inclusion criteria as determined by the Pubertal Development Scale (PDS-R, Petersen, Crockett, Richards, & Boxer, 1988). The average age was 14.16 years ($SD = .58$). Thirty-seven percent of participants were Caucasian, 31% were African-American, 14% were Biracial, 11% were Latina, 4% were Asian-American, and 3% were Native-American. Three percent of participants' mothers had no formal schooling, 15% had less than a high school education, 31% had graduated high school, 23% had some college, 8% had an associates degree, 8% had a college degree, 3% had some graduate school, and 9% had a graduate degree. One percent of participants' fathers had no formal schooling, 17% had less than a high school education, 31% had graduated high school, 29% had some college, 4% had

an associates degree, 8% had a college degree, 1% had some graduate school, and 10% had a graduate degree. Eighty-two percent of mothers worked outside the home, and 83% of fathers worked outside the home.

¹ There are four middle schools in the LSD; one school did not respond to recruitment phone calls within the circumscribed period of time, and therefore was not part of the current study.

Table 1.

Demographic characteristics of participants

<i>Ethnic Background</i>	
Caucasian	37%
African-American	31%
Biracial	14%
Latina	11%
Asian-American	4%
Native-American	3%
<i>School</i>	
Pattengill Middle School	53%
Gardner Middle School	12%
Dwight Rich Middle School	35%
<i>Mother's Educational Level (n = 100)</i>	
No formal schooling	3%
Less than a high school education	15%
Graduated high school	31%
Some college	23%
Associates degree	8%
College degree	8%
Some graduate school	3%
Graduate degree	9%
<i>Father's Educational Level (n = 84)</i>	
No formal schooling	1%
Less than a high school education	17%
Graduated high school,	31%
Some college	29%
Associates degree	4%
College degree	8%
Some graduate school	1%
Graduate degree	10%
<i>Mother works outside home (n = 106)</i>	82%
<i>Father works outside home (n = 98)</i>	83%
<i>Age (mean)</i>	14.16

Procedure

Teachers of 8th grade classrooms in three different middle schools in the Lansing School District sent consent forms to their students' homes for a parent/guardian (see Appendix A) to give permission for his/her child to fill out questionnaires assessing relationships and self-worth during a 45- to 50-minute class period. The principal at each school determined the class in which data collection occurred, and this was dependent upon each teacher's willingness to participate. At Pattengill Middle School, data collection occurred during either English or Social Studies classes, and the two teachers involved reminded their students daily to return their permission slips. The response rate for this data collection site was 50%. At Gardner Middle School, data collection occurred during a Life Skills Class, and the teacher reminded the students several times over two weeks to return their permission slips. The response rate for this data collection site was 47%. At Dwight Rich Middle School, it was initially planned that the entire 8th grade would be involved in the data collection, but when it became clear that this was too large for the teachers to coordinate, it was determined that two different girls' gym classes, taught by one teacher, would be eligible to participate. The response rate at this data collection site was 75%.

Two weeks after permission slips were distributed, self-report instruments were group administered in a classroom setting, with the current researcher supervising the completion of measures with an undergraduate assistant. All students completed a consent form (see Appendix B). No identifying information about the students was collected. Each participant received a \$10 gift certificate to McDonald's for her participation, and each school received \$100 for school supplies for their cooperation.

Measures

Demographics

Demographics Measure

Information on participants' grade, birthdate, ethnic background, religion, gender, parents' occupation, parents' educational level, and grade point average, both overall, and in specific classes, was collected (see Appendix C for this measure).

Puberty Screening

Pubertal Development Scale – Revised (PDS-R, Petersen et al., 1988)

This 7-item scale was used to screen participants for onset of puberty. This scale differs for males and females; both versions inquire about weight, height, growth spurt in height, growth of body hair, and skin changes (i.e., onset of pimples). However, the female version asks about breast growth and onset of menstruation, while the male version asks about deepening of voice and hair growth on the face. Participants were asked to choose between four stages of development for each marker of puberty; for example, for skin changes, they were asked to choose between *not yet started showing changes*, *have barely started showing changes*, *skin changes are definitely underway*, and *skin changes seem completed* (see Appendix D). The original scale was modified to delete the following question: “do you think that your development is any earlier or later than most girls your age?” In samples of 6th to 8th graders, Petersen and her colleagues found coefficient alphas ranging from .68 to .78 for the PDS for boys and .76 to .83 for the PDS for girls. The coefficient alpha for the current study was .60.

Petersen and her colleagues created a five-category classification of pubertal stage: pre-pubertal, early pubertal, mid-pubertal, late pubertal, and post-pubertal (Crockett, 1988). These five stages are based on the level of development reported on the three indices of pubertal change thought to be most salient for girls and boys. For girls, these were pubic hair growth, breast development, and menarche. For the current study, girls were considered pre-pubertal if they reported no development on any of the three indices, early pubertal if they reported no menarche along with some development of either breasts or pubic hair but not both (i.e., a combined score of 3 for the last two indicators), mid-pubertal if they reported no menarche along with some development of either breasts or pubic hair or more development on at least one of these two characteristics (i.e., a combined score of 4 or more for breasts and body hair), late pubertal if they reported menarche with less than complete breast and/or pubic hair growth (i.e., a combined score of 7 or less for breasts and body hair), and post-pubertal if they reported menarche along with completed development of both pubic hair and breasts (i.e., a combined score of 8 for breasts and body hair).

Attachment

Behavioral Systems Questionnaire (BSQ, Wehner & Furman, 2000)

This 45-item scale was used to assess participants' behavioral systems with their parents. These systems are attachment, caregiving, and affiliation. Participants were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert type scale how much they agree or disagree with each question about their relationship with their parents, where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*. Sample items include, "my parents act as if I count on them too much," "I find it easy to be understanding of my parents and their needs," and "truthfully, my

relationships with my parents are just not that important to me” (see Appendix E).

Within each behavioral system, there were five items that assessed secure attachment, dismissing attachment, preoccupied attachment, respectively. Nine subscales were created by averaging the five items for each combination of the different attachment subtypes and behavioral system (e.g., security-attachment system, security-caregiving system, security-affiliation system, dismissing-attachment system, etc.).

Previous research utilizing the BSQ has found good internal consistency with coefficient alphas greater than .85 for each of the scales. The BSQ is related to measures of adult attachment, such as the Adult Attachment Scales (N.L. Collins & Read, 1990), and Hazan and Shaver’s (1987) Attachment Style Prototypes measure (Furman, 1996). To assess the validity of the BSQ, it was administered to a sample of adolescents along with the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) (George, Kaplan, & Main, 1985), a semi-structured interview designed to assess adults’ states of mind in relation to their working models (Furman et al., 2002). The authors found very similar patterns of results for the AAI and the BSQ; therefore, while the BSQ is a self-report measure, and may not tap into internal working models, research indicates that it may be an adequate substitute for assessing attachment, given that the AAI is a time-consuming measure that is laborious to administer and code. In the present study, coefficient alphas for security in each of the behavioral systems were .77, .73, and .87, respectively; alphas for dismissing were .79, .69, and .87 for each system respectively, and alphas for preoccupied were .67, .68, and .77 for each system respectively.

Gender Socialization

Children's Sex Role Inventory (CSRI, Boldizar, 1991)

The CSRI is based on the Bem Sex Role Inventory, a widely used measure of gender-role socialization. This 30-item scale was used to measure participants' gender-role socialization. The scale is comprised of 10 masculine items, 10 feminine items, and 10 neutral items that are used as fillers. An example of a masculine item is "I can control a lot of the kids in my class;" an example of a feminine item is "it makes me feel bad when someone else is feeling bad;" and an example of a neutral item is "I'm always losing things" (see Appendix F). Each item is worded as a statement about the self, and participants were asked to rate each item according to how true it was for them on a 4-point scale (1 = *not true at all of me*, 2 = *a little true of me*, 3 = *mostly true of me*, and 4 = *very true of me*). Separate masculinity and femininity scores were computed by averaging the responses to the scale items; higher scores indicated higher masculinity or femininity. Boldizar (1991) reported that the coefficient alpha for the masculine scale was .75, and the coefficient alpha for the feminine scale was .84, indicating adequate reliability. In addition, the masculinity and femininity scales were not significantly correlated with each other, indicating independence of the two scales. In Boldizar's study, for girls whose mean ages ranged from 9-13 years of age, the mean score for the masculinity subscale was 2.69 and for the femininity subscale was 3.10.

In the current study, the CSRI was examined in two different ways: first, the averages of the masculinity subscale and the femininity subscale were used in the structural equation modeling. Because findings based on classifications may mask the individual contributions of masculinity and femininity, it is important to examine the

individual continuous scores, as these may be more meaningful (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Indeed, in her initial validation study, Boldizar (1991) first examined masculinity and femininity on a continuum, and then examined the CSRI using the median-split methods; while she found significant results that indicated that androgynous children were better adjusted, she suggested that their high scores in masculinity were the foundation of the significant results.

Second, the CSRI was scored using the median-split method first proposed by Bem and used frequently (e.g., Spence et al., 1975), in order to parse out the individual contributions of masculinity and femininity, and to compare the results of the current study with previous research (e.g., Harter et al., 1997b). Those that scored above the median for both the masculine and feminine scales were classified as Androgynous, those below the median for both the masculine and feminine scales were classified as Undifferentiated, those above the median for the feminine scale and below the median for the masculine scale were classified as Feminine, and those above the median for the masculine scale and below the median for the feminine scale were classified as Masculine. In the current scale, the coefficient alpha was .78 for the masculinity subscale was .78 and .79 for the femininity subscale.

Voice

Inauthentic Self in Relationships Scale (ISR, Tolman & Porche, 2000)

This ten-item measure is a subscale from the Adolescent Femininity Ideology Scale (AFIS), which is composed of the ISR and another subscale measuring the extent of the objectification of one's own body. The subscales are completely independent; therefore, the utilization of the ISR by itself does not compromise the integrity of the

AFIS (Tolman & Porche, 2000). The ISR measured the extent to which participants' have internalized inauthentic relationships with others, a significant part of adolescent female development (Tolman & Porche, 2000). Sample items include, "I express my opinions only if I can think of a nice way of doing it," "often I look happy on the outside in order to please others, even if I don't feel happy on the inside," and "I wish I could say what I feel more often than I do" (see Appendix G). Participants were asked to respond on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*. Scores were obtained by summing the responses for each item, and dividing by the total number of items. The items were reverse-scored prior to summing so that lower scores indicate higher levels of internalization of the inauthentic self. The ISR was negatively related to a scale of mutuality in relationships, thus supporting construct validity (Tolman & Porche, 2000). Coefficient alphas for the subscale ranged from .67 to .81, depending upon the age of the respondents (Tolman & Porche, 2000). In the current study, the coefficient alpha was .62.

Teenage Voice (Harter, 1995)

This five-item questionnaire was used to measure participants' levels of voice. The five items measured the extent to which respondents were able to "express their opinions," "share what they are really thinking," "let others know what is important to them," "say what is on their mind," and "express their points of view." It was administered five times, to measure level of voice in five different contexts: with mother, father, teacher, classmates, and best friends (see Appendix H). The item format for this measure was first developed by Harter (1985a) to reduce socially desirable responses. An example item is: "some teenagers share what they are really thinking with their mothers

BUT other teenagers find it hard to share what they are thinking with their mothers.” For each item, participants were asked to read both statements and decide which statement best described them, the one on the left, or the one on the right. After choosing the statement that best described them, they were asked to mark whether the chosen statement was *really true* or *sort of true* for them. The responses were then scored on a four-point scale ranging from highest level of voice (4) to lowest level of voice (1), summed, and averaged across the number of items. Thus, lower scores indicated lower levels of voice.

Harter reported that the internal consistency reliabilities across the relational contexts that she measured ranged from .86 to .89 (Harter et al., 1998b), and she supported the use of additional relational contexts (Harter, 1995). Tests of construct validity indicated that low levels of voice represented false self behavior, rather than shyness or reluctance to voice private opinions. She reported that the majority of adolescents (69% - 78%) perceived lack of voice as the result of false self behavior (Harter et al., 1998b). In the current study, the coefficient alpha for level of voice was .84 with mother, .90 with father, .88 with teacher, .82 with classmate, and .81 with best friend.

Friendship

Friendship Qualities Scale (FQS, Bukowski et al., 1994)

This 22-item scale measured participants’ perceptions of the qualities of their closest friendship. Sample items included “my friend and I spend a lot of our free time together,” “even if my friend and I have an argument we would still be able to be friends with each other,” and “when I have not been with my friend for a while I really miss

being with him/her” (see Appendix I). The current study used three subscales of friendship quality: conflict, security (including aspects of continuity of intimacy despite problems in the relationship and trust of friendship), and closeness (including aspects of affective bond within the friendship, and reflected appraisal, or how much the adolescent feels important to his/her friend). Each participant wrote the initials of her closest friend, and then rated how true an item was of this friend, using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = *not true* and 5 = *really true*. Scores were obtained by summing the responses for each item within each subscale, and dividing by the total number of items in the subscale. Higher scores indicate higher levels of conflict, security, and closeness. In the current study, the coefficient alphas for the subscales were .66, .86, and .89, respectively.

Romantic Relationships

Conflict in Adolescent Dating Relationships (CADRI, Wolfe et al., 2001)

This 62-item scale measured participants’ conflict with a romantic partner. There are four scales of abuse: threatening behavior (four items), relational abuse (three items), physical abuse (four items), and verbal emotional abuse (ten items) (see Appendix J). There is an additional scale of positive conflict resolution behavior; these items are typically endorsed at a high rate and are unrelated to the abuse questions, yet the authors noted that focus groups felt that it was important to include positive items in the measure (Wolfe et al., 2001). Respondents were asked to rate how often each of the items may have occurred to them with a boy/girlfriend during an argument, and rated the items on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *never* to 4 = *often*. An example of a threatening behavior question is “I threatened to hurt him/her,” an example of a relational abuse item is “I tried to turn his/her friends against him/her,” and example of physical item is “I

pushed, shoved, or shook her,” and an example of a verbal emotional abuse item is “I did something to make him/her feel angry.” The coefficient alphas for the scales in the current study are .66, .52, .83, and .82, respectively. Scale scores were computed for each scale separately by dichotomously coding each item if it had occurred or not, and then summing across all of the items in a given subscale.

Romantic Relationship Satisfaction (Levesque, 1993)

This 58-item measure assessed participants’ satisfaction with their romantic relationships (if they had a current or former romantic relationship) and measured their relationship experiences on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 6 = *Strongly Agree*. A sample item from the satisfaction scale is “our relationship has met my best expectations”; the coefficient alpha reported for this scale was .88 (Levesque, 1993), and was .92 in the current study. The scale score was computed by averaging the item responses. After the 5-item satisfaction scale, twelve different dimensions of relationships are measured: togetherness, possessiveness, growth, communication, exhilaration, toleration, passion, appreciation, emotional support, painfulness, commitment, and specialness (see Appendix K). The questions for each dimension assess what the individual gives and gets from the relationship. A sample item from the specialness subscale is “I feel that s/he was meant for me” whereas a sample item from the growth scale is “I am pleased when s/he pursues her/his own interests.” Separate scores for each subscale were computed by averaging the item responses. All items include both gender pronouns for inclusion of heterosexual and homosexual relationships. A factor analysis supported the scale structure (Levesque, 1993).

Coefficient alphas for the twelve subscales ranged from .61 to .92, indicating adequate internal reliability.

Psychological Outcomes

Children's Depression Inventory – Short Form (CDI-S, Kovacs, 1992)

This 10-item self-report scale measures a variety of depressive symptoms and is a shortened version of the original CDI. For each item, participants were asked to pick one of three written statements that best describes their recent feelings in the past two weeks, (e.g., “I am sad once in a while,” “I am sad many times,” or “I am sad all the time”). See Appendix L. A sum score was obtained and averaged across the number of items, with higher scores indicating more severe depressive symptomatology. For the structural equation modeling, the scale was reverse-scored so that higher scores indicated less depressive symptomatology, in order to be consistent self-esteem, and create a construct of psychological well-being. The coefficient alpha for the current study was .82; this scale has been widely used and has demonstrated good reliability and validity.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Questionnaire (RSEQ, Rosenberg, 1965)

This measure consists of 10 items measuring self-worth and self-acceptance. Examples of items include “I feel that I have a number of good qualities,” “I take a positive attitude toward myself,” and “I certainly feel useless at times” (see Appendix M). Respondents were asked to rate their agreement on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly Agree* to 4 = *Strongly Disagree*. A sum score was obtained and averaged across the number of items, with higher scores indicating higher self-esteem. This scale is widely used and has demonstrated good reliability and validity; the coefficient alpha in the current study was .83.

Social Support

The Self-Perception of Social Support – Approval subscale – Revised (SPSS-A, Harter & Robinson, 1988).

This subscale is part of the revised version of the Social Support Scale for Children (Harter, 1985b). It assessed participants' perceptions of how much people in their life approve of them and display positive regard toward them. Participants rated their perception of approval support from six sources: mother, father, best friends, classmates, teachers, and a person with whom they are romantically interested (see Appendix N). A sample item is: "some teenagers have teachers who are really proud of their students BUT other teenagers have teachers who are not very proud of their students." For each item, participants read both statements and decide which statement best describes them, the one on the left, or the one on the right. After choosing the statement that best describes them, they mark whether the chosen statement was *really true* or *sort of true* for them. This response format was structured to reduce socially desirable responses. The responses were then scored on a four-point scale ranging from least supportive (1) to most supportive (4), and averaged across items for a separate score for each source. Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived support. The coefficient alphas for this scale in the current study were .72 for classmate approval, .82 for best friend approval, .83 for romantic interest approval, .84 for both mother and teacher, and .90 for father approval.

The Perceived Social Support Scale (PSS-FR, PSS-FA, Procidano & Heller, 1983)

This 40-item scale was used to assess participants' perceived emotional social support from friends and family. Sample items include "my friends give me the moral

support I need” and “my family enjoys hearing about what I think” (see Appendix O).

The scale was altered from the original response format of “yes,” “no,” and “don’t know,” to a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree* in order to allow for greater variance within the scale and to remove the neutral point. Scores were summed separately for friends and for family, and averaged across the number of items; higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived support. The researchers reported that validity was established by indicating significant relationships between the scales and measures of social competence and psychopathology. In the current study, the coefficient alpha was .88 for friend support and .93 for family support.

RESULTS

All of the participants in the current study were determined to be at least in the early puberty stage, the criteria for inclusion in the study. One percent of participants were in early puberty, 7% were in mid-puberty, 72% were in late puberty, and 18% of participants were post pubertal. Two participants did not fully complete the puberty questionnaire, but one of those was determined to be at least in early puberty from the items to which she responded, and the other participant was observed to be physically developed, and consultation with the participant's teacher confirmed that she was at least in mid-puberty.

Data were initially collected on 125 participants; however, during data collection, 15 girls reported that they did not have a significant father figure for whom to report level of voice, and two girls reported that they did not have a significant mother figure for whom to report level of voice. Given that these relationships did not exist for these participants, it was determined that the data could not be estimated appropriately. Further, comparisons of the correlations between the remaining subscales for level of voice (i.e., with classmates, teachers, and best friends, and the existing parent) were examined, and were found to be markedly different for girls who did not report on one of their parents versus the remaining 108 girls. Therefore, it was decided to exclude the data for the 17 girls, as they reflected a nonrandom sample, and did not affect the focus of the current study.

All data were screened for missing values, and significant kurtosis and skew. PRELIS was used to screen for missing data. The EM Algorithm was used to estimate missing data (1.74%). Several variables had significant negative kurtosis and skew; that

is, the ratio of kurtosis and skew to their respective standard errors was much greater than ± 2 (level of voice with best friend, mother approval support, father approval support, best friend approval support, and friend support). Accordingly, these variables were log-transformed (base 10). Subsequent analysis indicated that the log transformation greatly reduced the kurtosis and skew (see Table 2). See Table 3 for the psychometric properties of all of the variables and Table 4 for the correlation table of all of the variables.

Table 2.

Skew and kurtosis values for transformed variables

	Before transformation		After transformation	
	Skew (SE)	Kurtosis (SE)	Skew (SE)	Kurtosis (SE)
Best friend voice	-2.00 (.23)	5.66 (.46)	-1.12 (.23)	0.42 (.46)
Mother approval	-1.38 (.23)	1.78 (.46)	-0.64 (.23)	-0.59 (.46)
Father approval	-1.47 (.23)	1.53 (.46)	-0.80 (.23)	-0.44 (.46)
Best friend approval	-1.59 (.23)	2.85 (.46)	-0.80 (.23)	-0.23 (.46)
Friend support	-.62 (.23)	1.13 (.46)	0.20 (.23)	0.08 (.46)

Table 3.

Psychometric properties of measures: Means, standard deviations, and range

<i>Measure</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range of Scores</i>	<i>Possible Range</i>
BSQ				
Security – attachment system	3.17	.89	1-5	1-5
Security – caregiving system	3.28	.72	1-5	1-5
Security – affiliation system	3.40	.92	1-5	1-5
Dismissing – attachment system	3.03	.93	1-5	1-5
Dismissing – caregiving system	2.85	.69	1.4-5	1-5
Dismissing – affiliation system	2.23	.90	1-5	1-5
Preoccupied – attachment system	2.25	.72	1.4-4	1-5
Preoccupied – caregiving system	2.52	.72	1-4	1-5
Preoccupied – affiliation system	2.54	.83	1-5	1-5
ISR	3.96	.79	2.1-5.6	1-6
Teenage Voice				
Mother voice	2.83	.89	1-4	1-4
Classmate voice	2.91	.79	1-4	1-4
Teacher voice	2.63	.89	1-4	1-4
Father voice	2.56	1.01	1-4	1-4
Best friend voice	3.65	.52	1-4	1-4
CSRI				
Masculine subscale	2.69	.54	1.4-3.8	1-4
Feminine subscale	2.99	.54	1.7-4	1-4
Friendship Scale				
Security	4.15	.77	2-5	1-5
Conflict	2.34	.86	1-5	1-5
Closeness	3.92	.88	1.63-5	1-5
CDI	1.64	.36	0-1.5	0-2
RSEQ	3.16	.55	1.8-4	1-4
CADRI				
Physical abuse	.69	1.01	0-4	0-4
Relational abuse	.52	.81	0-3	0-3
Emotional abuse	4.07	2.81	0-10	0-10
Threat	.76	1.16	0-4	0-4
Romantic Relationship Satisfaction				
Relationship satisfaction subscale	4.20	1.40	1-6	1-6
Growth subscale	4.60	1.25	1-6	1-6
Specialness subscale	4.32	1.46	1-6	1-6
Composite Social Support with Peers (z-score)	.00	.75	-2.11-1.27	n/a
Composite Social Support with Authority Figures (z-score)	.00	.83	-2.23-1.29	n/a

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
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[illegible]

1. Security – attachment system 2. Security – caregiving system 3. Security – affiliation system 4. Dismissing – attachment system 5. Dismissing – caregiving system 6. Dismissing – affiliation system 7. ISR 8. Mother voice 9. Classmate voice 10. Teacher voice 11. Father voice 12. Best friend voice 13. Masculine voice 14. Feminine subscale 15. Security 16. Conflict 17. Closeness 18. CDI 19. RSEQ 20. Physical abuse 21. Relational abuse 22. Emotional abuse 23. Threat 24. Relationship satisfaction subscale 25. Growth subscale 26. Specialness subscale 27. Social support – peers 28. Social support – authority figures

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Table 4. Correlation table of all variables cont.

	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														
8														
9														
10														
11														
12														
13														
14														
15	1.00													
16	0.22*	1.00												
17	0.85*	0.22*	1.00											
18	-0.19	0.06	-0.14	1.00										
19	0.27*	-0.01	0.21*	-0.69*	1.00									
20	0.01	0.09	0.02	-0.12	0.04	1.00								
21	-0.06	-0.02	0.07	0.03	-0.11	0.59*	1.00							
22	-0.06	0.15	0.02	-0.08	0.09	0.56*	0.58*	1.00						
23	-0.12	0.08	-0.08	-0.06	0.05	0.65*	0.67*	0.54*	1.00					
24	0.45*	-0.10	0.33*	-0.36*	0.33*	-0.13	-0.27*	-0.18	-0.19	1.00				
25	0.37*	-0.26*	0.37*	-0.26*	0.21*	-0.15	-0.19	-0.06	-0.15	0.73*	1.00			
26	0.24*	-0.09	0.19	-0.28*	0.31*	-0.05	-0.07	0.07	0.04	0.78*	0.77*	1.00		
27	0.50*	-0.06	0.53*	-0.34*	0.43*	-0.19	-0.18	-0.13	-0.21*	0.38*	0.37*	0.34*	1.00	
28	0.21*	-0.10	0.18	-0.39*	0.47*	-0.15	-0.30*	-0.05	-0.23*	0.20	0.18	0.10	0.49*	1.00

1. Security – attachment system 2. Security – caregiving system 3. Security – affiliation system 4. Dismissing – attachment system 5. Dismissing – caregiving system 6. Dismissing – affiliation system 7. ISR 8. Mother voice 9. Classmate voice 10. Teacher voice 11. Father voice 12. Best friend voice 13. Masculine subscale 14. Feminine subscale 15. Security 16. Conflict 17. Closeness 18. CDI 19. RSEQ 20. Physical abuse 21. Relational abuse 22. Emotional abuse 23 Threat 24. Relationship satisfaction subscale 25. Growth subscale 26. Specialness subscale 27. Social support – peers 28. Social support – authority figures

* p < .05

Structural equation modeling (SEM) was used to test the hypothesized models shown in Figures 3, 4, and 5. The following fit indices were examined to assess model fit: Chi-Square test, the Goodness-of-fit Index (GFI), and the Root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA). The guidelines for interpreting the GFI are: 1.00 = ideal fit, .90-.99 = excellent fit, .85-.89 = average fit, < .85 = poor fit. The guidelines for interpreting the RMSEA are: .00-.05 = excellent fit, .05-.08 = moderate fit, .08-.10 = acceptable fit, > .10 = poor fit (Bollen, 1989). The SEM analyses informed modifying the model, as needed, to improve overall model fit, guided by the constraints of theoretical consistency.

As discussed previously, level of voice functions differently depending upon the setting (Harter et al., 1998b). To determine if this was the case for the current study, and if so, how setting categories should be constructed, an exploratory principal axis factor analysis, varimax rotation (SPSS), was conducted on the six level of voice indicators (see Table 5 for factor loadings). The factor analysis supported a two-factor solution with mother voice, father voice, and teacher voice loading on Factor 1 (Authority Voice), and the ISR scale, classmate voice, and best friend voice loading on Factor 2 (Peer Voice). Therefore, each of the structural models was run twice, for authority figures and for peers.

Table 5

Factor loadings for level of voice variables

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Mother voice	.51	.26
Father voice	.75	.11
Teacher voice	.63	.28
ISR	.01	.57
Classmate voice	.33	.79
Best friend voice	.20	.49

Results of the Hypotheses

All of the structural equation models were tested using maximum likelihood (ML) estimation. As is customary, the measurement models were tested prior to testing the structural models. In the interests of parsimony and of obtaining appropriate parameter estimates, most of the measurement models were tested by estimating the fit of the entire model, with the latent constructs covarying with each other, and the direct paths eliminated (Schumacker & Lomax, 1992). There was one exception to this. When the overall measurement model was tested for predictors of voice, and nine attachment indicators comprised the averages of subtype of attachment for each of the three behavioral systems, it was found that none of the indicators for the preoccupied subtype significantly loaded on the latent construct of attachment (see Table 6 for factor loadings).

Table 6.

Standardized regression weights for attachment measurement model

	Estimate
Security – attachment system	0.65**
Security – caregiving system	0.64**
Security – affiliation system	0.84**
Dismissing – attachment system	-0.58**
Dismissing – caregiving system	-0.71**
Dismissing – affiliation system	-0.78**
Preoccupied – attachment system	0.10
Preoccupied – caregiving system	-0.05
Preoccupied – affiliation system	-0.06

** $p < .001$

In addition, in another attempt to test a three-indicator measurement model of attachment by collapsing the subtype of attachment scores across the systems, preoccupied attachment still did not load significantly on the latent construct of attachment, and a negative error variance was present, possibly indicating other problems

with the model. As a result, the decision was made to only use the secure and dismissing subscale scores for each of the three behavioral systems. The initial measurement model indicated poor fit for the data [$\chi^2(9, N = 108) = 52.72, p < .01$, GFI = .87, RMSEA = .21], and the modification indices suggested correlating several of the error terms. This was theoretically sound given that the same subtype of attachment was measured in different behavioral systems, and that each behavioral system was represented twice, one per each attachment subtype. After correlating three error terms, the model provided an excellent fit for the data [$\chi^2(6, N = 108) = 6.17, p = .41$, GFI = .98, RMSEA = .02]. This was the final measurement model used for attachment in the predictor models.

Predictor Model for Authority Figures

The measurement model for attachment, gender role socialization, and level of voice with authority figures indicated a moderately good fit for the data [$\chi^2(39, N = 108) = 56.77, p = .03$, GFI = .92, RMSEA = .07]. Please see Figure 5 for the measurement model with the standardized estimates. All of the indicators loaded significantly on their respective latent constructs.

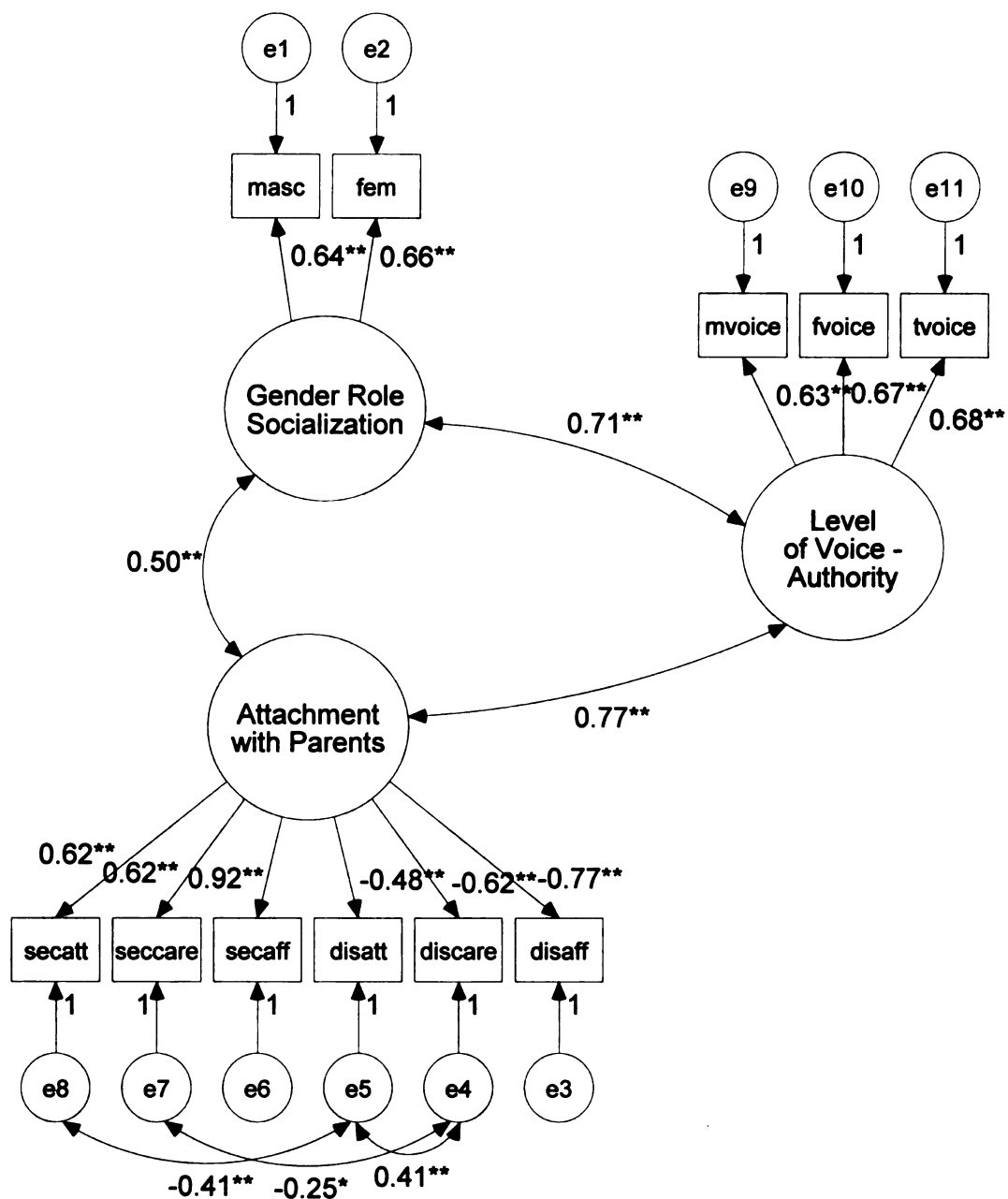
The structural model was also a good fit for the data [$\chi^2(39, N = 108) = 56.77, p = .03$, GFI = .92, RMSEA = .07]. Please see Figure 6 for the structural model with the standardized pathways.

Hypothesis 1

As predicted, a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between attachment and level of voice with authority figures (Path A, Figure 6). The standardized regression weight was .55 ($z = 3.80, p < .001$, one-tailed test). Participants with higher security were more likely to have higher levels of voice.

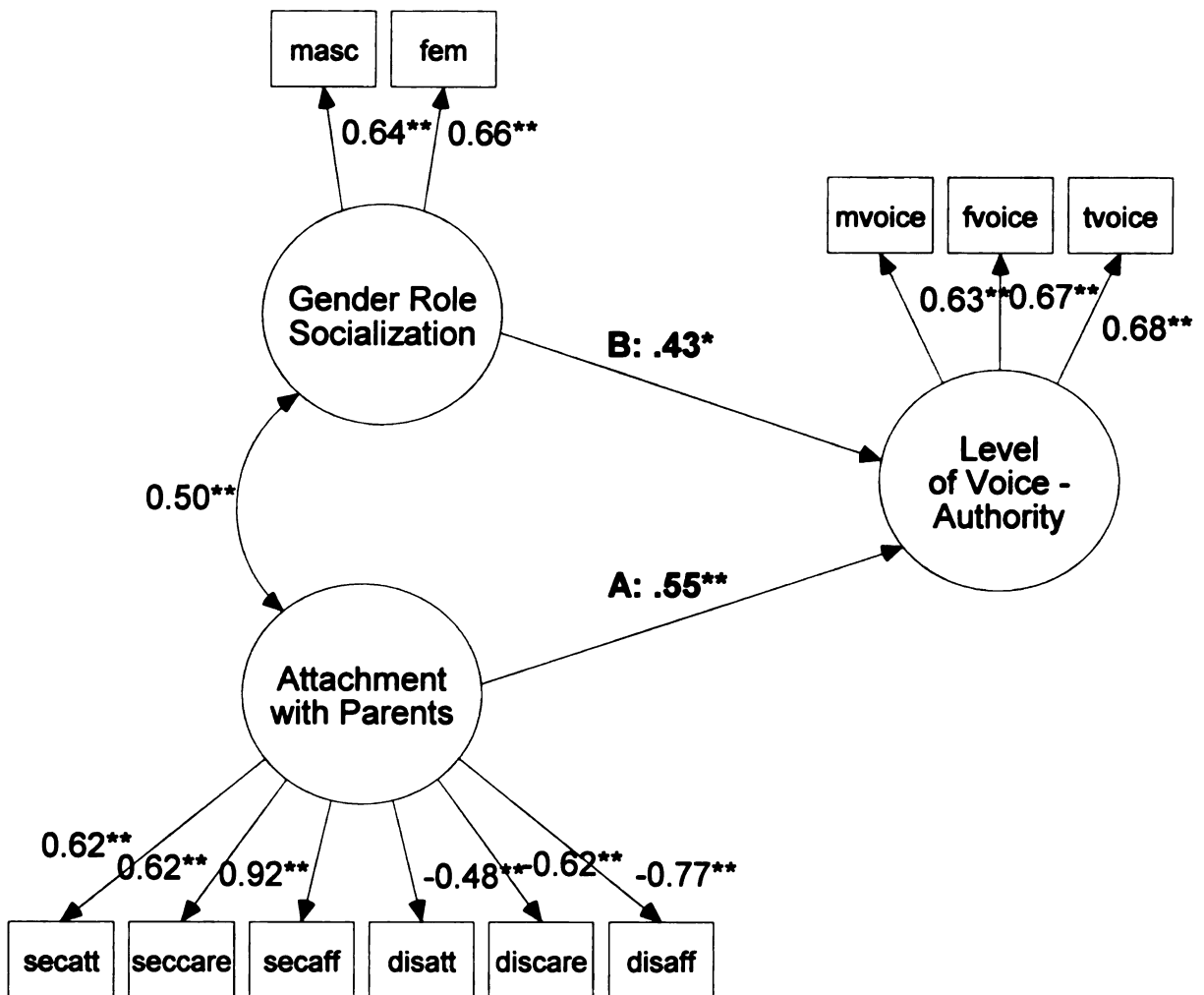
Hypothesis 2

As predicted, a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between gender role socialization and level of voice with authority figures (Path B, Figure 6). The standardized regression weight was .43 ($z = 2.58, p < .01$, one-tailed test). Participants with higher gender role socialization were more likely to have higher levels of voice.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 5. Measurement model for attachment, gender role socialization, and level of voice with authority figures.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 6. Structural model of attachment and gender role socialization as predictors of level of voice with authority figures.

Predictor Model for Peers

The measurement model for attachment, gender role socialization, and level of voice with peers indicated a moderately good fit for the data [$\chi^2(39, N = 108) = 68.52, p < .01$, GFI = .90, RMSEA = .08]. Please see Figure 7 for the measurement model with the standardized estimates. All of the indicators loaded significantly on their respective constructs.

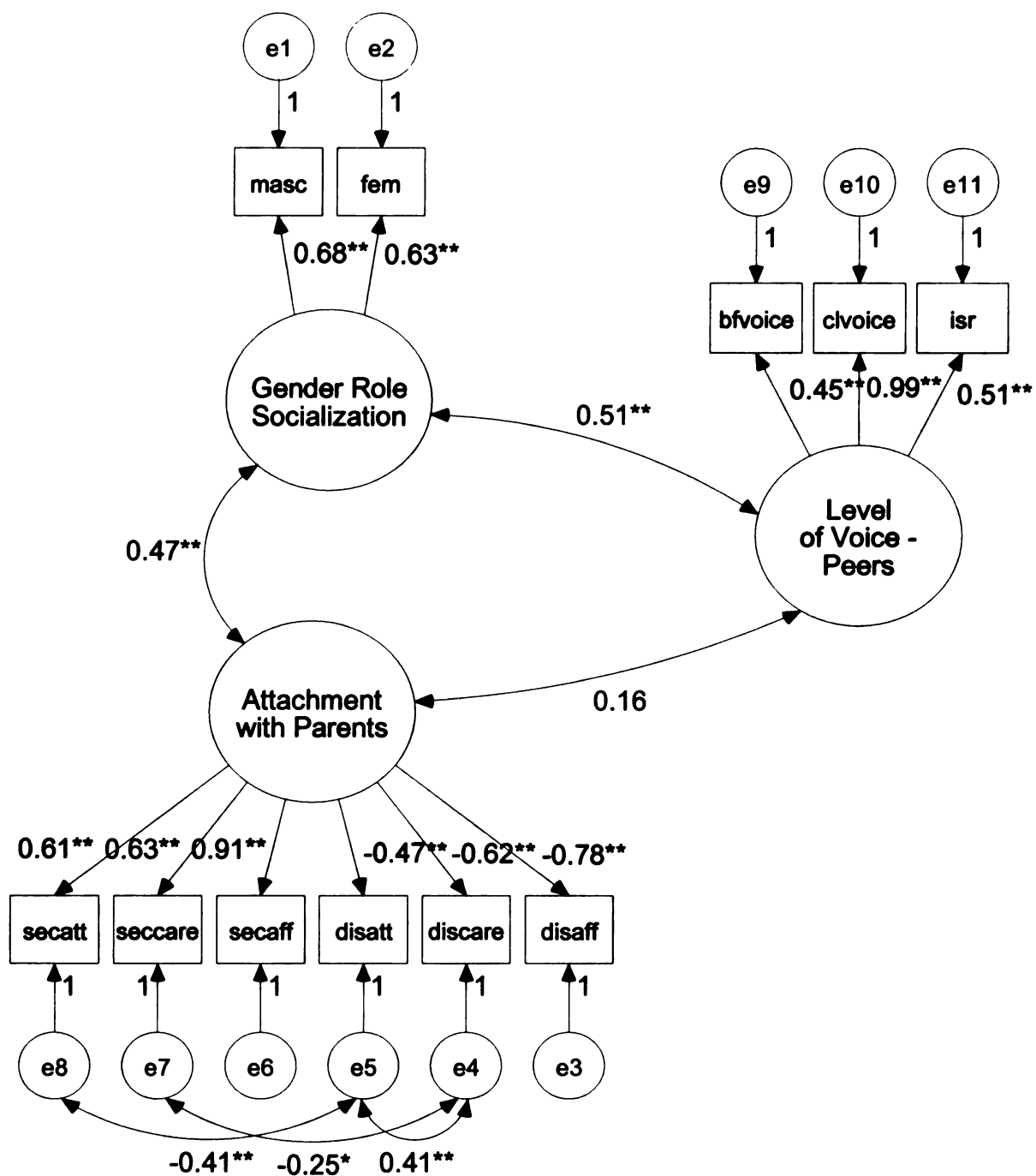
The structural model was also a moderately good fit for the data [$\chi^2(39, N = 108) = 68.52, p < .01$, GFI = .90, RMSEA = .08]. Please see Figure 8 for the structural model with the standardized pathways.

Hypothesis 1

There was not a significant relationship between attachment and level of voice with peers (Path A, Figure 8). The standardized regression weight was -.11 ($z = -.82, p = .21$, one-tailed test).

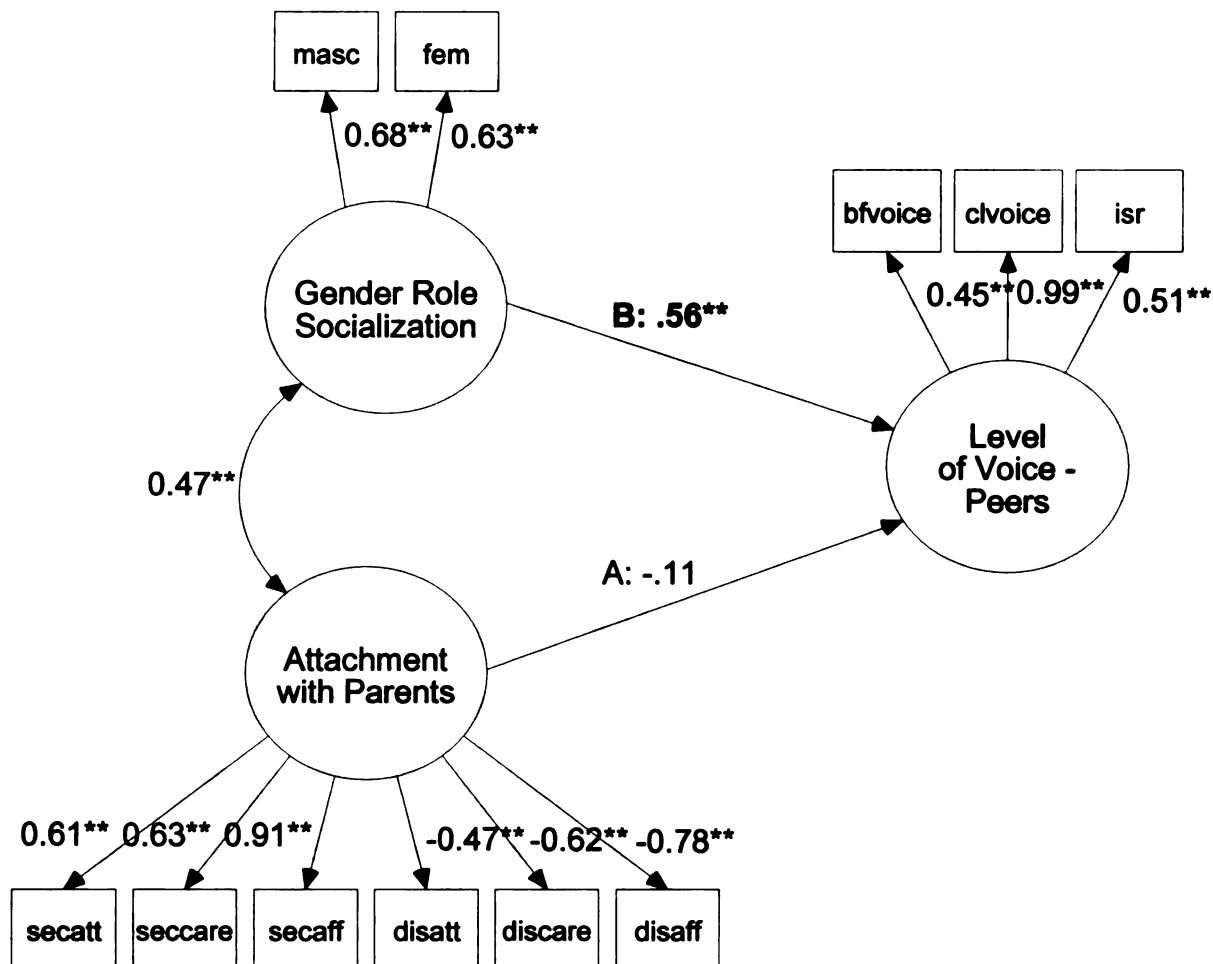
Hypothesis 2

As predicted, a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between gender role socialization and level of voice with peers (Path B, Figure 8). The standardized regression weight was .55 ($z = 3.30, p < .001$, one-tailed test). Participants with higher gender role socialization were more likely to have higher levels of voice.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 7. Measurement model for attachment, gender role socialization, and level of voice with peers.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 8. Structural model of attachment and gender role socialization as predictors of level of voice with peers.

Friendship and Well-Being Outcome Model for Authority Figures

The measurement model for level of voice with authority figures, friendship, and psychological well-being indicated an excellent fit for the data [$\chi^2(17, N = 108) = 14.15$, $p = .66$, GFI = .97, RMSEA = .00]. Please see Figure 9 for the measurement model with the standardized estimates. All of the indicators loaded significantly on their respective constructs.

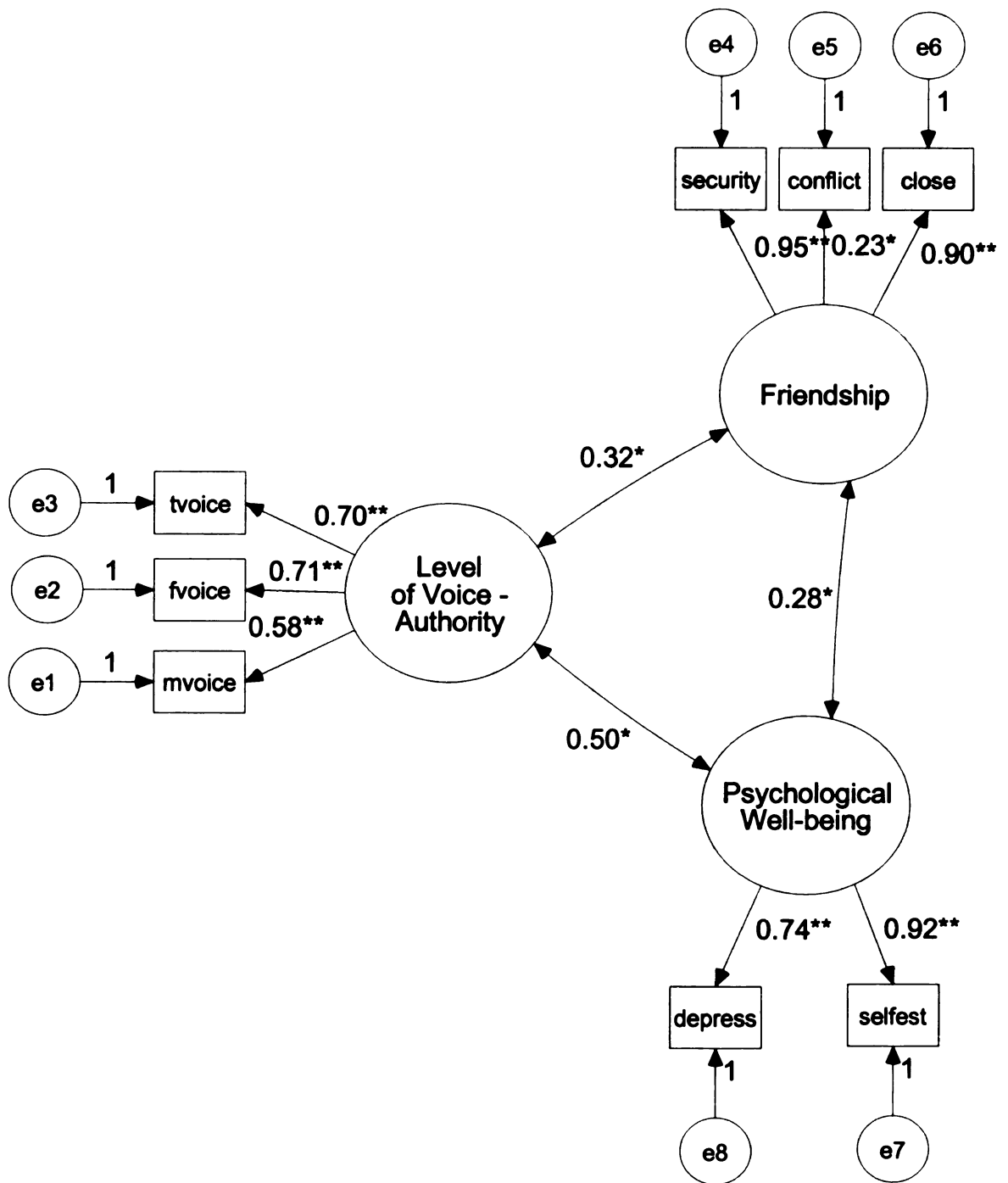
The structural model was also an excellent fit for the data [$\chi^2(18, N = 108) = 15.44$, $p = .63$, GFI = .97, RMSEA = .00]. Please see Figure 10 for the structural model with the standardized pathways.

Hypothesis 3

As predicted, a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between level of voice with authority figures and quality of friendship (Path C, Figure 10). The standardized regression weight was .35 ($z = 2.72$, $p < .01$, one-tailed test). Participants with higher levels of voice reported higher quality of friendship.

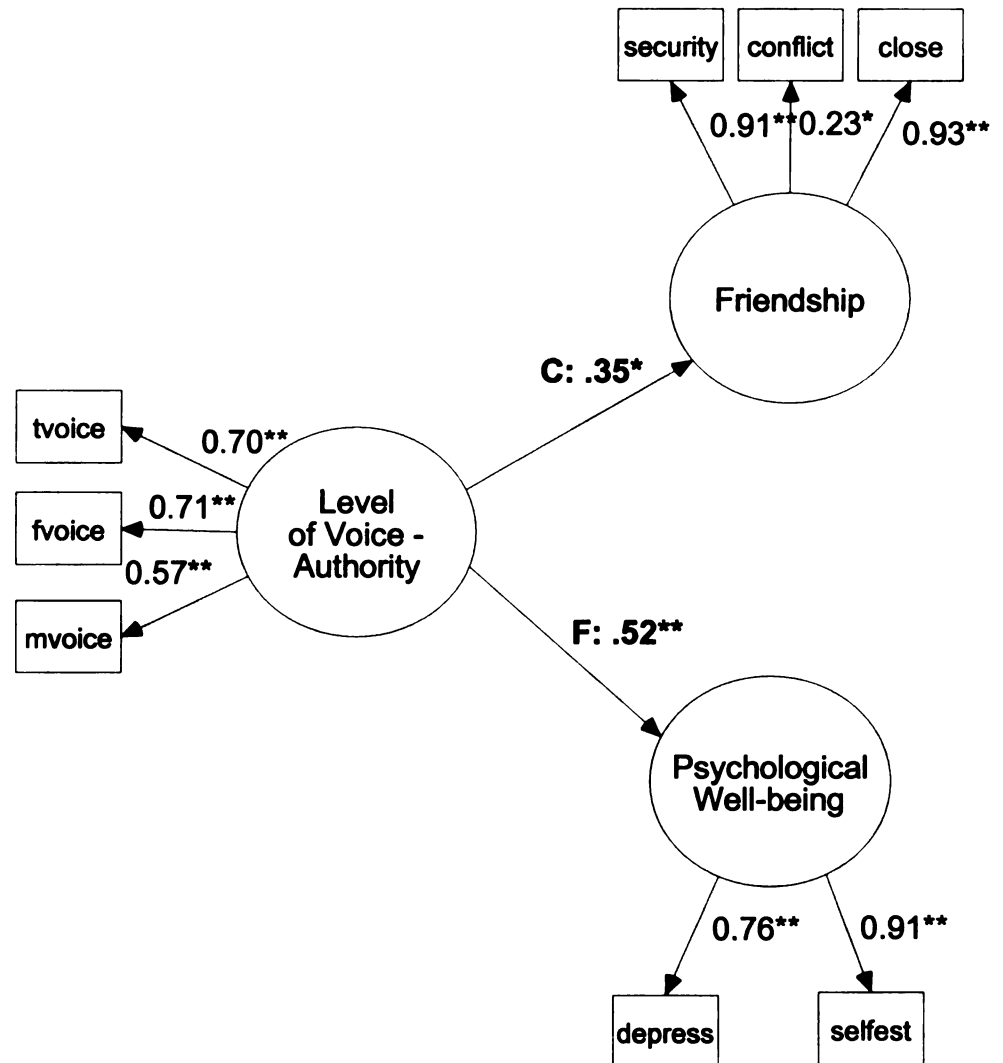
Hypothesis 4

As predicted, a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between level of voice with authority figures and psychological well-being (Path F, Figure 10). The standardized regression weight was .52 ($z = 3.13$, $p < .001$, one-tailed test). Participants with higher levels of voice reported less depressive symptomatology and higher self-esteem.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 9. Measurement model for level of voice with authority figures, friendship, and psychological well-being



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 10. Structural model of friendship and psychological well-being as outcomes of level of voice with authority figures.

Friendship and Well-Being Outcome Model for Peers

The measurement model for level of voice with peers, friendship, and psychological well-being indicated a very good fit for the data [$\chi^2(17, N = 108) = 24.73$, $p = .10$, GFI = .95, RMSEA = .07]. Please see Figure 11 for the measurement model with the standardized estimates. All of the indicators loaded significantly on their respective constructs.

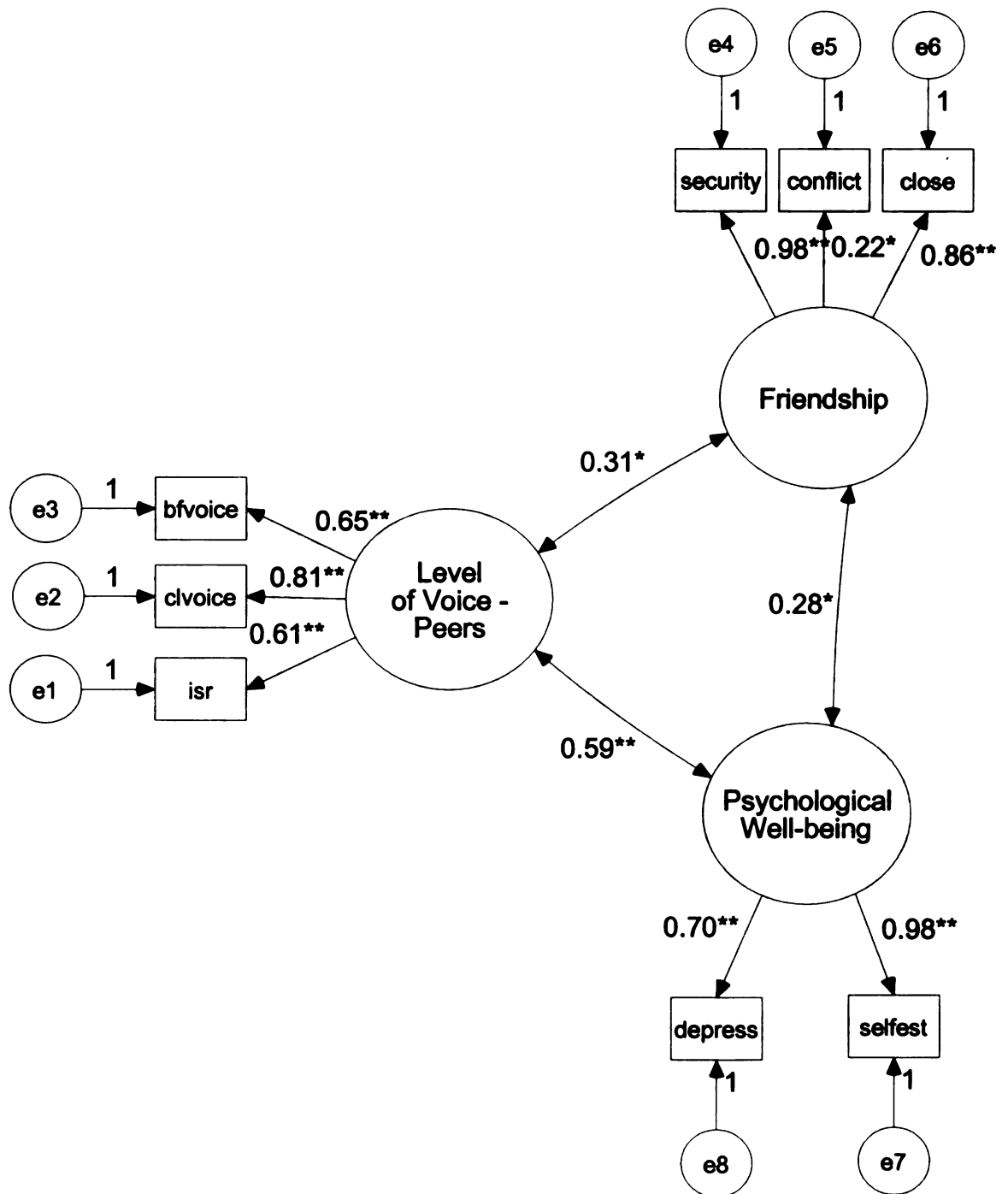
The structural model was also an excellent fit for the data [$\chi^2(18, N = 108) = 25.74$, $p = .11$, GFI = .95, RMSEA = .06]. Please see Figure 12 for the structural model with the standardized pathways.

Hypothesis 3

As predicted, a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between level of voice with peers and quality of friendship (Path C, Figure 12). The standardized regression weight was .35 ($z = 3.03$, $p < .001$, one-tailed test). Participants with higher levels of voice reported higher quality of friendship.

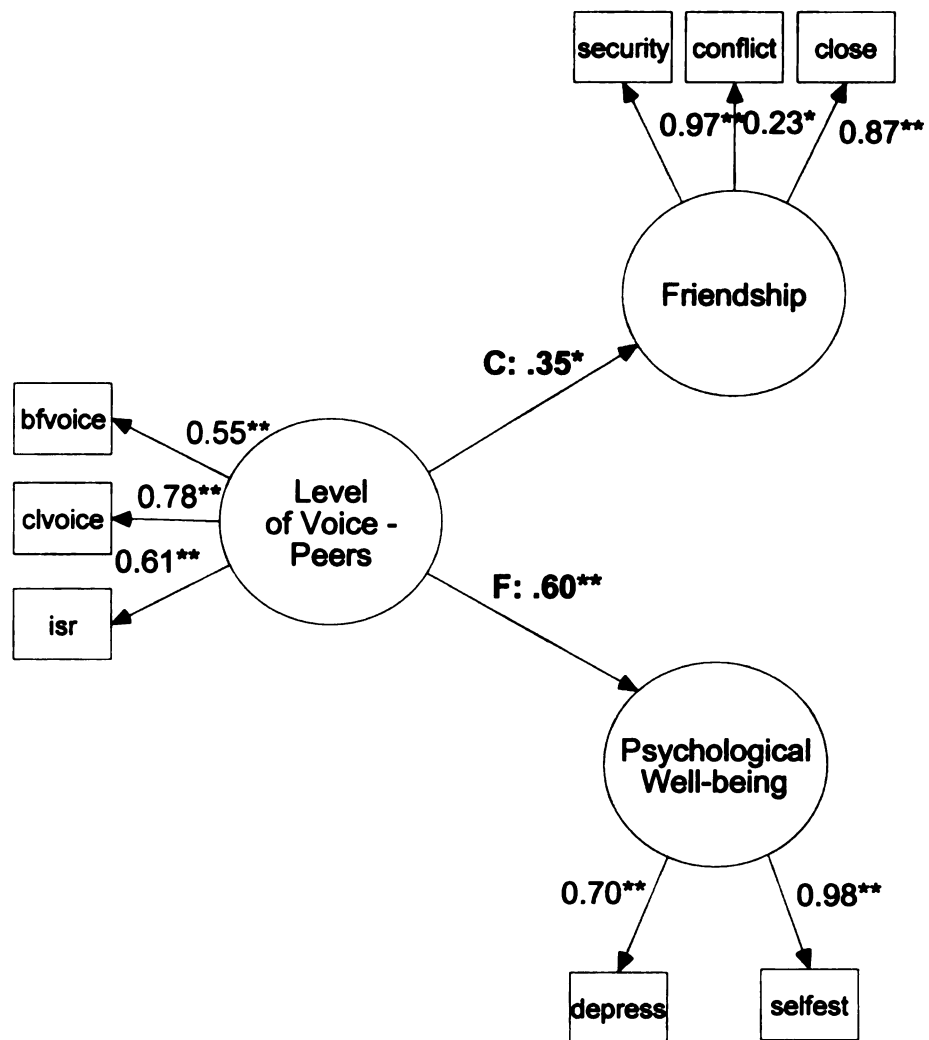
Hypothesis 4

As predicted, a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between level of voice with peers and psychological well-being (Path F, Figure 12). The standardized regression weight was .60 ($z = 3.61$, $p < .001$, one-tailed test). Participants with higher levels of voice reported less depressive symptomatology and higher self-esteem.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 11. Measurement model for level of voice with peers, friendship, and psychological well-being



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 12. Structural model of friendship and psychological well-being as outcomes of level of voice with peers.

Romantic Relationship Outcome Model for Authority Figures

As anticipated, not all of the participants had been involved in a romantic relationship at the time of data collection. Seventy-five participants indicated that they had at least started dating, and therefore they completed the CADRI and RRS measures.

There were originally ten subscales for the RRS, but this would have made 17 indicators for the entire measurement model, violating the rule of approximately ten subjects per indicator (Schumacker & Lomax, 1992). In order to reduce the number of indicators for quality of romantic relationships, the two negative scales, pain and possessiveness, were dropped because they had the least conceptual meaning, based on development of romantic relationships, for 14-year-olds. In addition, these subscales had the lowest coefficient alphas (.74 and .67, respectively). Correlations among the remaining eight subscales were high, indicating possible redundancy among the subscales (see Table 7). In addition, the measurement model for the confirmatory factor analysis indicated that the model was not a good fit for the data [$\chi^2(20, N = 75) = 57.94, p < .001$, GFI = .83, RMSEA = .16]. Before assessing alternative measurement models for the RRS, with fewer indicators in the interest of parsimony, it was decided to retain the satisfaction with relationship scale, given that it was the only scale that specifically measured relationship satisfaction. Alternative models were tested, and the best fit for the data was the model that retained the growth and specialness scales. This model was an adequate fit for the data [$\chi^2(1, N = 75) = 2.56, p = .11$, GFI = .98, RMSEA = .15], and the standardized factor loadings for the three indicators were .80, .83, and .90, all significant at $p < .001$.

Table 7. *Correlations among the eight positive subscales of the RRS*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Satisfaction w/rel.	1.00							
2. Togetherness	0.85**	1.00						
3. Growth	0.74**	0.74**	1.00					
4. Communication	0.77**	0.72**	0.82**	1.00				
5. Toleration	0.69**	0.69**	0.77**	0.82**	1.00			
6. Appreciation	0.76**	0.71**	0.84**	0.83**	0.86**	1.00		
7. Emot. support	0.81**	0.78**	0.78**	0.82**	0.84**	0.85**	1.00	
8. Specialness	0.78**	0.81**	0.77**	0.80**	0.74**	0.76**	0.78**	1.00

** $p < .001$

The measurement model for level of voice with authority figures, dating conflict, and quality of romantic relationship indicated a good fit for the data [$\chi^2(32, N = 75) = 40.86, p = .14, GFI = .91, RMSEA = .06$]. Please see Figure 13 for the measurement model with the standardized estimates. All of the indicators loaded significantly on their respective constructs.

The structural model was also a good fit for the data [$\chi^2(33, N = 75) = 41.91, p = .14, GFI = .91, RMSEA = .06$]. Please see Figure 14 for the structural model with the standardized pathways.

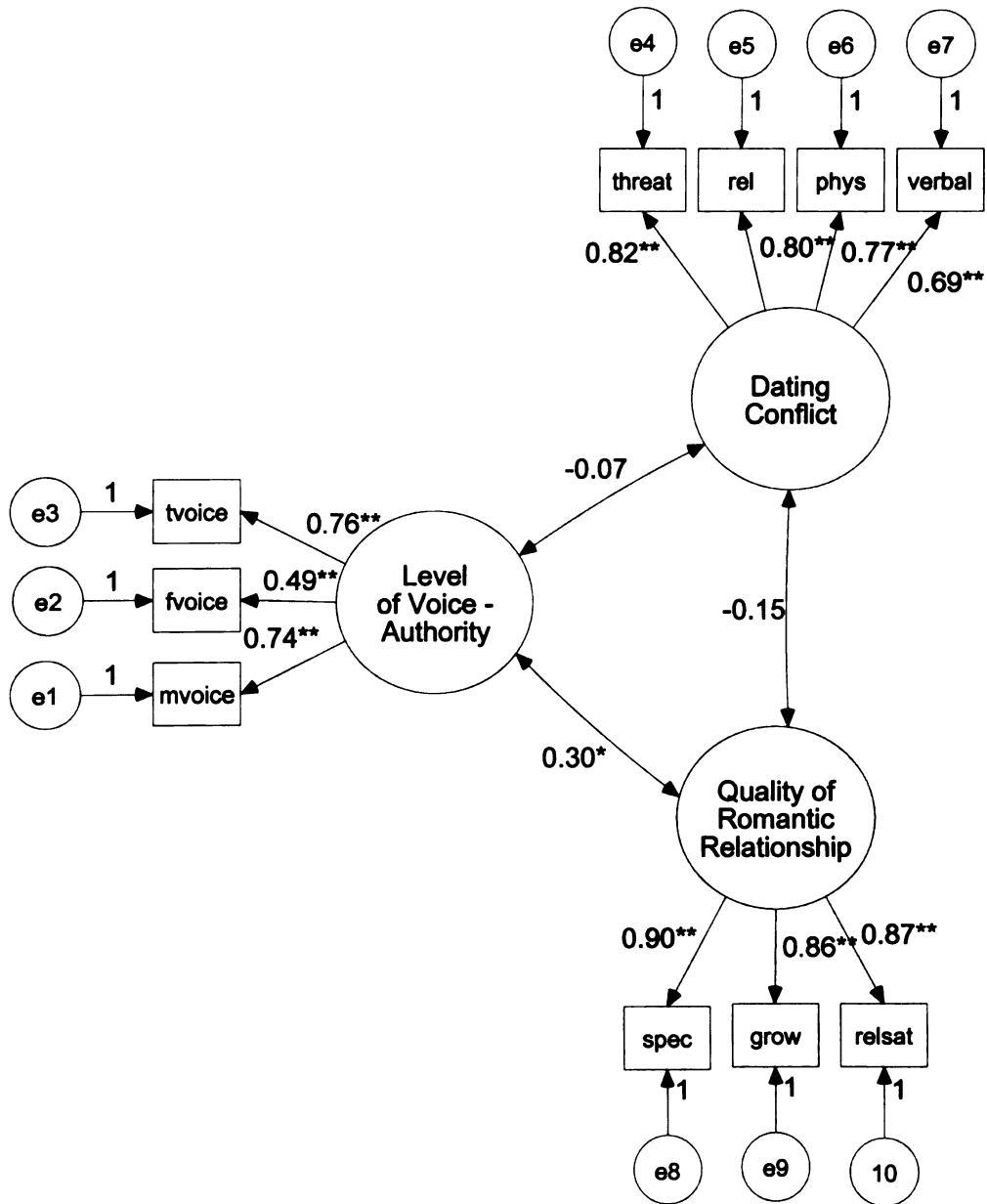
Hypothesis 5

There was not a significant relationship between level of voice with authority figures and dating conflict (Path D, Figure 14). The standardized regression weight was $-.08$ ($z = -.57, p = .57$, one-tailed test).

Hypothesis 6

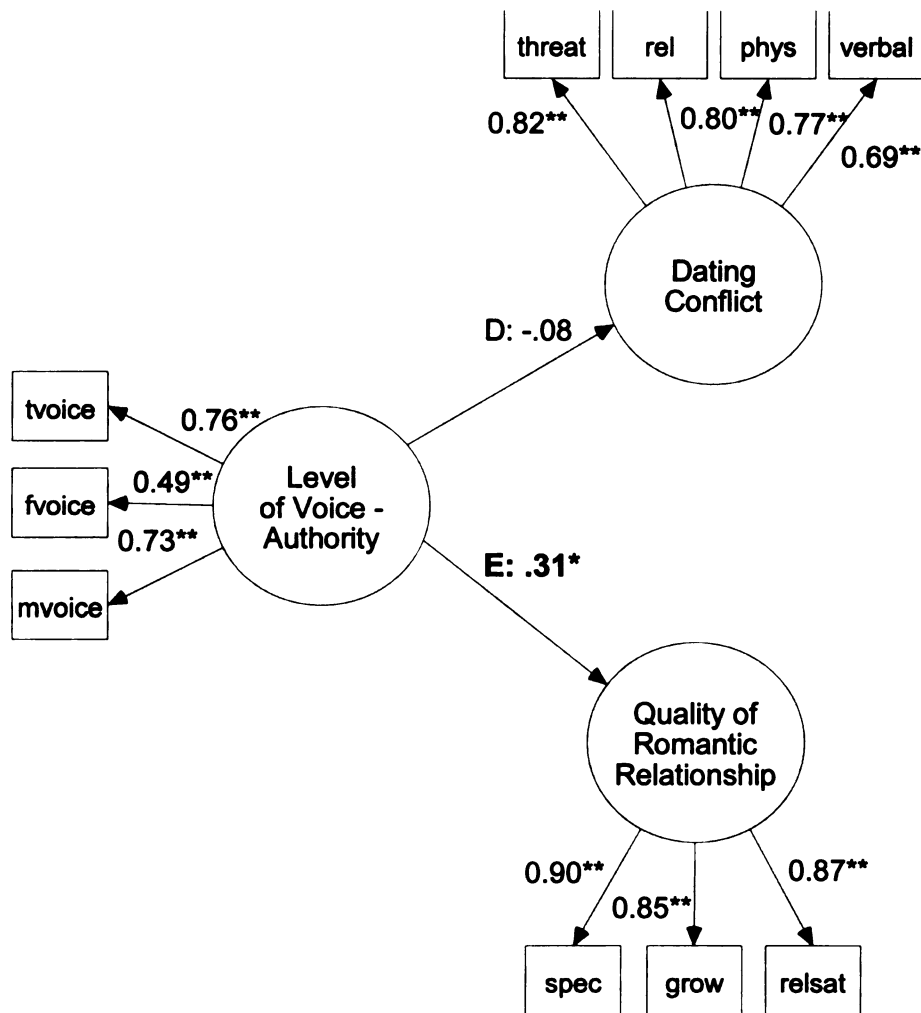
As predicted, a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between level of voice with authority figures and quality of romantic relationship (Path E, Figure 14). The standardized regression weight was $.31$ ($z = 2.11, p < .05$, one-tailed test). Participants

with higher levels of voice with authority figures reported higher quality of romantic relationships.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 13. Measurement model for level of voice with authority figures, dating violence, and quality of romantic relationship.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 14. Structural model of dating violence and quality of romantic relationship as outcomes of level of voice with authority figures.

Romantic Relationship Outcome Model for Peers

The measurement model for level of voice with peers, dating conflict, and quality of romantic relationship indicated a good fit for the data [$\chi^2(32, N = 75) = 40.86, p = .14$, GFI = .91, RMSEA = .06]. Please see Figure 15 for the measurement model with the standardized estimates. All of the indicators loaded significantly on their respective constructs.

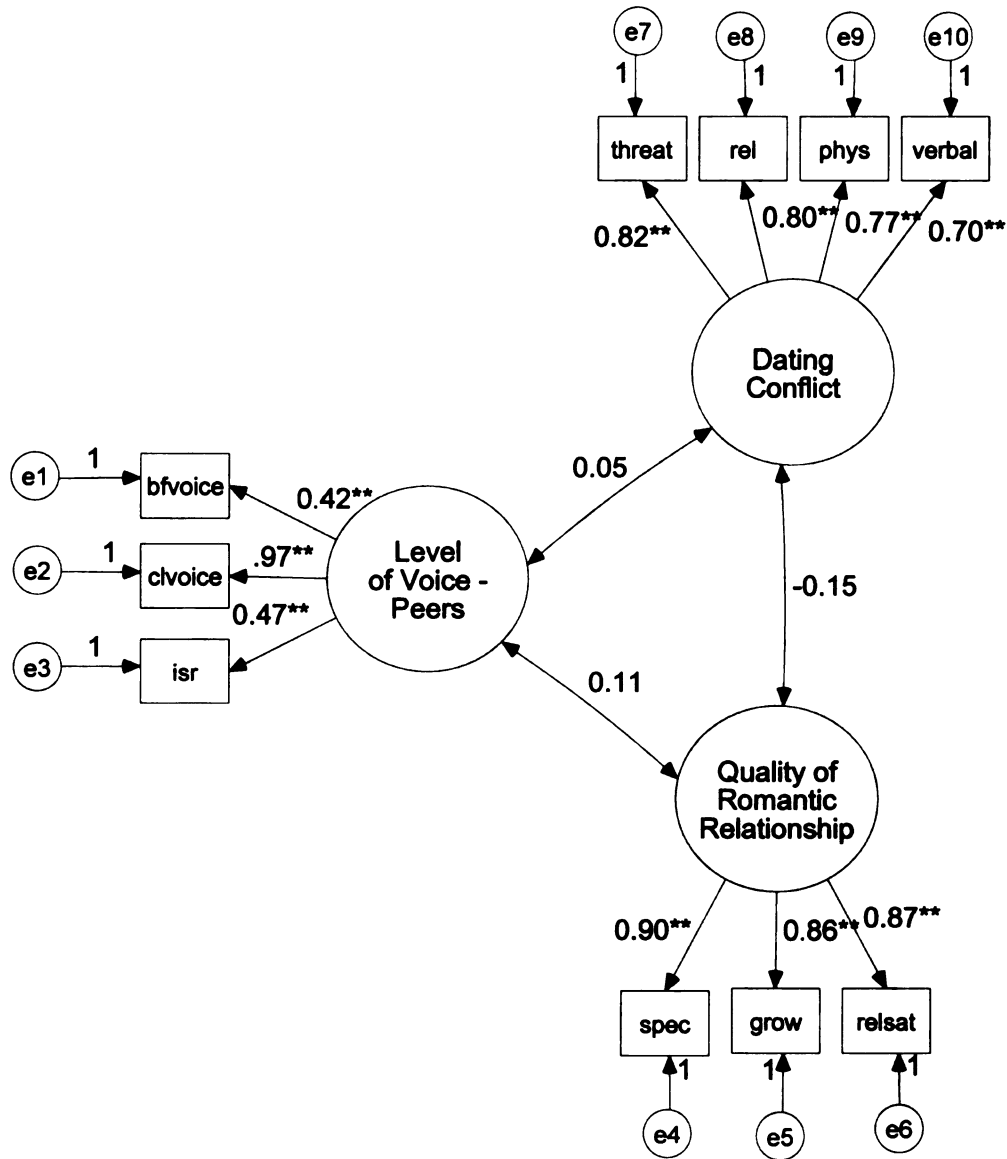
The structural model was also a good fit for the data [$\chi^2(33, N = 75) = 38.93, p = .22$, GFI = .92, RMSEA = .05]. Please see Figure 16 for the structural model with the standardized pathways.

Hypothesis 5

There was not a significant relationship between level of voice with peers and dating conflict (Path D, Figure 16). The standardized regression weight was .04 ($z = .34, p = .73$, one-tailed test).

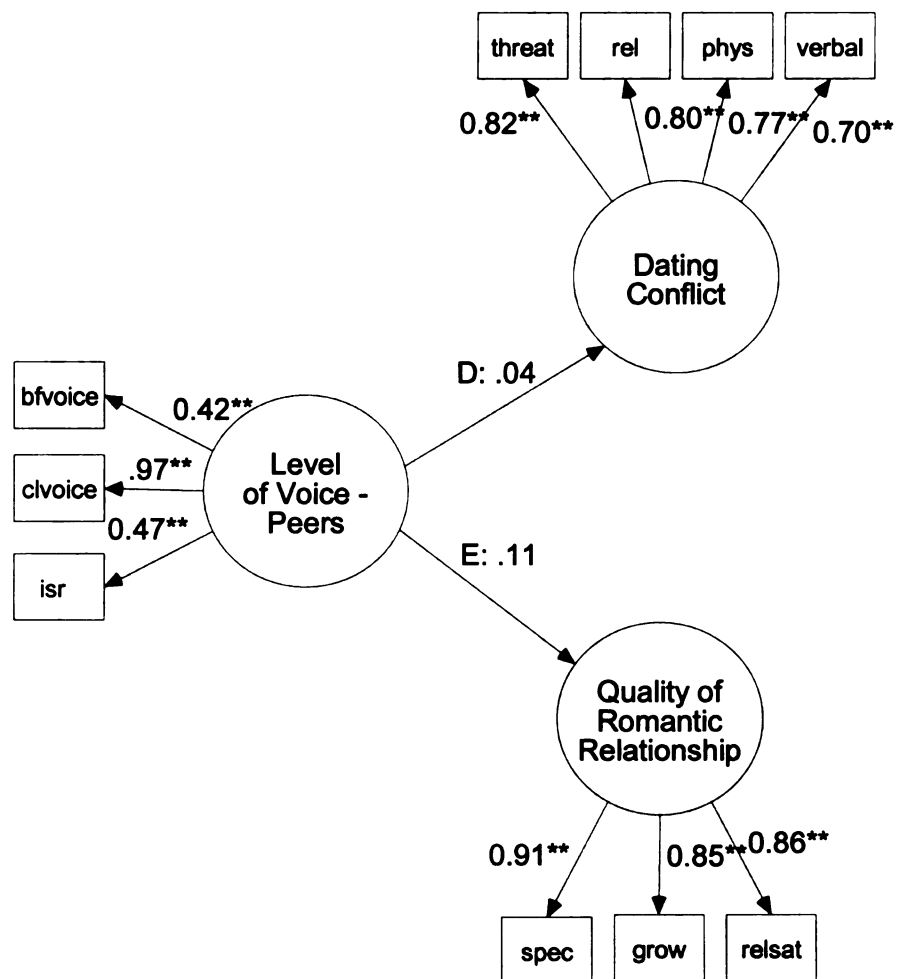
Hypothesis 6

There was not a significant relationship between level of voice with peers and quality of romantic relationships (Path E, Figure 16). The standardized regression weight was .11 ($z = .87, p = .38$, one-tailed test).



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 15. Measurement model for level of voice with peers, dating violence, and quality of romantic relationship.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Figure 16. Structural model of dating violence and quality of romantic relationship as outcomes of level of voice with peers.

Results of the Additional Hypotheses

Hypothesis 7

As previously described, several of the social support variables were log transformed to reduce kurtosis and skew. Following this, all of the social support variables were transformed to z-scores to be on the same metric. An principal axis exploratory factor analysis using varimax rotation was performed in order to determine if the social support variables loaded on similar constructs, with the goal to reduce the number of social support variables that would subsequently be entered into the regression analyses. Please see Table 8 for the factor loadings of the social support variables.

Table 8

Factor loadings for social support variables

	<i>Factor 1</i>	<i>Factor 2</i>
Mother approval support	.69	.37
Father approval support	.77	.04
Family emotional support	.64	.34
Teacher approval support	.50	.53
Best friend approval support	.18	.64
Classmates approval support	.24	.64
Romantic Interest approval support	.09	.67
Friends' emotional support	.24	.48

The results of the factor analysis supported the use of two factors of social support: authority figure support (mother approval support, father approval support, and family emotional support) and peer support (best friend approval support, classmates' approval support, romantic interest approval support, and friends' emotional support). Teacher approval support loaded on both factors, and thus was dropped from further analyses. Composite scores of social support were created by averaging the z-scores for

the relevant indicators. Please see Table 3 for the psychometric properties of the composite social support scales.

In addition, given the factor analysis that supported two different factors of level of voice (see Table 5 for a review), composite variables of authority level of voice and peer level of voice were created by converting the relevant indicators to z-scores, summing the relevant indicators for each scale, and then averaging across the number of indicators.

Determination of social support as a moderator between level of voice and depression and self-esteem was tested using the method suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986). Average level of voice was entered in the first step, average social support was entered in the second step, and the interaction term was entered in the third step. In order to minimize the number of regressions performed, it was decided to only examine the relationship between level of voice and social support in the same relationship (i.e., only regressions with interactions between voice with authority figures and social support with authority figures and interactions between voice with peers and social support with peers were performed). Each combination of voice and social support was performed twice, once predicting depression, and once predicting self-esteem, for a total of four different regression analyses.

Only the interaction between level of voice with authority and social support with authority was significant, predicting depression (see Table 9). As level of voice decreased, those with higher scores on approval and emotional support from authority figures had lower scores on depression ($t = 2.10, p < .05$), while those with lower scores on support had higher scores on depression. At higher levels of voice, there was no

difference in participants' scores on depression (see Figure 17). Thus, there was partial support for social support as a moderator between level of voice and depression.

Table 9

Regression Analysis for Social Support with Authority Figures as a Moderator of Level of Voice with Authority Figures and Depression

Variable	Adjusted R^2	ΔR^2	F for $R^2 \Delta$	β
Step 1: Average level of voice	.11	.11	12.73**	-.33**
Step 2: Approval and emotional social support composite	.17	.07	8.54*	-.30*
Step 3: Interaction term	.21	.03	4.40*	.19*

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$

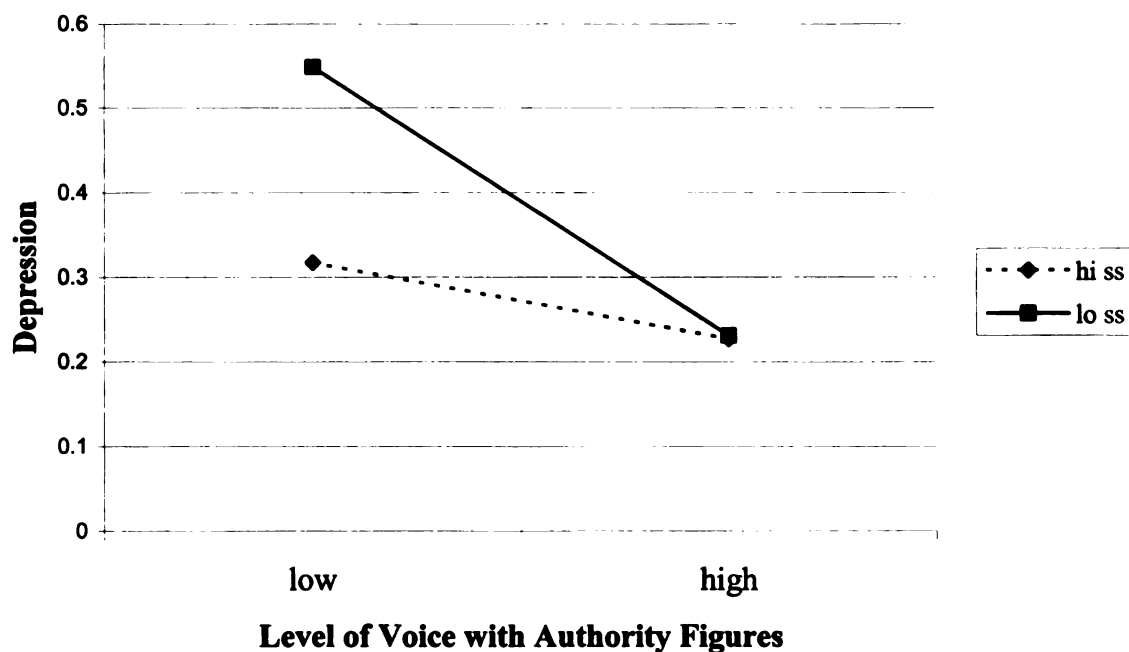


Figure 17. Level of voice and social support interaction

Hypothesis 8

In order to parse out the relationship of gender role socialization of level of voice, the CSRI was divided into categories using the median-split method. The median of the masculinity scale was 3.00, and the median of the femininity scale was 2.70. Participants above the median of both scales were classified as androgynous, below the median of both scales were classified as undifferentiated, above the median of the masculinity scale but below the median of the femininity scale were classified as masculine, and below the median of the masculinity scale but above the median of the femininity scale were classified as feminine. Please see Table 10 for the distribution of the gender role socialization categories for the current sample.

Table 10

Distribution of gender role socialization categories

	%	N
Androgynous	36	39
Undifferentiated	22	24
Feminine	23	20
Masculine	19	25

Following the categorization of participants, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed with gender role socialization category as the independent variable and the average levels of voice in the peer voice composite variable and the authority voice composite as the dependent variables (see Table 11 for mean levels of voice across the gender role socialization categories). Planned contrasts were conducted comparing the androgynous and feminine participants, and masculine and feminine

participants. When Levene's test for homogeneity of variance was significant, equal variances across groups were not assumed, and appropriate statistics were used.

Table 11

Means and standard deviations for level of voice across the gender role socialization categories

	Androgynous	Masculine	Feminine
Mean of authority voice	.36 ^{a*} (.76)	-.07 (.70)	-.03 ^{b*} (.64)
Mean of peer voice	.33 ^{a**} (.55)	.32 ^{a**} (.58)	-.57 ^{b**} (.73)

Cells with different superscripted letters are significantly different from each other
^{*} $p < .05$, ^{**} $p < .001$

Table 12

Correlations of voice with masculinity and femininity

	Masculinity	Femininity
Mean of authority voice	.39 ^{**}	.38 ^{**}
Mean of peer voice	.50 ^{**}	.10

^{**} $p < .001$

Results indicated that androgynous girls had significantly higher level of voice with authority figures than did feminine girls ($t = 1.96, p = .05$), but there was no difference between feminine and masculine girls on level of voice with authority figures. In addition, results indicated that both androgynous and masculine girls had significantly higher level of voice with peers than did feminine girls ($t = 4.87, p < .001$, and $t = 4.39, p < .001$, respectively). Finally, mean level of voice with authority figures was positively correlated with both masculinity and femininity while mean level of voice with peers was positively correlated with masculinity (see Table 12). Thus, Hypothesis 8, that feminine girls would have lower levels of voice than either androgynous or masculine girls was supported for level of voice with peers, and partially supported for level of voice for authority figures.

Hypothesis 9

In order to parse out the relationship of level of voice and dating conflict and relationship satisfaction, the two composite level of voice variables were divided into categories using the median-split method. The median of level of voice with authority figures was .01, and the median of level of voice with peers was .23. Participants above the median of the scale were classified as having high level of voice, and below the median as having low level of voice. There were 54 participants in each category.

Following the categorization of participants, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed with high/low level of voice as the independent variable and relationship satisfaction, physical abuse, relational abuse, emotional abuse, and threats as the dependent variables (see Table 13 for the means and standard deviations for the dependent variables across the high/low level of voice categories). Results indicated that no difference in dating conflict across the level of voice categories, and participants with high level of voice with authority figures did not tend to have higher relationship satisfaction than participants with low levels of voice with authority figures. There was a trend for participants in the high level of voice with peers category to have higher relationship satisfaction than participants in the low level of voice with peers category [$F(1,73) = 3.52, p = .07$]. Thus, Hypothesis 9 was not supported. There was no difference in dating conflict for participants in the low voice category versus the high voice category, although there was partial support for participants in the low voice with peers category versus the high voice category with peers having lower relationship satisfaction.

Table 13

Means and standard deviations for relationship variables with high/low levels of voice

	Relationship Satisfaction	Physical Abuse	Relational Abuse	Emotional Abuse	Threats
Voice with authority figures					
High	4.32 (1.49)	.58 (.79)	.39 (.39)	3.92 (2.77)	.63 (1.10)
Low	4.08 (1.32)	.81 (1.20)	.65 (.65)	4.22 (2.88)	.89 (1.22)
Voice with peers					
High	4.49 (1.27)	.66 (.85)	.53 (.76)	4.45 (2.78)	.68 (.93)
Low	3.90 (1.48)	.73 (1.17)	.51 (.87)	3.68 (2.81)	.84 (1.36)

Hypothesis 10

In order to determine if there were ethnic differences in level of voice, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed with ethnicity as the independent variable and level of voice with peers (ISR), level of voice with mother, level of voice with classmates, level of voice with teachers, level of voice with father, and level of voice with best friend as the dependent variables. To compare level of voice in Caucasian versus girls of color, ethnicity was collapsed across the non-white ethnic groups. In addition, because the ethnic composition of the middle schools are different, school was used as a covariate (see Table 14 for frequencies of different ethnic groups across the three schools). Finally, given that there were only 13 participants from Gardner Middle School, these participants were excluded from the analyses, for a total of 95 participants.

Table 14

Frequencies of different ethnic groups across middle schools

	School		
	Pattengill	Gardner	Dwight Rich
Caucasian	38%	43%	26%
African-American	32%	40%	59%
Latina	22%	12%	9%
Asian-American	6%	4%	4%
Native-American	2%	1%	2%

Results indicated a significant effect for ethnicity with level of voice with classmates [$F(1,93) = 8.20, p < .01$], with girls of color having higher voice with classmates than Caucasian girls. In addition, there was a trend for girls of color to have higher voice with teachers than Caucasian girls [$F(1,93) = 3.13, p = .08$] (see Table 15 for mean levels of voice for Caucasian girls versus girls of color).

Voice with peers (ISR) was the only variable that had a significant effect for school [$F(1,93) = 6.61, p < .05$]. An additional analysis of variance with school as the independent variable and ISR average as the dependent variable confirmed that participants at Dwight Rich Middle School had higher levels of voice than girls at Pattengill Middle School ($M = 4.23$ versus $M = 3.73$).

Table 15

Means and standard deviations for level of voice for Caucasian girls versus girls of color

	Caucasian Girls (N = 34)		Girls of Color (N = 61)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
ISR	3.72	.80	4.05	.75
Mother level of voice	2.81	.88	2.92	.88
Classmate level of voice*	2.59	.93	3.11	.61
Teacher level of voice†	2.40	.88	2.81	.85
Father level of voice	2.58	1.00	2.60	1.02
Best friend level of voice	3.65	.49	3.70	.45

* Mean difference $p < .01$

† Mean difference $p = .08$

Finally, in order to confirm that the ethnic differences were not a result of ethnicity as a proxy for socioeconomic status, a chi-square analysis comparing mother's level of education and ethnicity was performed. Results were not significant [$\chi^2(8, N = 87) = 5.13, p = .74$], indicating that mother's education did not differ across ethnicity. Therefore, there was partial support for Hypothesis 10; girls of color had higher level of voice with classmates and teachers than Caucasian girls, consistent with the hypothesis. In addition, girls who were in a school with a greater concentration of ethnic minorities tended to have higher levels of voice with the ISR scale than did girls at a school with fewer minority students.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study was to empirically examine Gilligan's (L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan et al., 1990) theory that girls experience loss of voice in early adolescence, and to test the proposed theoretical model for predictors and outcomes of level of voice. Specifically, it was hypothesized that attachment with parents and gender role socialization would predict level of voice, and that level of voice would predict quality of friendships, psychological well-being, quality of romantic relationships, and dating conflict. Finally, it was hypothesized that approval and emotional social support would moderate the relationship between level of voice and psychological well-being, feminine girls would have lower levels of voice than would masculine or androgynous girls, girls with lower levels of voice would have more emotional abuse in their relationships and have lower satisfaction in their relationships than girls with higher levels of voice, and that Caucasian girls would have lower levels of voice than girls of color.

Overall, the results supported the hypotheses, and the data was a good fit for the proposed models, suggesting support for a theoretical model of level of voice. In addition, the results from the structural equation models suggest that each of the constructs in each model fit well in relation to each other; that is, parental attachment and gender role socialization both fit well as predictors of voice, and friendship quality and psychological well-being and dating conflict and quality of romantic relationship fit together as outcomes of voice, respectively. The results will be discussed in the following sections, and then the strengths and limitations of the current study and suggestions for future research will follow.

Predictors of Level of Voice

The current study examined level of voice in two different arenas: with authority figures and with peers. Research supports the concept of differences in level of voice across different contexts (e.g., private and public) (Harter et al., 1998b). However, while Harter and colleagues (1998b) constructed their peer and private contexts of voice based on theory and mean differences, the current study based the analyses of voice in authority and peer contexts on both theory and the results of an exploratory factor analysis, thus providing additional empirical support for the existence of different levels of voice in different contexts.

Attachment

In the current study, attachment with parents was a significant predictor of level of voice with authority figures. The finding that attachment is predictive of level of voice is consistent with the theoretical literature. Salzman (1990) found, in a small qualitative study, that girls who had dismissing attachment were less likely to have truly intimate relationships, suggesting that perhaps they might have lower levels of voice. In addition, this finding supports the suggestion that parents help construct a child's autobiography, and may foster lower levels of voice by helping to create a construction of a false narrative (Harter et al., 1997a). Finally, this is consistent with research with adults that found a relationship between aspects of attachment and self-silencing (Remen et al., 2002; J.M. Thompson & Hart, 1996).

As previously discussed, researchers have found that insecurely attached female adolescents were less assertive, had poorer communication styles and poorer conflict management skills than securely attached adolescents (Kerns, 1996; Kerns et al., 1996;

Kerns et al., 2000; Kobak et al., 1993; Schneider & Younger, 1996); these characteristics are similar to ways in which low levels of voice would be manifested in relationships.

This is the first study to empirically demonstrate a connection between parental attachment and level of voice with authority figures. This suggests that the adolescent's primary attachment relationship with her parents serves to bolster level of voice; secure parental attachment was positively related to level of voice with authority figures. Thus, this suggests that the internalization of a secure working model, and the perception of caregivers as responsive and caring, may help girls resist the relational crisis that they may experience in early adolescence. The process of an authentic and intimate relationship with a caregiver may act as a template for intimate and mutual relationships with other authority figures.

Conversely, research indicates that insecurely attached adolescents, who experience their attachment figure as rejecting, deactivate from attachment, thereby minimizing their distress (Cole-Detke & Kobak, 1996). The current study found that dismissive parental attachment was negatively related to level of voice with authority figures, suggesting that as a result of deactivating from attachment, adolescents may lower their voices and thus preserve inauthentic relationships.

However, attachment to parents was not a significant predictor of level of voice with peers, contrary to the original hypothesis. There are several possible reasons for this finding. First, as previously discussed, during early adolescence teenagers begin to spend more time with peers, and spend less time with parents (Buhrmester, 1990). Developmentally, the attachment relationship with the parent may be less salient at this point in terms of influencing relationships with peers. In addition, as part of this

developmental growth, there is a press for autonomy in early adolescence, which also may help explain the lack of relationship between attachment with parents and level of voice with peers. Steinberg (2001) noted “that early adolescence is an important period for the negotiation of autonomy-related changes in the parent-child relationship” (p. 7). Thus, as adolescents press for autonomy, they may be less influenced by their caregivers and more influenced by peers. Allen and colleagues (Allen, Porter, Tencer, & Williams, 2003) found that even by age 13, the quality of relationship with a best friend may have striking similarities to the attachment relationship with the parent, and they suggested that by early adolescence, relationships with peers may be influencing adolescent security even more than relationships with parents. In addition to the normative developmental process of spending more time with peers, the context of the actual family may affect the extent of the influence of family versus peers; research indicates that adolescents in less cohesive and adaptive families are more influenced by peers than parents (Gauze, Bukowski, Aquan-Assee, & Sippola, 1996).

The second reason that parental attachment may not have predicted level of voice with peers is that the impact of the attachment relationship with parents may be specific to level of voice with similar figures. As previously discussed, there is evidence that adolescents see each part of their self differently with peers versus parents and teachers (Harter et al., 1998a). Thus, it may be that the attachment relationship is specific to that system, i.e., attachment with peers might impact level of voice with peers. There is preliminary support for this in the friendship literature; Way and Chen (2000) found that girls reported supportive friendships even when they did not receive similar support at home. In addition, authors of another study that categorized types of adolescents’

friendships based upon different qualities of the friendship (e.g., closeness, intimacy, conflict resolution, etc.) noted that the resulting typologies were strikingly similar to the different attachment categories; that is, in one category, adolescents described feeling close to friends and able to resolve conflict, while in another, they were preoccupied with the friendship (Way, Cowal, Gingold, Pahl, & Bissessar, 2001). Therefore, adolescents' friendships may have similar aspects of the attachment relationship, and, as previously discussed with the results of Allen et al.'s (2003) study, may be more salient in respect to level of voice with peers.

The third reason that parental attachment may not have predicted level of voice with peers is related to measurement issues. It may be that the BSQ, which was used to measure current parental attachment in the current study, is measuring the quality of the current relationship to caregivers, which is not as salient a predictor of level of voice with peers as it is with parents. Currently, attachment is measured behaviorally until middle childhood, and then is measured at the level of representation in late adolescence in adulthood. Cassidy (2003) noted that it is difficult to assess behaviorally current parental attachment in adolescence, and that aside from self-report measures, there are no current ways to measure attachment during this time period. An alternative explanation is that parental attachment that is assessed earlier in childhood would be more predictive of level of voice with peers than current attachment. This would be consistent with longitudinal research that indicates that the quality of maternal attachment at infancy is a strong predictor of social competence in later childhood and early adolescence (Elicker et al., 1992; Shulman et al., 1994; Weinfield et al., 1997), and consistent with research, previously discussed, that indicates that in adolescence, attachment to peers may be more

salient than attachment to parents. Thus, one explanation is that early attachment to parents impacts attachment to peers, but that by adolescence, peer attachment is more salient than parental attachment in terms of influencing level of voice with peers.

Gender Role Socialization

Gender role socialization predicted level of voice with both authority figures and peers. With authority figures, androgynous girls had higher levels of voice than did feminine girls, although there was no difference between feminine girls and masculine girls on level of voice. In addition, both masculinity and femininity were positively correlated with authority levels of voice. This suggests that with authority figures, the dual contribution of higher levels of femininity and masculinity contribute to higher levels of voice, supporting the androgyny model of gender role socialization. In contrast, with peers, both androgynous and masculine girls had higher levels of voice than did feminine girls, and only masculinity, but not femininity, was correlated with level of voice with peers. Thus, for peers, this suggests that higher levels of masculinity drive higher levels of voice, supporting the masculinity model of gender role socialization.

The findings from the current study substantially contribute to our understanding of how gender role socialization impacts level of voice. First, the findings support current research that indicates that gender itself does not impact level of voice, but rather the extent of gender role socialization impacts level of voice (Harter et al., 1998b). Second, while other research on gender role socialization has used either continuous or categorical methods of analyzing the relationship between gender role socialization and level of voice (e.g., Harter et al., 1998b; Tolman & Porche, 2000), the current study utilized both methods; this is advantageous in terms of parsing out the independent

contributions of masculinity and femininity in that using just the median-split method of examining gender role socialization may mask the independent overriding contributions of each (Cate & Sugawara, 1986).

Third, while previous researchers have argued that higher levels of femininity contribute to lower levels of voice (Harter et al., 1998b; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002), the current study found that for peers, higher levels of masculinity contributed to higher levels of voice. The findings of the current study add to the literature by redefining and clarifying masculinity as the salient agent that predicts voice with peers. In addition, these findings depathologize girls' internalization of femininity. This finding is similar to research that indicates that the contribution of masculinity is the most salient predictor of psychological well-being (Boldizar, 1991; Cate & Sugawara, 1986; Lamke, 1982; Wells, 1980).

In addition, with authority figures, it was the contribution of both masculinity and femininity that led to higher levels of voice. This supports the androgyny model of gender identity (Whitley, 1983). The androgyny model "defines individuals as possessing both positive masculine traits such as assertiveness and autonomy and positive feminine traits such as nurturance and communication skills" (Rose & Montemayor, 1994, p. 580).

Therefore, while context for voice does matter in terms of peer versus authority voice, and it is clear that gender role socialization is salient in terms of level of voice, the current study did not support Harter et al.'s (1998b) previous findings that in private contexts with close friends and family, feminine girls and androgynous girls did not differ in their levels of voice, while in public settings, such as in school, feminine girls had significantly lower levels of voice than androgynous girls.

By examining just the categorical results from the current study, it would appear that feminine girls have lower levels of voice with peers than androgynous girls, which would partially confirm Harter's (1998b) findings. However, given that masculine and androgynous girls do not differ on level of voice with peers, and that femininity is not correlated with level of voice with peers, this suggests that the lack of masculinity contributes to low levels of voice. Interestingly, in her study, Harter (1998b) only examined level of voice with the feminine and androgynous categories. The masculinity classification in girls has not always been examined because of the small size of the groups (e.g., Harter et al., 1998b; Rose & Montemayor, 1994), and thus the current study contributed by using all three salient categories of gender role socialization.

Thus, this study does not support Gilligan and colleagues' theory that if girls have internalized the societal ideal of the "good woman," they may be more likely to lose their voice during adolescence, and feel that they cannot have both close relationships and honest relationships (L.M. Brown, 1998; L.M. Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan et al., 1990). This is also contrary to research with a college population which did find that level of voice was negatively correlated with femininity (Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002). It is notable that the participants in the current study are more ethnically diverse than those in either Harter's (1998b) or Smolak and Munstertieger's (2002) studies; only 15% and 11%, respectively, of their participants were ethnic minorities, while 67% of participants in the current study were from ethnic minority groups. In addition, their participants were at least middle-class, which is different from the current study. It may be that girls from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are less likely to internalize the ideal of what Gilligan (1990) argues society views as "good women" and are instead socialized

to not be passive, and to adopt more masculine traits. This may be because, for girls from low socioeconomic backgrounds, their families are aware that these girls are more at risk, and less likely to be recognized and acknowledged by society because they are already disadvantaged by their social class, and thus are socialized to be more outspoken, and to internalize masculine traits with peers (Way, 1995).

Finally, in the current study, 25% of girls were in the “undifferentiated” gender role socialization group. However, because previous researchers who utilized the CSRI with adolescents either did not utilize the groups used in the current study (Aube et al., 2000; Obeidallah, McHale, & Silbereisen, 1996) or did not report their group sizes (e.g., Boldizar, 1991), it is difficult to compare the results of the current study to previous research with the CSRI. However, the means from the current study on the femininity and masculinity subscales were similar to those from Boldizar’s initial study.

Outcomes of Level of Voice

Level of voice with authority figures and level of voice with peers were each significant predictors of friendship quality. This finding emphasizes the dilemma that Brown and Gilligan (1992) discuss; while girls may strive to maintain false relationships for the purpose of maintaining relationships, the quality of these relationships are compromised by their inauthentic qualities. Thus, higher levels of voice predicted higher quality of friendship.

More importantly, the results of this study are among the first to empirically demonstrate that the more that girls can be authentic and resolve conflict, the more intimate their relationships will be as a result. This supports both theory and research that indicates that intimacy in friendship is increasingly salient as children enter adolescence

(e.g., Buhrmester, 1990; Kerns, 1996), and that the intimacy of friendship involves mutuality in relationships (Sullivan, 1953).

Level of voice with authority figures and level of voice with peers were also significant predictors of psychological well-being, comprised of self-esteem and low depressive symptomatology. This is consistent with previous research that found a negative relationship between level of voice and depressive symptomatology (Hart & Thompson, 1996; Harter et al., 1996a; Tolman & Porche, 2000) and level of voice and self-esteem (Tolman & Porche, 2000). In addition, the finding that level of voice is predictive of self-esteem supports the theory that mutuality in relationships would lead to feeling more positive about one's self (Jack, 1991).

In addition, approval and emotional social support from authority figures moderated the relationship between level of voice with authority figures and depression. At low levels of voice, girls with high levels of social support had significantly less depressive symptomatology than did girls with lower levels of support, but at higher levels of voice, there was no difference in depressive symptomatology for high versus low approval and emotional support.

As discussed earlier, adolescents cited "approval of others" and "alienation process from their true self, due to lack of validation from others" as the two most important reasons for their false self behavior (Harter et al., 1996a); these two reasons accounted for 90% of false self behavior. Thus, for participants who did not have high levels of voice, the validation that they received from others in the form of approval and emotional social support buffered, or protected, them from the depressive symptomatology experienced by those with lower levels of support. However, at high

levels of voice, the approval support did not protect against depressive symptomatology because the approval support was internalized, in the form of high level of voice.

These findings help clarify the relationship between social support and level of voice. While one study found that social support and level of voice were correlated (Harter et al., 1998b), this finding does not add to our understanding of how social support may influence level of voice. In contrast, the findings from the current study indicate that approval from others is salient for those with low levels of voice; this external support helps protect against depressive symptomatology. However, for those with high levels of voice, or internalized approval, social support does not influence depressive symptomatology.

Level of voice with authority figures, but not level of voice with peers, was predictive of quality of romantic relationships, and level of voice was not predictive of dating conflict. Level of voice with authority figures was a significant predictor of quality of romantic relationships. It is possible at this early developmental phase in romantic relationships that authority figures are more influential than peers, especially with the modeling of intimate relationships. Thus, it may be that the ability to express one's self with authority figures, and the mutuality that accompanies higher levels of voice, influences quality of romantic relationships.

While level of voice with peers was a predictor of quality of friendship, the finding that it was not a predictor of quality of romantic relationships suggests that perhaps during early adolescence, romantic relationships are not as fully developed and complex as are friendships, and thus the lack of mutuality in relationships with peers would not impact the quality of romantic relationships, because the same intimacy does

not exist with romantic partners that exists with peers. In addition, there is still little research on adolescent romantic relationships (Steinberg & Morris, 2001), so it is difficult to parse out what factors influence romantic relationships in early adolescence.

While level of voice with peers did not predict romantic relationships, there was a trend for girls with high levels of voice with peers to have more romantic relationship satisfaction than girls with low levels of voice. This suggests that although level of voice with peers may not predict intimacy and growth in romantic relationships, there is preliminary support that adolescents with higher levels of voice would report more satisfaction in their intimate relationships, potentially because their feelings of honesty and mutuality in their relationship may lead to their conscious satisfaction with relationships.

There could be several reasons for the lack of relationship between level of voice and dating conflict. First, the sample size was small for these analyses, as only 69% of participants had started dating, and second, there was not much variance on several of the dating conflict subscales, such as relational abuse and threats. That is, there was a restriction of range because so many participants indicated that they had not experienced abuse. This suggests that perhaps 14-year-olds are not experiencing types of dating conflict that older adolescents might experience.

Ethnic Differences in Level of Voice

The current study indicated some ethnic differences in terms of level of voice. Girls who were Caucasian had lower levels of voice with classmates than did girls of color, and there was a trend for Caucasian girls to have lower levels of voice with teachers than girls of color, irrespective of the ethnic composition of the school. This is

preliminary evidence that in the school setting, girls of color are less at risk for loss of voice than Caucasian girls.

One explanation for the results is that all of the participants attended schools at which students of color were the majority, and that perhaps being a member of the majority within the school setting was influential on girls' abilities to speak their mind in this context. This is consistent with research that shows that ethnic minority students benefit, in terms of well-being, from being in schools in which they are the majority (e.g., Lysne & Levy, 1997). Thus, it would be helpful to compare ethnic minority and Caucasian adolescent students in schools at which they are the majority and the minority to see how level of voice may differ in different contexts across school composition.

The results suggest that Caucasian girls have lower levels of voice than girls of color in the school setting. As previously mentioned, it would be helpful to assess level of voice for Caucasian girls and girls of color in schools in which they are the majority and minority, and with different ratios of white to non-white students, in order to determine if there is a "tipping point" for when the actual level of being a minority or majority becomes beneficial. It may be that for Caucasian girls, being a minority negatively impacted their level of voice with teachers and classmates.

The current study also found that with the more generalized scale of voice, the ISR, girls who were in a school that had a higher percentage of non-white students had higher levels of voice than girls in a school that had a lower percentage of non-white students. This is partial support for the hypothesis that the school context itself may be a protective factor against loss of voice.

Although there has been little research on the influence of the ethnic and racial composition of schools on adolescent identity, Lysne and Levy (1997) built upon Phinney and Rosenthal's (1992) suggestion that ethnic identity might vary with the cohesiveness of the community, and were the first to examine whether adolescents' ethnic identity might vary with ethnic composition of the school as a result of identification with the same ethnic group. They found that Native-American adolescents who were in a school that was predominantly Native-American had stronger ethnic identity than Native-Americans in a predominantly Caucasian school regarding their exploration and commitment of ethnic identity (Lysne & Levy, 1997). Lysne and Levy (1997) suggested that perhaps the school context could parallel or substitute for an ethnic neighborhood. Thus, in the current study, it is possible that girls of color who were in the school with a higher composition of non-white students had higher levels of general peer voice perhaps as a result of enhanced feelings of group inclusion. In addition, it could be that girls in a school with a similar racial make-up are more protected against negative external events such as racism (Lysne & Levy, 1997)

However, there were no ethnic differences with level of voice with parents or best friends. As previously discussed, the girls in the current study are from similar low socioeconomic backgrounds. While previous qualitative research found that girls from ethnic minority backgrounds were less at risk for loss of voice (Clark, 1999; Way, 1995), it may be that this is also the case for girls of all ethnicities from low socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, Brown (1998) discussed that girls from lower socioeconomic backgrounds may be less at risk for loss of voice than girls from middle-class or upper-middle class backgrounds, even though she did not discuss why this might occur. In

addition, in arguing that developmental models of identity that are appropriate for middle-class and upper-middle class white girls may not generalize to other girls, Erkut and colleagues noted that “for girls of color, culturally and linguistically different girls, working-class girls, and girls living in poverty, gender is not the only site for struggle and negotiation, nor is it necessarily the most salient site” (Erkut, Fields, Sing, & Marx, 1996, pp. 56-57).

The comparisons of the mean scores of level of voice with parents in Harter’s (1998b) study versus the current study indicate that there may be ethnic differences and/or socioeconomic differences in level of voice in schools and public settings, but not with parents. The results from the current study with best friend voice and parent voice can be compared to previous studies that also used the Teenage Voice scale (Harter, 1995) that were conducted with primarily white, middle-class populations, and the ISR scale, that was conducted with a diverse urban sample (Tolman & Porche, 2000). The means for best friend voice from Harter’s study (Harter et al., 1998b) was 3.73, and it was 3.65 in the current study. Although these are similar, there is also likely a ceiling effect, given that the highest possible value is 4.00. The mean for parent voice was 2.77 from Harter’s study (Harter et al., 1998b) and 3.17 from Smolak and Munstertieger’s (2002) study (note that neither study differentiated mother voice from father voice). In comparison, in the current study, the mean for mother voice was 2.83 and for father voice was 2.56. The mean parent voice from Smolak and Munstertieger’s (2002) study is slightly larger than the means from the current study, which could be attributed to the age of their college-age sample. It is likely that level of voice would increase in college, as girls move out of relational crises.

The mean for the ISR scale was 3.96 in the current study, while it was 4.81 in Tolman and Porche's (2000) study. For the current study, when school was a factor, girls of color at the school that had a larger percentage of ethnic minority students had significantly higher mean ISR scale score of 4.23 versus 3.73 for the girls of color at the school with a smaller percentage of ethnic minority students. The pattern of these findings suggests that, with generalized level of voice with peers, perhaps the setting itself can serve as a protective factor, as previously discussed. That is, the girls in Tolman and Porche's (2000) study, who are in a more urban setting than the girls from the current study, had higher scores on the ISR scale, and in the current study, when girls of color attended a school with a higher ethnic minority population, their ISR scores were significantly higher than girls of color from a school with a lower proportion of ethnic minority students.

Summary

The results of the current study found that gender role socialization predicted level of voice, and that parental attachment only significantly predicted level of voice with authority figures, but not level of voice with peers. Level of voice predicted the quality of friendships and psychological well-being, and approval and emotional social support with authority figures moderated the relationship between level of voice with authority figures and depressive symptomatology. Level of voice with authority figures was a significant predictor of quality of romantic relationships, while it did not predict dating conflict.

The results supported the androgyny model of gender role socialization for level of voice with authority figures; that is, both masculinity and femininity were salient for higher levels of voice. In contrast, the results supported the masculinity model for level

of voice with peers; higher scores on masculinity contributed to higher levels of voice with peers, rather than lower scores on femininity contributing to higher levels of voice with peers. Finally, there were some ethnic differences in the current study. Girls of color who attended a school with a higher percentage of ethnic minority students had higher levels of generalized peer voice (ISR), while across schools, girls of color had higher levels of voice than Caucasian girls with classmates and with teachers. There were no ethnic differences in level of voice with best friends, mothers, or fathers.

In their qualitative work, Brown and Gilligan (1992; 1993) suggested that girls have two choices: to preserve relationships and be “selfless” and ultimately lose their voices or to resist the relational impasse that they experience, and be selfish, which they argue will ultimately create conflict in relationships. This dichotomy, or the choice to be selfless or selfish, was not corroborated by the current study. Rather, girls with higher levels of voice had more intimate friendships. Thus, the results from the current study suggest that it is possible to both retain a sense of self and have healthy, honest, and intimate relationships. The dichotomy proposed by Brown and Gilligan has unfortunate implications for girls and women, and was not supported by the current study. In contrast, the importance of mutuality as emphasized by Stone Center theorists was supported (Jordan et al., 1991).

The current study contributes significantly to understanding of level of voice theory. Gilligan and colleagues (1992; 1990) have argued that girls experience loss of voice in a certain context, i.e., our society that promotes a “good woman” stereotype. However, the results of the current study do not support her theories. Rather, the empirical results from the current study suggest that for level of voice with peers, the dual

contribution of masculinity and femininity contribute to higher levels of voice. This is consistent with Chodorow's (1978; 1987) theories about girls' maintaining their identities by identification with their mothers, and is also consistent with research that indicates that masculinity contributes to better mental health. In addition, with level of voice with peers, only masculinity was correlated with level of voice, suggesting that the absence of masculinity contributes to loss of voice with peers. Therefore, while the current study supports Gilligan's concept of loss of voice as context-specific, the results indicate that the contexts are different than she proposed, and that the contributions of masculinity and femininity are more distinct than previously supposed.

Overall, the current study supports a theoretical model for understanding level of voice that involves gender role socialization, parental attachment, friendship, and psychological well-being. The current study elucidates the mechanisms that contribute to loss of voice in the context of intimacy and mutuality. There was limited support for previous theoretical, qualitative, and quantitative work on level of voice as related to gender role socialization (Gilligan et al., 1990; Harter et al., 1998b; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002). The results of the study also indicate the importance of mutual and intimate relationships, and the resulting impact on friendships and psychological well-being. Finally, the results of the current study suggest that for ethnic minority girls, being the ethnic majority in school positively influences level of voice.

Strengths and Limitations

The current study has a number of strengths. First, the participants are ethnically diverse, and from primarily low-socioeconomic backgrounds, and participants of these ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds are rarely studied (Way & Pahl, 2001). In

addition, the participants in the current study differ from participants in previous research studies on level of voice which have utilized older, more homogenous samples and, as a result, make it difficult to generalize from the results (e.g., Harter et al., 1998b; Smolak & Munstertieger, 2002).

Second, the current study utilized methodologically rigorous methods of testing the model for predictors and outcomes of level of voice. The structural equation modeling combined with the additional analyses provide strong methodological support for the results. For example, the use of both methodologies helped elucidate the individual and dual contributions of masculinity and femininity to level of voice. Without the additional multivariate analyses, it would not have been clear exactly how gender role socialization influenced level of voice.

Third, the current study is the first to propose a theoretical model that can be quantitatively tested to understand predictors and outcomes of level of voice, whereas previous studies have neglected to thoroughly examine what factors might influence level of voice (e.g., L.M. Brown, 1998; Gilligan et al., 1990; Harter et al., 1998b).

However, as in any study, there are some limitations. First, the BSQ, the questionnaire designed to assess parental attachment, had some measurement inconsistencies. The subscale designed to measure preoccupied attachment did not load with secure and dismissive attachment, and was not a good fit for the data. This methodological issue suggests that the attachment measure should possibly be interpreted with caution.

Second, the sample of participants involved in a romantic relationship ($n=75$) was small, and limited the power of the structural equation modeling, as well as the variance

of the dating conflict scale. Overall, the study would have benefit from a larger sample size in order to have enough power to test the overall goodness of fit of both the predictors and outcomes of level of voice in the same structural model. In addition, the cross-sectional design of the current study makes it difficult to infer causation from the predictors of level of voice. For example, while in the current study it was predicted and confirmed that level of voice positively predicted intimacy of friendship, it could also be that more intimate friendships lead to higher levels of voice.

Third, the current study only utilized self-report measures. As previously discussed, this may have been a factor with assessing attachment to parents. In addition, girls may have underreported dating conflict, and may have had a positive bias in terms of reporting on friendship quality. Therefore, it would have been helpful to have observational measures of friendship, and alternative measures of assessing attachment.

Directions for Future Research

There are several different ways that future research could expand upon current knowledge of level of voice. First, it would be ideal to conduct longitudinal studies so as to examine level of voice over time. If these studies began in early or middle childhood, they could assess parental attachment with both behavioral (e.g., Strange Situation) and representational measures of attachment (e.g., doll play). In addition, it would be helpful to examine level of voice over time with both girls and boys, in order to parse apart gender differences in level of voice. It would also be helpful to utilize not only self-report measures of friendship quality, but to use observational measures of friendship that could assess resolution of conflict (e.g., Kerns et al., 1996).

Second, in the current study, level of voice did not predict dating conflict, and only level of voice with authority figures predicted quality of romantic relationships. As previously discussed, there may be some methodological and theoretical issues with assessing both dating conflict and quality of romantic relationships in 14-year-old girls. An alternative would be to examine the relationship between level of voice and sexual desire. Tolman (1991; 1994) has argued that our society tells girls that it is taboo to feel sexual, or have sexual desires. Tolman notes that girls' sexuality is only spoken about in schools in ways that discourage sexual exploration. Sexuality is often discussed in the negative contexts of victimization, disease, pregnancy, and morality. In addition, developmental theories about girls have muted girls' sexual desire as a dynamic in adolescent development. Even some feminist authors such as Pipher (1994) ignore the idea of sexuality as a driving force when describing girls' experiences with sexuality. As previously discussed, level of voice may have an important relationship to romantic relationships, but one that may be difficult to assess in this age group. Therefore, future research on the relationship between level of voice and sexual desire would contribute to the understanding of how loss of voice may impact romantic relationships.

Third, it would be interesting to examine the relationship between personality and level of voice. Recently, researchers have begun investigating the Five-Factor Model (FFM) of personality in adolescence (e.g., Branje, van Aken, van Lieshout, & Mathijssen, 2003). In the FFM, also known as the "Big Five," there are five distinct personality dimensions: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness to experience (Steinberg, 2002). Research suggests that, overall, these personality characteristics are stable over time (Asendorpf & Van Aken, 2003; Lamb, Chuang,

Wessels, Broberg, & Hwang, 2002), and, of the Big Five, agreeableness, or how kind and sympathetic one is, may be the most related to peer outcomes (Jensen-Campbell et al., 2002; Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001).

Specifically, research indicates that agreeableness was negatively related to friends' rating of aggressiveness (Asendorpf & Van Aken, 2003), positively associated with peer acceptance and reciprocity of friendship (Jensen-Campbell et al., 2002), increases over time (Lamb et al., 2002), and of the Big Five, was most closely associated with processes and outcomes of peer conflict (Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001). In addition, for girls, agreeableness was associated with better outcomes of conflicts, including compromise, and teachers rated girls as more agreeable than boys (Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001). Interestingly, Jensen-Campbell and Graziano (2001) suggested that the gender differences in their study might be attributed to girls' different definitions of conflict, as compared to boys' definitions, and that agreeableness may be more normative for girls, in terms of their gender role socialization. Thus, from the research discussed above, it seems that for girls, the manifestation of agreeableness, which is associated with motives to maintain positive relationships with others (Jensen-Campbell et al., 2002), and its connection with compromise in interpersonal conflicts, may be similar to ways in which low levels of voice would be manifested in relationships. Thus, future research could examine the FFM of personality in relation to level of voice.

Fourth, when future research examines ethnic differences, it would be beneficial to go beyond skin color, and examine the intersection between level of voice and ethnic identity. Phinney (1990) argued that although an ethnic label, or how one identifies one's ethnic background, may appear to be simple, it is actually very complex. In addition,

Phinney (1996) noted that ethnic labels and categories are problematic in general. She wrote that “labels themselves are not consistent indicators of group membership; rather, they vary across time and situations, carry different connotations among individuals and groups, and gloss over within-group variation. To get beyond simplistic ethnic categories, we need to examine the meanings associated with ethnicity, specifically culture, identity, and minority status” (Phinney, 1996, p. 920)

Thus, it would be helpful to examine the relationship between level of voice and ethnic identity. Ethnic identity, which is multi-dimensional, can be defined as “the psychological relationship of ethnic and racial minority group members with their own group” (Phinney, 1990, p. 499). Ethnic identity is crucial to the functioning of group members, and is related to self-esteem and self-concept (Phinney, 1990), and thus a more developed ethnic identity can be construed as a protective factor. Research indicates that ethnic identity is positively related to psychological well-being and self-esteem for adolescents in different ethnic groups (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; R.E. Roberts et al., 1999). Thus, researching the intersection between level of voice and ethnic identity over time would allow for further elucidation of the contributing factors to loss of voice, and how different girls experience level of voice.

The current study assessed attachment to parents and gender role socialization as predictors of loss of voice, and quality of friendship, dating conflict, quality of romantic relationships, and psychological well-being as outcomes of loss of voice. In addition, social support was examined as a moderator of voice and psychological well-being. This study has several strengths, including the theoretical model, rigorous methodology, and under-studied sample, which, along with the independent and combined contributions of

the predictor and outcome constructs, help contribute to our empirical understanding of level of voice.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Parent Consent Form

February 25, 2002

Dear Parents,

During the next week, your child's classroom will participate in a study being conducted by researchers at Michigan State University. The principal and classroom teacher are in agreement with the study. Only children whose parents sign this permission form will participate. Staff (students) from MSU will visit the school for one day. Children will not leave the school building and will make up any missed work. The study will involve filling out some questionnaires; the goal of the study is to find out how empowerment, or the way that children feel about themselves, affects children's relationships, like with friends and anyone they may be dating. Your child will be asked about her/his relationships with family and friends, and how s/he has been feeling lately. Before your child participates, s/he will be asked to volunteer to participate; if she declines, then s/he will not be required to participate. Your child may decline or stop participation at any time without consequence. We will not be seeking any school records on your child.

After your child completes the questions, which takes approximately 45 minutes, s/he will receive a small gift, like a coupon to McDonald's. In addition, each school will receive \$100 for school supplies. Aside from these gestures of appreciation by MSU, your child will not directly benefit from being in the study. Attached is a copy of this consent form, which is yours to keep for your personal records. Also, after your child completes the questionnaires, s/he will be asked if s/he would like to be contacted in the future to talk to someone about how s/he feels about herself/himself and her/his friends; this is completely optional, and does not affect her/his participation in anything else. If your child does choose to become involved in this separate study, they would be paid \$10, and you will sign a separate form so that they can take part in the separate study.

All information and responses your child gives will be confidential. Your identity and your child's identity as a participant in the study will be known only to the staff involved in this study. No one will be identifiable in any reports written about this study. Information will be reported only about groups rather than individuals. Your child's privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

If at any time now or later you have questions or concerns about the study, you can speak with Sally Theran, M.A., (517) 432-1447 of the MSU Psychology Department, 129 Psychology Research Bldg., East Lansing MI, 48824-1117. If you have questions about your child's rights as a participant in this research study you may contact Dr. Ashir Kumar of the Michigan State University Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects (517) 355-2180. Ms. Theran is the principal investigator and is responsible for the study.

☐ I give permission for the child named below to participate in the study
☐ I do not give permission for the child named below to participate in the study

Child's first and last name (please print) _____

Parent first and last name (please print) _____

Parent Signature _____ Date _____

PLEASE RETURN THIS FORM TO YOUR CHILD'S TEACHER

Appendix B: Child Consent Form

February 25, 2002

Dear teenager,

This study will involve filling out some questionnaires. The goal of this study is to find out how the ways that you feel as a teenager about yourself may affect your relationships with people in your life, such as friends and anyone you may be dating. You will be asked about your relationships with family and friends, and how you have been feeling lately. You are volunteering to participate. If you decline, then you will not be required to participate. You may decline or stop participation at any time without consequence. We will not be seeking any school records on you.

After you complete the questions, which takes approximately 45 minutes, you will receive a small gift, like a coupon to McDonald's. In addition, each school will receive \$100 for school supplies. Aside from these gestures of appreciation by MSU, you will not directly benefit from being in the study. Attached is a copy of this consent form, which is yours to keep for your personal records. Also, after you complete the questionnaires, you will be asked if you would like to be contacted in the future to talk to someone about how you feel about yourself and your friends; this is completely optional, and does not affect your participation today.

All information and responses you give will be confidential. Your identity as a participant in the study will be known only to the staff involved in this study. No one will be identifiable in any reports written about this study. Information will be reported only about groups rather than individuals. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

If at any time now or later you have questions or concerns about the study, you can speak with Sally Theran, M.A., (517) 432-1447 of the MSU Psychology Department, 129 Psychology Research Bldg., East Lansing MI, 48824-1117. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research study you may contact Dr. Ashir Kumar of the Michigan State University Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects (517) 355-2180. Ms. Theran is the principal investigator and is responsible for the study.

Your first and last name (please print)_____

Your Signature_____

Date_____

Appendix C: Demographic Form

1. What grade are you in? _____
2. What is your birthdate? _____ / _____ / _____
month day year
3. What is your racial or ethnic background?
 - a) Black/African-American
 - b) Caucasian/White
 - c) Latino/Latina
 - d) Asian
 - e) Native-American
 - f) Biracial (specify: _____)
 - g) Other (specify: _____)
4. What is your religious affiliation (for example, Baptist, Protestant, Catholic)

5. What is your gender (circle one)? **Male** **Female**
6. What is the highest level of education that your **mother** completed? (Circle one)
 - 1 = grades 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 (**circle specific grade**)
 - 2 = grades 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, GED (**circle specific grade**)
 - 3 = some college Where? _____
 - 4 = AA degree Where? _____
 - 5 = BA/BS Where? _____
 - 6 = some grad school Where? _____
 - 7 = graduate degree Where? _____
 - _____ MA?
 - _____ Ph.D.?
 - _____ Law?
 - _____ MD?
 - 8 = other; Specify (e.g., Beauty School, nursing school)

7. What is the highest level of education that your **father** completed?
 - 1 = grades 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 (**circle specific grade**)
 - 2 = grades 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, GED (**circle specific grade**)
 - 3 = some college Where? _____
 - 4 = AA degree Where? _____
 - 5 = BA/BS Where? _____
 - 6 = some grad school Where? _____
 - 7 = graduate degree Where? _____
 - _____ MA?
 - _____ Ph.D.?
 - _____ Law?
 - _____ MD?
 - 8 = other; Specify (e.g., Beauty School, nursing school)

8. Does your mother work? **YES / NO**

If **YES**, what does she do, and where does she work? _____

9. Does your father work? **YES / NO**

If **YES**, what does he do, and where does he work? _____

10. What is your grade point average? _____

11. What was your grade in English for the most recent marking term? _____

What was your grade in Social Studies for the most recent marking term? _____

What was your grade in Science for the most recent marking term? _____

What was your grade in Math for the most recent marking term? _____

Appendix D: Pubertal Development Scale

1. How tall are you, without shoes? _____
2. How much do you weigh, without shoes and heavy clothes? _____

To answer each question, please circle the number in front of the answer that best describes what is happening to you. Please choose only one for each question.

3. Would you say that your growth in height:
 1. has not yet begun to spurt (spurt means more growth than usual)
 2. has barely started
 3. is definitely underway
 4. seems completed
4. And how about the growth of body hair ("body hair" means underarm and pubic hair)? Would you say that your body hair has:
 1. not yet started growing
 2. has barely started growing
 3. is definitely underway
 4. seems completed
5. Have you noticed any skin changes, especially pimples?
 1. not yet started showing changes
 2. have barely started showing changes
 3. skin changes are definitely underway
 4. skin changes seem completed
6. Have your breasts begun to grow?
 1. not yet started growing
 2. have barely started growing
 3. breast growth is definitely underway
 4. breast growth seems completed

To answer each question, fill in the blanks with the best answer you can give

7. Have you begun to menstruate?

1. No
2. Yes

If you answered "Yes", how old were you when you first menstruated?

Age: I was _____ year and _____ months old when I began to menstruate.

Appendix E: Behavioral Systems Questionnaire

MY PARENTS

For this questionnaire we are interested in how you TYPICALLY feel and act in your relationships with your parents. By parents, we mean all the people you consider to be parental figures; these figures may include natural, adopted, or stepparents--whomever you consider to be parental figures. Of course, your answers may be more influenced by the parent or parents that is/are more important to you. Some of these questions may not apply to all of your parental figures, but consider how they TYPICALLY apply. Please use the following scale.

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Disagree Nor Agree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree	
1. "MY PARENTS" act as if I count on them too much.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I consistently turn to "MY PARENTS" when upset or worried.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am afraid that I turn to "MY PARENTS" more often than they want me to.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I seek out "MY PARENTS" when something bad happens.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I am <u>not</u> the kind of person who quickly turns to "MY PARENTS" in times of need.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I do <u>not</u> often ask "MY PARENTS" to comfort me.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I feel that "MY PARENTS" believe that I depend on them too often	1	2	3	4	5
8.. I rely on "MY PARENTS" when I'm having troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I worry that "MY PARENTS" think I need to be comforted too much	1	2	3	4	5
10. I rarely feel like I need help from "MY PARENTS."	1	2	3	4	5
11. I rarely turn to "MY PARENTS" when upset.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I seek out "MY PARENTS" for comfort and support.	1	2	3	4	5
13. It is easy for me to turn to "MY PARENTS" when I have a problem.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I do <u>not</u> like to turn to "MY PARENTS" when I'm bothered about something.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I am afraid that "MY PARENTS" think I am too dependent.	1	2	3	4	5

The following statements refer to caring for your parents. Again, we are interested in what is typical of you. Please circle only one response for each statement.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Disagree Nor Agree	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I would rather "MY PARENTS" work out their problems by themselves.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I am <u>not</u> comfortable dealing with "MY PARENTS" when they are worried or bothered about a problem.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I enjoy being able to take care of "MY PARENTS."	1	2	3	4	5
4. I often help "MY PARENTS" more than they need or want.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I do <u>not</u> like having to comfort or reassure "MY PARENTS."	1	2	3	4	5
6. I find it easy to be understanding of "MY PARENTS" and their needs.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I get too wrapped up in my "MY PARENTS'" worries.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I feel comfortable with "MY PARENTS" coming to me for help.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I do <u>not</u> like "MY PARENTS" to depend on me for help.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I create difficulties by taking on "MY PARENTS" problems as if they were mine.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I am comfortable with the responsibilities of caring for "MY PARENTS."	1	2	3	4	5
12. It is relatively easy to respond to "MY PARENTS" needs.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I want "MY PARENTS" to be independent and <u>not</u> need me.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I get over-involved in "MY PARENTS" problems.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Sometimes I try to comfort "MY PARENTS" more than the situation calls for.	1	2	3	4	5

The following statements refer to other feelings in relationships with your parents. Again, we are interested in what is typical of you. Please circle only one response for each statement.

1. I contribute more to making our relationship work than "MY PARENTS" do.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Both "MY PARENTS" and I make frequent efforts to see or talk with each other.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Spending time together is more important to me than to "MY PARENTS."	1	2	3	4	5
4. Truthfully, my relationships with "MY PARENTS" are just not that important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I do <u>not</u> want to put much energy into my relationship with "MY PARENTS."	1	2	3	4	5
6. "MY PARENTS" and I jointly make the important decisions in our relationship.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I want to do more things with "MY PARENTS" than they want to.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I do <u>not</u> put much effort into trying to have good relationships with "MY PARENTS."	1	2	3	4	5
9. "MY PARENTS" and I both contribute a lot to our relationship.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Our relationship is valued by both "MY PARENTS" and me.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I find that "MY PARENTS" are reluctant to get as close as I would like.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I am <u>not</u> that invested in my relationships with "MY PARENTS."	1	2	3	4	5
13. I want to be closer to "MY PARENTS" than they want to be with me.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I am <u>not</u> that interested in making my relationships with "MY PARENTS" the best they could be.	1	2	3	4	5
15. "MY PARENTS" and I really try to understand each others' points of view.	1	2	3	4	5

In this questionnaire we asked you to talk about your relationships with different parents. Different people may have been thinking about different parental figures. You may have thought mostly of one figure or several figures.

I was mostly thinking about: (check all that apply):

☐ A natural/adopted mother	☐ A stepmother	☐ Other _____ (fill in)
☐ A natural/adopted father	☐ A stepfather	☐ Other _____ (fill in)

Appendix F: Children's Sex Role Inventory

Please read each statement and write in the ONE number that tells how true the statement is for you.

Not at all true of me	A little true of me	Mostly true of me	Very true of me
1	2	3	4

- _____ 1. I think I'm better than most of the other people I know.
- _____ 2. I control a lot of the kids in my class
- _____ 3. I care about what happens to others
- _____ 4. I have many friends.
- _____ 5. When a decision has to be made, it's easy for me to take a stand
- _____ 6. When someone's feelings have been hurt, I try to make them feel better.
- _____ 7. It's easy for me to fit into new places.
- _____ 8. I am a leader among my friends.
- _____ 9. I am a warm person.
- _____ 10. I'm always losing things.
- _____ 11. When I play games, I really like to win.
- _____ 12. I am a kind and caring person.
- _____ 13. I like to do things that other people do.
- _____ 14. I am sure of my abilities.
- _____ 15. I like babies and small children a lot.
- _____ 16. I am a moody person.
- _____ 17. I stand up for what I believe in.
- _____ 18. I am a gentle person.
- _____ 19. I like acting in front of other people.
- _____ 20. I am good at sports.
- _____ 21. I am a cheerful person.
- _____ 22. I never know what I'm going to do from one moment to the next.
- _____ 23. It's easy for me to tell people what I think, even when I know they will probably disagree with me.
- _____ 24. When I like someone, I do nice things for them to show them how I feel.
- _____ 25. I always do what I say I will do.
- _____ 26. I make a strong impression on most people I meet.
- _____ 27. I like to do things that girls and women do.
- _____ 28. I feel bad when other people have something that I don't have.
- _____ 29. I am good at taking charge of things.
- _____ 30. It makes me feel bad when someone else is feeling bad.

Appendix G: Inauthentic Self in Relationships Scale

Please read each statement and write in the ONE number that tells how much you agree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

- _____ 1. I would tell a friend she looks nice, even if I think she shouldn't go out of the house dressed like that.
- _____ 2. I express my opinions only if I can think of a nice way of doing it.
- _____ 3. I worry that I make others feel bad if I am successful.
- _____ 4. I would not change the way I do things in order to please someone else.
- _____ 5. I tell my friends what I honestly think even when it is an unpopular idea.
- _____ 6. Often I look happy on the outside in order to please others, even if I don't feel happy on the inside.
- _____ 7. I wish I could say what I feel more often than I do.
- _____ 8. I feel like it's my fault when I have disagreements with my friends.
- _____ 9. When my friends ignore my feelings, I think that my feelings weren't very important anyway.
- _____ 10. I usually tell my friends when they hurt my feelings.

Appendix H: Teenage Voice

Read each statement all the way across. Each statement describes two kinds of teenagers, one on the left, and one on the right. **First** decide which kind of teenager **YOU are most like**, the one on the left, or the one on the right. Pick one. Then for each kind of teenager, check whether that description is really true for you or just sort of true for you. So for each numbered item you will be checking only **one box**. Sometimes it will be on the left, sometimes on the right. DO NOT check both sides. Just put a check on the side that is **most like you**.

SAMPLE SENTENCE

Really True For me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
1. ☐	☐	Some teenagers like to go to the movies in their spare time	BUT	Other teenagers would rather go to sports events.	☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY MOTHER

Really True For me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
1. ☐	☐	Some teenagers share what they are really thinking with their mother.	BUT	Other teenagers find it hard to share what they are thinking with their mother.	☐
2. ☐	☐	Some teenagers usually don't share what's on their mind around their mother.	BUT	Other teenagers do say what's on their mind around their mother	☐
3. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to express their opinions to their mother.	BUT	Other teenagers have trouble expressing their opinions to their mother.	☐
4. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to let their mothers know what's important to them.	BUT	Other teenagers are not able to let their mother know what's important to them.	☐
5. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have a hard time expressing their point of view to their mother.	BUT	Other teenagers can express their point of view to their mother.	☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY CLASSMATES

Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
1. ☐	☐	Some teenagers share what they are really thinking with their classmates	BUT	Other teenagers find it hard to share what they are thinking with their classmates	☐
2. ☐	☐	Some teenagers usually don't share what's on classmates.	BUT	Other teenagers do say what's on their mind around their mind around their classmates.	☐
3. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to express their opinions to their classmates.	BUT	Other teenagers have trouble expressing their opinions to their classmates.	☐
4. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to let their classmates know what's important to them.	BUT	Other teenagers are not able to let their classmates know what's important to them.	☐
5. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have a hard time expressing their point of view to their classmates.	BUT	Other teenagers can express their point of view to their classmates.	☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY TEACHERS

Really True For me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
1. ☐	☐	Some teenagers share what they are really thinking with their teachers.	BUT	Other teenagers find it hard to share what they are thinking with their teachers.	☐
2. ☐	☐	Some teenagers usually don't share what's on their mind around their teachers.	BUT	Other teenagers do say what's on their mind around their teachers.	☐
3. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to express their opinions to their teachers.	BUT	Other teenagers have trouble expressing their opinions to their teachers.	☐
4. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to let their teachers know what's important to them.	BUT	Other teenagers are not able to let their teachers know what's important to them.	☐
5. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have a hard time expressing their point of view to their teachers.	BUT	Other teenagers can express their point of view to their teachers.	☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY FATHER

Really True For me	Sort of True for me			Sort of Really True True for me for me
1. ☐	☐	Some teenagers share what they are really thinking with their father.	BUT	Other teenagers find it hard to share what they are really thinking with their father. ☐ ☐
2. ☐	☐	Some teenagers usually don't share what's on their mind around their father.	BUT	Other teenagers do say what's on their mind around their father. ☐ ☐
3. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to express their opinions to their father.	BUT	Other teenagers have trouble expressing their opinions to their father. ☐ ☐
4. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to let their fathers know what's important to them.	BUT	Other teenagers are not able to let their father know what's important to them. ☐ ☐
5. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have a hard time expressing their point of view to their father.	BUT	Other teenagers can express their point of view to their father. ☐ ☐

SAYING WHAT I THINK AROUND MY BEST FRIEND

Really True For me	Sort of True for me			Sort of Really True True for me for me
1. ☐	☐	Some teenagers share what they are really thinking with their best friend.	BUT	Other teenagers find it hard to share what they are thinking with their best friend. ☐ ☐
2. ☐	☐	Some teenagers usually don't share what's on their mind around their best friend.	BUT	Other teenagers do say what's on their mind around their best friend. ☐ ☐
3. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to express their opinions to their best friend.	BUT	Other teenagers have trouble expressing their opinions to their best friend. ☐ ☐
4. ☐	☐	Some teenagers are able to let their best friends know what's important to them.	BUT	Other teenagers are not able to let their best friend know what's important to them. ☐ ☐
5. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have a hard time expressing their point of view to their best friend.	BUT	Other teenagers can express their point of view to their best friend. ☐ ☐

Appendix I: Friendship Qualities Questionnaire

Put the initials of your very best friend here _____

We want to ask some questions just about you and the person you think of as your best friend so we can know what your best friend is like. We have some sentences that we would like you to read. Please tell us whether this sentence describes your friendship or not. Some of the sentences might be really true for your friendship while other sentences might be not very true for your friendship. We simply want you to read the sentence and tell us how true the sentence is for your friendship. Remember, there are no right or wrong ways to answer these questions, and you can use any of the numbers on the scale.

At the top of each page there is a scale that goes from 1 to 5.

- "1" means the sentence is probably not true for your friendship,**
- "2" means that it might be true,**
- "3" means that it is usually true,**
- "4" means that it is very true,**
- "5" means that it is really true for your friendship.**

Write in the number on the scale that is best for you.
Be sure to read carefully and answer as honestly as possible.

Probably Not True	Might be True	Usually True	Very true	Really True
1	2	3	4	5

- _____ 1. Even if my friend and I have an argument we would still be able to be friends with each other.
- _____ 2. I can trust and rely upon my friend.
- _____ 3. If my friend had to move away I would miss her/him.
- _____ 4. When I do a good job at something my friend is happy for me.
- _____ 5. There is nothing that would stop my friend and I from being friends.
- _____ 6. Sometimes my friend does things for me or makes me feel special.
- _____ 7. When my friend and I have an argument, s/he can hurt my feelings.
- _____ 8. When I have not been with my friend for a while I really miss being with him/her.
- _____ 9. I can get into fights with my friend.
- _____ 10. If I have a problem at school or at home I can talk to my friend about it.
- _____ 11. My friend can bug me or annoy me even though I ask her/him not to.
- _____ 12. If I said I was sorry after I had a fight with my friend s/he would still stay mad at me.
- _____ 13. Even if other persons stopped liking me, my friend would still be my friend.
- _____ 14. I know that I am important to my friend.
- _____ 15. If there is something bothering me I can tell my friend about it even if it is something I cannot tell to other people.
- _____ 16. My friend puts our friendship ahead of other things.

Probably Not True	Might be True	Usually True	Very true	Really True
1	2	3	4	5

- _____ 17. If my friend or I do something that bothers the other one of us we can make up easily.
- _____ 18. My friend and I can argue a lot.
- _____ 19. My friend and I disagree about many things.
- _____ 20. If my friend and I have a fight or argument we can say "I'm sorry" and everything will be alright.
- _____ 21. I feel happy when I am with my friend.
- _____ 22. I think about my friend even when my friend is not around.

Appendix J: Conflict in Adolescent Dating Relationships

Please check the statement that best applies to you.

- ☐ I have not yet begun dating. (*Skip to page 30*)
- ☐ I have begun dating and/or had a boyfriend/girlfriend.

Please check all the boxes below that describe the kinds of dating relationships you are currently experiencing and those you have experienced in the past:

- ☐ going out in male/female groups
- ☐ dating different people
- ☐ dating one person without any definite commitment
- ☐ dating one person exclusively
- ☐ engaged

If you have ever been in a dating relationship or been going out with someone, please answer the following questions:

At what age did you start going out/ having boyfriends/girlfriends? _____

How many boyfriends/girlfriends have you had (not including childhood crushes)? _____

How many boyfriends/girlfriends did you have/have you had in:

Grade 7 _____ [# of weeks] _____ [# of weeks]

Number of boy/girlfriends _____ Longest relationship _____ Shortest relationship _____

Grade 8 _____ [# of weeks] _____ [# of weeks]

Number of boy/girlfriends _____ Longest relationship _____ Shortest relationship _____

The next few pages ask you to answer questions thinking about your current or recent ex-boyfriend/girlfriend. Please check which person you will be thinking of when you answer these questions:

- ☐ I am thinking of somebody that is my boyfriend/girlfriend right now. (*Go to A*)
- ☐ I am thinking of a recent ex-boyfriend/girlfriend (*within the past year*). (*Go to B*)

A) If this is your current boyfriend/girlfriend:

How long have you been dating/going out? _____

How often do you see each other? Circle the best response.

Every day at school Every day at school 2-3 times per week Once per week or less
and every day out of school

How much time do you spend alone together? _____ hours per day OR _____ hours per week

How old is s/he? _____

How important is this relationship to you? (Circle one of the responses below).

Not very important Somewhat important Important Very important

Go to the next page

B) If this is your ex boyfriend/girlfriend:

How long did you go out together? _____

How often did you see each other? Circle the best response below.

Every day at school Every day at school 2-3 times per week Once per week or less
and every day out of school

How much time did you spend alone together? _____ hours per day OR _____ hours per week

What kinds of things did you do together? _____

When did you stop going together/seeing each other? _____

How old was s/he? _____

How important was this relationship to you? (Circle one of the responses below).

Not very important Somewhat important Important Very important

The following questions ask you about things that may have happened to you with your boyfriend while you were having an argument. Check the box that is your best estimate of how often these things have happened with your current or ex-boyfriend/girlfriend in the past year. Please remember that all answers are confidential. As a guide use the following scale:

During a conflict or argument with my boyfriend/girlfriend in the past year:

Never:	this has never happened in your relationship
Seldom:	this has happened only 1-2 times in your relationship
Sometimes:	this has happened about 3-5 times in your relationship
Often:	this has happened 6 times or more in your relationship

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often
1. I gave reasons for my side of the argument.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He gave reasons for his/her side of the argument.	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. I tried to turn his/her friends against him/her.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He tried to turn my friends against me.	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. I did something to make him/her feel jealous.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He did something to make me feel jealous.	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. I destroyed or threatened to destroy something s/he valued.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He destroyed or threatened to destroy something I valued.	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. I told him/her that I was partly to blame.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He told me that he was partly to blame.	☐	☐	☐	☐

During a conflict or argument with my boyfriend/girlfriend in the past year:

6. I brought up something bad that s/he had done in the past.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He brought up something bad that I had done in the past.	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. I threw something at him/her.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He threw something at me.	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. I said things just to make him/her angry.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He said things just to make me angry.	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. I gave reasons why I thought s/he was wrong.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He gave reasons why s/he thought I was wrong.	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. I agreed that s/he was partly right.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He agreed that I was partly right.	☐	☐	☐	☐

During a conflict or argument with my boyfriend/girlfriend in the past year:

11. I spoke to him/her in a hostile or mean tone of voice.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He spoke to me in a hostile or mean tone of voice.	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. I offered a solution that I thought would make us both happy.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He offered a solution that he thought would make us both happy.	☐	☐	☐	☐

Never:	this has never happened in your relationship
Seldom:	this has happened only 1-2 times in your relationship
Sometimes:	this has happened about 3-5 times in your relationship
Often:	this has happened 6 times or more in your relationship

During a conflict or argument with my boyfriend/girlfriend in the past year:

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often
13. I put off talking until we calmed down.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He put off talking until we calmed down.	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. I insulted him/her with put downs.	☐	☐	☐	☐
He insulted me with put-downs.	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. I discussed the issue calmly.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He discussed the issue calmly.	☐	☐	☐	☐

During a conflict or argument with my boyfriend/girlfriend in the past year:

16. I said things to his/her friends about him/her to turn them against him/her.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He said things to my friends about me to turn them against me.	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. I ridiculed or made fun of him/her in front of others.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He ridiculed or made fun of me in front of others.	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. I told him/her how upset I was.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He told me how upset s/he was.	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. I kept track of who s/he was with and where s/he was.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He kept track of who I was with and where I was.	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. I blamed him/her for the problem.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He blamed me for the problem.	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. I kicked, hit or punched him/her.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He kicked, hit or punched me.	☐	☐	☐	☐

During a conflict or argument with my boyfriend/girlfriend in the past year:

22. I left the room to cool down.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He left the room to cool down.	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. I gave in, just to avoid conflict.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He gave in, just to avoid conflict.	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. I accused him/her of flirting with another girl/guy.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He accused me of flirting with another girl/guy.	☐	☐	☐	☐
25. I deliberately tried to frighten him/her.	☐	☐	☐	☐
s/He deliberately tried to frighten me.	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. I slapped him/her or pulled his/her hair.	☐	☐	☐	☐
S/He slapped me or pulled my hair.	☐	☐	☐	☐

Never:	this has never happened in your relationship
Seldom:	this has happened only 1-2 times in your relationship
Sometimes:	this has happened about 3-5 times in your relationship
Often:	this has happened 6 times or more in your relationship

During a conflict or argument with my boyfriend/girlfriend in the past year:

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often
27. I threatened to hurt him/her/her. S/He threatened to hurt me.	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. I threatened to end the relationship. S/He threatened to end the relationship.	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. I threatened to hit him/her or throw something at him/her. S/He threatened to hit me or throw something at me.	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. I pushed, shoved or shook him/her. S/He pushed, shoved, or shook me.	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix K: Romantic Relationship Satisfaction

Please respond to these questions thinking about your current dating partner. If you do not have a current dating partner, respond thinking about your most recent dating partner. Please read each statement and write in the ONE number that tells how much you agree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

- _____ 1. In general, I am satisfied with our relationship.
- _____ 2. Compared to other people's relationships, ours is pretty good.
- _____ 3. I often wish I hadn't gotten into this relationship
- _____ 4. Our relationship has met my best expectations.
- _____ 5. Our relationship is just about the best relationship I could hope to have with anybody.
- _____ 6. I am happiest when we are together.
- _____ 7. I try to arrange my time so that I can be with him/her.
- _____ 8. I really care for him/her.
- _____ 9. S/He acts thoughtfully.
- _____ 10. S/he is a great companion.
- _____ 11. I like the way I feel when I am with him/her.
- _____ 12. I get upset when s/he shows interest in other girls/boys.
- _____ 13. I like it when s/he pays attention to only me.
- _____ 14. I watch other girls'/boys' reactions to him.
- _____ 15. S/He watches how I act with other guys/girls.
- _____ 16. Sometimes s/he doesn't believe that I love only him/her.
- _____ 17. S/He's jealous of my relationships with other people.
- _____ 18. I am happy when s/he succeeds.
- _____ 19. I want him/her to be a success according to his/her own standards.
- _____ 20. I like it when s/he does things on her/his own.
- _____ 21. S/He makes me feel complete.
- _____ 22. S/He helps me become what I want to be.
- _____ 23. S/He helps me feel emotionally stronger.
- _____ 24. I never have to lie to him/her.
- _____ 25. S/He listens to me when I need someone to talk to.
- _____ 26. I find it easy to tell him/her how I feel.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

- _____ 27. I really listen to what s/he has to say.
- _____ 28. S/He tells me about her/his weaknesses and strengths.
- _____ 29. S/He finds it easy to tell me how s/he feels.
- _____ 30. I am patient with him/her.
- _____ 31. I accept him/her for what he is.
- _____ 32. I'm willing to forgive him/her for almost anything.
- _____ 33. S/He recognizes and accepts faults in me.
- _____ 34. S/He takes me for what I am.
- _____ 35. I think s/he has good ideas.
- _____ 36. I admire her/his persistence in getting after things that are important to him/her.
- _____ 37. I take pride in her/his accomplishments.
- _____ 38. S/He thinks my ideas are important.
- _____ 39. S/He respects my values and beliefs, although they don't always agree with hers/his.
- _____ 40. S/He knows when something is bothering me.
- _____ 41. I help him/her through difficult times.
- _____ 42. I make him/her feel self-confident.
- _____ 43. I am concerned with how s/he feels.
- _____ 44. S/He helps me find solutions to my problems.
- _____ 45. S/He comforts me when I need comforting.
- _____ 46. S/He tries to get me in a good mood when I am angry.
- _____ 47. S/He sometimes gets angry at me.
- _____ 48. Dating can sometimes be painful for him/her.
- _____ 49. Sometimes I really upset him/her.
- _____ 50. I sometimes get upset because things don't go well between us.
- _____ 51. S/He can really hurt my feelings.
- _____ 52. Sometimes I don't know why I put up with the things s/he does or says.
- _____ 53. I want to be special in his/her life.
- _____ 54. No one could love him/her as much as I do.
- _____ 55. I treat him/her as very special.
- _____ 56. S/He is the most important person in my life.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

_____ 57. I feel that s/he was meant for me.

_____ 58. S/He is the person that best understands me.

During the last two questionnaires I was mostly thinking about:

☐ a boyfriend	☐ an ex-boyfriend	☐ other _____ (fill in)
☐ a girlfriend	☐ an ex-girlfriend	☐ other _____ (fill in)

Appendix L: Children's Depression Inventory – Short Form

People sometimes have different feelings and ideas. This form lists the feelings and ideas in groups. From each group of three sentences, pick one sentence that describes you *best* for the past two weeks. After you pick a sentence from the first group, go on to the next group.

Remember, pick out the sentences that describe you best in the *past two weeks*.

1. ☐ I am sad once in a while.
☐ I am sad many times.
☐ I am sad all the time.
2. ☐ Nothing will ever work out for me.
☐ I am not sure if things will work out for me.
☐ Things will work out for me ok.
3. ☐ I do most things ok.
☐ I do many things wrong.
☐ I do everything wrong.
4. ☐ I hate myself.
☐ I do not like myself.
☐ I like myself.
5. ☐ I feel like crying everyday
☐ I feel like crying many days.
☐ I feel like crying once in a while
6. ☐ Things bother me all the time.
☐ Things bother me many times.
☐ Things bother me once in a while.
7. ☐ I look ok.
☐ There are some bad things about my looks.
☐ I look ugly.
8. ☐ I do not feel alone.
☐ I feel alone many times.
☐ I feel alone all the time.
9. ☐ I have plenty of friends.
☐ I have some friends but I wish I had more.
☐ I do not have any friends.
10. ☐ Nobody really loves me.
☐ I am not sure if anybody loves me.
☐ I am sure that somebody loves me.

Appendix M: Rosenberg Self-Esteem Questionnaire

Please read each statement and write in the ONE number that tells how much you agree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4

- _____ 1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
- _____ 2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
- _____ 3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
- _____ 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
- _____ 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
- _____ 6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
- _____ 7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
- _____ 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
- _____ 9. I certainly feel useless at times.
- _____ 10. At times, I think I am no good at all.

Appendix N: The Self-Perception of Social Support – Approval subscale – Revised

Read each statement all the way across. Each statement describes two kinds of teenagers, one on the left, and one on the right. **First** decide which kind of teenager **YOU are most like**, the one on the left, or the one on the right. Pick one. **Then** for each kind of teenager, check whether that description is really true for you or just sort of true for you. So for each numbered item you will be checking only **one box**. Sometimes it will be on the left, sometimes on the right. **DO NOT** check both sides. Just put a check on the side that is most like you.

What people in my life think about me as a person					
Really True For me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
1. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have mothers who do <u>not</u> praise them or say nice things about them	BUT	Other teenagers have mothers who often praise them or say nice things about them	☐
2. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have fathers who are really proud of their children	BUT	Other teenagers have fathers who are <u>not</u> very proud of their children.	☐
3. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have best friends who do <u>not</u> like many of the things they do	BUT	Other teenagers have best friends who do like most of the things they do	☐
4. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have classmates who like the kind of person they are	BUT	Other teenagers have classmates who do <u>not</u> like the kind of person they are	☐
5. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have teachers who praise them or say nice things about them	BUT	Other teenagers have teachers who do <u>not</u> praise them or say nice things about them	☐
6. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have a person they are romantically interested in who does <u>not</u> like the kind of person they are	BUT	Other teenagers have a person they are romantically interested in who does like the kind of person they are	☐
7. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have mothers who are <u>not</u> very proud of their children	BUT	Other teenagers have mothers who are really proud of their children.	☐
8. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have fathers who like most of the things their children do	BUT	Other teenagers have fathers who do <u>not</u> like many of the things their children do	☐
9. ☐	☐	Some teenagers have best friends who do <u>not</u> like the person they are	BUT	Other teenagers have best friends who do like the kind of person they are	☐

Really True For me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
10. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have classmates who do <u>not</u> praise them or say nice things about them.	BUT	Other teenagers have classmates who often praise them or say nice things about them	☐	☐
11. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have teachers who are really proud of their students	BUT	Other teenagers have teachers who are <u>not</u> very proud of their students	☐	☐
12. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have a person they are romantically interested in who does <u>not</u> praise them or say nice things about them.	BUT	Other teenagers have a person they are romantically interested in who does praise them or say nice things about them.	☐	☐
13. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have mothers who do <u>not</u> like many of the things their children do	BUT	Other teenagers have mothers who like most of the things their children do	☐	☐
14. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have fathers who like the kind of person their children are.	BUT	Other teenagers have fathers who do <u>not</u> like the kind of person their children are	☐	☐
15. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have best friends who do <u>not</u> praise them or say nice things about them	BUT	Other teenagers have best friends who do praise them or say nice things about them	☐	☐
16. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have classmates who are really proud of them	BUT	Other teenagers have classmates who are <u>not</u> very proud of them.	☐	☐
17. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have teachers who do <u>not</u> like many of the things their students do	BUT	Other teenagers have teachers who do like most of the things their students do	☐	☐
18. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have a person they are romantically interested in who is really proud of them.	BUT	Other teenagers have a person they are romantically interested in who is <u>not</u> very proud of them.	☐	☐

Really True For me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
19. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have mothers who do <u>not</u> like the kind of person their children are	BUT	Other teenagers have who do like the kind of person their children are.	☐	☐
20. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have fathers who do <u>not</u> praise them or say nice things about them	BUT	Other teenagers have fathers who do praise them or say nice things about them.	☐	☐
21. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have best friends who are <u>not</u> very proud of them.	BUT	Other teenagers have best friends who are really proud of them.	☐	☐
22. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have classmates who like most of the things they do.	BUT	Other teenagers have classmates who do <u>not</u> like many of the things they do.	☐	☐
23. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have teachers who do <u>not</u> like the kind of person their students are.	BUT	Other teenagers have teachers who do like the kind of person their students are.	☐	☐
24. ☐	☐ Some teenagers have a person they are romantically interested in who does <u>not</u> like most of the things they do.	BUT	Other teenagers have a person they are romantically interested in who does like most of the things they do.	☐	☐

Appendix O: The Perceived Social Support Scale

Directions: The statements that follow refer to feelings and experiences that occur to most people at one time or another in their relationship with friends. For each statement there are four possible answers:

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4

- _____ 1. My friends give me the moral support I need.
- _____ 2. Most other people are closer to their friends than I am.
- _____ 3. My friends enjoy hearing about what I think.
- _____ 4. Certain friends come to me when they have problems or need advice.
- _____ 5. I rely on my friends for emotional support.
- _____ 6. If I felt that one or more of my friends were upset with me, I'd just keep it to myself.
- _____ 7. I feel that I'm on the fringe of my circle of friends
- _____ 8. There is a friend I could go to if I were just feeling down, without feeling funny about it later.
- _____ 9. My friends and I are very open about what we think about things.
- _____ 10. My friends are sensitive to my personal needs.
- _____ 11. My friends come to me for emotional support.
- _____ 12. My friends are good at helping me solve problems.
- _____ 13. I have a deep sharing relationship with a number of friends.
- _____ 14. My friends get good ideas about how to do things or make things from me.
- _____ 15. When I confide in friends, it makes me feel uncomfortable.
- _____ 16. My friends seek me out for companionship.
- _____ 17. I think that my friends feel that I'm good at helping them solve problems.
- _____ 18. I don't have a relationship with a friend that is as intimate as other people's relationships with friends.
- _____ 19. I've recently gotten a good idea about how to do something from a friend.
- _____ 20. I wish my friends were much different.

Directions: The statements that follow refer to feelings and experiences that occur to most people at one time or another in their relationships with their families. For each statement there are four possible answers:

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4

- _____ 1. My family gives me the moral support I need.
- _____ 2. I get good ideas about how to do things or make things from my family.
- _____ 3. Most other people are closer to their family than I am.
- _____ 4. When I confide in the members of my family who are closest to me, I get the idea that it makes them uncomfortable.
- _____ 5. My family enjoys hearing about what I think.
- _____ 6. Members of my family share many of my interests.
- _____ 7. Certain members of my family come to me when they have problems or need advice.
- _____ 8. I rely on my family for emotional support.
- _____ 9. There is a member of my family that I could go to if I were just feeling down, without feeling funny about it later.
- _____ 10. My family and I are very open about what we think about things.
- _____ 11. My family is sensitive to my personal needs.
- _____ 12. Members of my family come to me for emotional support.
- _____ 13. Members of my family are good at helping me solve problems.
- _____ 14. I have a deep sharing relationship with a number of members of my family.
- _____ 15. Members of my family get good ideas about how to do things or make thing from me.
- _____ 16. When I confide in members of my family, it makes me uncomfortable.
- _____ 17. Members of my family seek me out for companionship.
- _____ 18. I think that my family feels that I'm good at helping them solve problems.
- _____ 19. I don't have a relationship with a member of my family that is as close as other people's relationships with family members.
- _____ 20. I wish my family were much different.

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