Children's Perceptions of the Personal Relationships in Their Social Networks

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Relatively few investigators have compared and contrasted the characteristics of different kinds of relationships in children's social networks. In the present study, 199 fifth- and sixth-grade children completed Network of Relationships Inventories, which assessed 10 qualities of their relationships with mothers, fathers, siblings, grandparents, friends, and teachers. Consistent with Weiss's (1974) theory, children reported seeking different provisions from different individuals. Mothers and fathers were turned to most often for affection, enhancement of worth, a sense of reliable aid, and instrumental aid. Next to parents, grandparents were turned to most often for affection and enhancement of worth, and teachers were turned to most often for instrumental aid. Friends were the greatest source of companionship, and friends and mothers received the highest ratings of intimacy. Additionally, children reported having more power in their relationships with other children than in those with adults. Conflict was perceived as occurring most often in sibling relationships. Children reported being most satisfied with their relationships with mothers, and they thought that their relationships with mothers and fathers were most important.

Discussion centers around the bases for the children's differentiations of their relationships and the implications for understanding social networks.

Children's social worlds consist of rich networks of close relationships. Mothers, fathers, siblings, relatives, friends, and school personnel are all significant persons in their lives. Unfortunately, investigators studying different relationships have remained relatively isolated from one another. The vast majority of studies have been concerned with only one relationship. In a few instances, some researchers have examined the characteristics of more than one relationship, such as those with parents and peers (e.g., Youniss, 1980), those with siblings and peers (Brody, Stoneman, & MacKinnon, 1982), and particularly those with mothers and fathers (e.g., Lytton, 1980). Even in these studies, however, investigators have principally been concerned with only two relationships at a time.

Two teams of researchers have examined the characteristics of relationships with a broader range of individuals (Hunter & Youniss, 1982; Kon & Losenkov, 1978). Kon and Losenkov (1978) asked Soviet adolescents about the degree of understanding, confidentiality, companionship, and advice-seeking in their relationships with mothers, fathers, friends, and teachers. Hunter and Youniss (1982) investigated developmental changes in the degree of intimacy, nurturance, and behavior control in relationships with mothers, fathers, and friends. Although these two studies are noteworthy, only a limited number of relationship qualities were examined, and some types of relationships were not included (e.g., relationships with siblings or relatives).

Perhaps one reason for the limited amount of research on the networks of personal relationships is the absence of a conceptual framework for studying different relationships. Investigators have focused on different qualities of different relationships. For example, researchers studying parent–child relationships...
have usually been concerned with discipline techniques and attachment, whereas those studying friendships have been concerned with intimacy and self-disclosure. Robert Weiss (1974), however, proposed a theory of social provisions that could serve as a common conceptual framework. Taking a functional approach, he hypothesized that individuals seek specific social provisions or types of social support in their relationships with others. He proposed a list of six basic provisions: (a) attachment—affection, security, and intimate disclosure, (b) reliable alliance—a lasting, dependable bond, though not necessarily an emotional one, (c) enhancement of worth—affirmation of one's competence or value, (d) social integration—companionship and the sharing of experience, (e) guidance—tangible aid and advice, and (f) opportunity for nurturance—taking care of another. Weiss further hypothesized that relationships are specialized, and different provisions are obtained in different relationships. As yet, Weiss's theory has not been applied to children's social relationships. In fact, the theory generally has received little empirical attention, but the concepts seem promising.

Of course, personal relationships involve more than the exchange of social provisions. Previous investigators have found that interpersonal relationships not only vary along a dimension of warmth, an element common to all of Weiss's provisions, but along the dimensions of relative power and conflict (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985; Wiggins, 1979). The latter two dimensions are indexes of the structural nature of the interdependency rather than the functional nature of the resources exchanged. Developmental theorists have hypothesized that the configuration of power in a relationship has a major effect on the nature of the relationship and its impact on development (Youniss, 1980). Less has been said about conflict in children's relationships, although it too can be expected to have a major impact on the nature of the relationship.

The purpose of the present study was to examine the similarities and differences among the various personal relationships in children's social networks. Like Kon and Losenkov (1978) and Hunter and Youniss (1982), we assessed children's preconceptions of these relationships. Although their perceptions may not fully correspond with objective patterns of interaction, they can provide valuable information in their own right (Furman, 1984; Olson, 1977). In particular, self-report measures can be used to reveal the perspective of an insider in a relationship. An insider or participant is familiar with the history and current status of a relationship and can interpret behaviors within the broad context of the relationship. An insider's preconceptions or interpretations may also affect subsequent interactions with or attitudes toward a person. Additionally, interactions with various individuals occur in a broad range of settings, many of which are not accessible to outside observers.

It was hypothesized that children would report that different social network members provide different social provisions. The specific predictions are given in the results section. Many predictions were based on Weiss's theory, but some changes in predictions were made because Weiss's theory was in reference to adults' relationships rather than school-aged children's relationships.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were 103 boys and 96 girls enrolled in the fifth and sixth grades of two parochial schools and one public school. Children ranged in age from 11 to 13 years old. Most were from middle- to upper-middle-class Caucasian families. Six percent had no siblings, 39% had one sibling, 26% had two siblings, and 29% had three or more siblings.

Measure

The Network of Relationships Inventory (NRI) consists of 30 questions, which assess the following 10 relationship qualities. The list of 10 contains six social provisions: (a) reliable alliance, (b) enhancement of worth, (c) instrumental help (guidance), (d) companionship (social integration), (e) affection, and (f) intimacy (disclosure). In Weiss's model, affection and intimacy were both subsumed under attachment. The two were distinguished in the present study because individuals, particularly children, may have strong feelings of affection for others without necessarily engaging in much intimate disclosure with them. Additionally, four other qualities were rated: (a) relative power of the child and other, (b) conflict, (c) satisfaction, and (d) importance of the relationship. Although the focus of the study was on the specific characteristics of different relationships, ratings of satisfaction and importance were included to provide indexes of the overall nature of the relationships.

Subjects answered questions for relationships with each of the following types of individuals: (a) mother or step-
mother, (b) father or stepfather, (c) grandparent, (d) older brother, (e) younger brother, (f) older sister, (g) younger sister, (h) best friend, and (i) teacher. In some cases, a child knew more than one person in one of these categories; if so, the child rated the relationship that was most important to him or her. The list of individuals was based on the results of a small pilot study. Twenty children were asked who the most important people were in their lives. All mentioned parents, siblings, and friends, 85% mentioned teachers, and 60% mentioned grandparents. No other person was mentioned by a majority of the children.

The subjects were asked how much a relationship quality occurred in each relationship, for example, "How much free time do you spend with each of these persons?" Ratings were done on standard five-point Likert scales. Except in the case of relative power, the anchor points were the same on all scales (1 = little or none; 2 = somewhat; 3 = very much; 4 = extremely much; 5 = the most). For relative power, the anchors referred to who had more power (1 = they almost always do; 2 = they often do; 3 = about the same; 4 = I often do; 5 = I almost always do). Responses to the three items assessing each relationship quality were summed for each relationship. Thus, 10 scale scores were yielded for each type of relationship rated.

Psychometric analyses revealed that the internal consistencies of the scale scores were satisfactory. Cronbach's Alpha = .80. Alphas of the 90 scale scores were all greater than .60 except in two instances (companionship with teacher Alpha = .47; conflict with grandparents Alpha = .57).

Procedure

The NRI was administered to groups of children at the school. Each question was read aloud by a trained research assistant. Sessions lasted approximately 30 min. In a subsequent session the children completed another questionnaire about sibling relationships (see Furman & Buhrmester, in press).

Results

To determine whether children described their various relationships differently, we subjected scale scores from the NRI to two-way repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs) in which relationship type and sex of subject were factors. In these analyses, the relationship types consisted of mother, father, grandparent, sibling, friend, and teacher. Only children who had all six types of relationships were included in these analyses because missing data on repeated measures are not permitted in statistical programs currently available. Twenty children were excluded on this basis, principally because of not having a sibling. All subjects, however, were included in a series of supplementary analyses in which each relationship was treated as independent of the others. These analyses revealed almost the identical pattern of effects as the ones reported in the text.

If children had rated more than one sibling, scores for the one rated as most important were included in the analyses; if two siblings were rated as equally important, one was randomly selected. The most important sibling was included in these analyses so as to be consistent with the previous decision to have children rate their relationships with the most important grandparent, teacher, and friend. The group of most important siblings were relatively evenly distributed in terms of age and sex of sibling.

It was also of interest to determine how family constellation variables may affect the characteristics of sibling relationships. Scale scores for relationships with all siblings were subjected to a series of four-way ANOVAS in which sex, sex of sibling, relative age of sibling (older vs. younger), and age spacing (narrow: less than 4 years difference vs. wide: four years or more) were factors. The criterion of four years difference in age was selected because it resulted in the most equal distribution of subjects in the cells. Some children rated more than one sibling relationship. The inclusion of multiple ratings from a subject violates the assumption of independent observations, but the alternative of conducting repeated measures ANOVAS was not possible because current statistical programs do not permit missing data on repeated measures.

Mean scores for each relationship type and quality are presented in Figure 1. Weiss expected that a sense of reliable alliance is provided primarily by kin. Consistent with the hypothesis, a two-way repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant main effect for relationship type, $F(5, 870) = 236.74, p < .001$. Follow-up analyses were conducted using Newman-Keuls tests and the .05 level of significance. Scores were found to cluster into four groups, each significantly different from the other. From highest to lowest scores, the groups were as follows: (a) mothers and fathers, (b) siblings and grandparents, (c) friends, and (d) teachers. There was also a significant main effect for sex, with girls' ratings greater than boys' ratings, $F(1, 174) = 4.27, p < .05$. Finally, the separate analysis of constellation variables revealed a significant effect for relative age, $F(1,$
Children reported a greater sense of reliable alliance with younger siblings than with older siblings.

Weiss (1974) hypothesized that the primary sources of affection (attachment) for adults were spouses or committed romantic partners, but we expected that the primary sources for children are mothers and fathers, with siblings and grandparents expected to be important secondary sources. A repeated measures ANOVA revealed significant main effects for sex, $F(1, 174) = 6.74, p < .05$, and relationship type, $F(5, 870) = 201.73, p < .001$. These effects were qualified, however, by a significant interaction between sex and relationship type, $F(5, 870) = 7.64, p < .001$. Follow-up analyses revealed that boys' ratings fell into four groups, each significantly different from the other: (a) mothers, fathers, and grandparents, (b) siblings, (c) friends, and (d) teachers. Girls' ratings fell into five groups: (a) mothers, (b) fathers, (c) grandparents, (d) siblings and friends, and (e) teachers. Girls' ratings of each group were all significantly different except for the ratings of fathers, which did not differ from the ratings of mothers or grandparents. Follow-up analyses also revealed that boys' and girls' ratings of specific relationships were generally similar, except that girls' ratings of affection from friends and teachers were significantly greater than boys' ratings. In the analysis of constellation variables a significant effect for age spacing was found, $F(1, 246) = 4.23, p < .05$; when the age spacing was wide, children reported greater feelings of affection in their sibling relationships than when the age spacing was narrow.

Weiss proposed that enhancement of worth is provided by relationships that attest to an individual's competence. For adults, colleagues

![Figure 1. Mean quality scores for each type of relationship.](image-url)
and family members may serve this function, 
but for children we expected that parents, and 
to a secondary degree teachers, would be the 
likely sources. In the ANOVA, the relationship 
and relationship by sex effects were significant, 
$F(5, 875) = 79.83, p < .001$, $F(5, 875) = 3.24$, 
$p < .01$, respectively. As expected, mothers and 
and companionship, although parents and siblings 
were expected to be frequent sources as well 
because of the daily contact children have with 
them. A significant main effect for relationship 
type was found, $F(5, 875) = 237.11, p < .001$. 
As predicted, the ranking of scores of the six 
relationships from highest to lowest was 
friends, mothers, siblings, fathers, grandparents, 
and teachers. All scores were significantly 
different from one another except that scores 
for siblings did not differ from those for moth-
ers and fathers. The analysis of constellation 
effects revealed that scores were also affected 
by the relative age of the sibling, $F(1, 246) = 
8.63, p < .01$. Younger siblings were perceived 
as more frequent companions than older ones. 
Additionally, there was a significant interaction 
between sex and sex of sibling, $F(1, 246) = 
14.17, p < .01$. Follow-up analyses indicated 
that children reported engaging in more com-
panionship with same-sex siblings than with 
opposite-sex ones.

In terms of intimacy, it appears that pre-
adolescence is a period of transition, with par-
ents being the key providers prior to this period 
and friends being the most frequent sources in 
adolescence (Buhrmester & Furman, 1984; 
Hunter & Youniss, 1982). Accordingly, no 
predictions were tendered regarding the rela-
tive ranking of scores in relationships with 
mothers, fathers, and friends, but we expected 
that the children would report greater levels of 
intimacy in these three relationships than in 
their other relationships. The ANOVA revealed 
significant main effects for sex, $F(1, 174) = 
6.46, p < .01$, and relationship type, $F(5, 
870) = 116.78, p < .001$. These main effects 
were moderated by a significant sex by rela-
tionship type interaction, $F(5, 870) = 2.92$, 
$p < .01$. Ratings for girls clustered into four 
groups, each significantly different from the 
others: (a) friends and mothers, (b) fathers and 
siblings, (c) grandparents, and (d) teachers. The 
ranking of the six relationships was the same 
for boys as it was for girls, but the difference 
between ratings for fathers and mothers was 
not significant as it had been for girls. Based 
on previous research (Hunter & Youniss, 1982; 
Sharabany, Gershoni, & Hofman, 1981), we 
also expected that girls would report greater 
levels of intimacy in their friendships than boys 
do, but no predictions were tendered concern-
ning sex differences in other relationships. 
Comparisons of boys' and girls' ratings of spe-
cific relationships revealed that girls reported greater intimacy with friends and mothers than boys did. The analysis of constellation effects on intimacy scores revealed a significant effect for relative age, $F(1, 246) = 4.33, p < .05$; intimacy was more common with younger siblings than older ones. Additionally, there was a significant interaction between sex and sibling sex, $F(1, 246) = 5.71, p < .05$. Children reported greater intimacy with same-sex siblings than opposite-sex ones. This effect was moderated, however, by a significant three-way interaction among sex, sibling sex, and age spacing, $F(1, 246) = 5.31, p < .05$. The difference in intimacy between same-sex and opposite-sex dyads was found to be characteristic of only dyads in which the age space was narrow.

Relative power was expected to be a function of the relative ages of the children and social partners. The ANOVA found a significant effect for relationship type, $F(5, 870) = 209.95, p < .001$. As predicted, children reported that they had the greatest amount of power in their relationships with friends and siblings and the least amount of power in their relationships with mothers, fathers, and teachers. The differences between friends and siblings as well as those among mothers, fathers, and teachers were not significant. Ratings of relationships with grandparents fell in between these two groups and differed significantly from all ratings. Mean scores for relationships with adults ranged from 1.56 to 2.25, indicating that they perceived adults as more powerful than them. In contrast, the majority (71%) of the children reported the balance of power in their friendships was equal. Scores for sibling relationships varied as a function of relative age, $F(1, 239) = 283.76, p < .001$. Children reported having less power in their relationships with older siblings than in those with younger siblings.

We expected that children would report the greatest amount of conflict with siblings. Social norms prohibit conflicts with adults (Youniss, 1980), and conflicts with friends were expected to occur infrequently, because these relationships would be likely to dissolve if frequent conflict occurred. The ANOVA revealed significant effects for relationship type, $F(5, 870) = 101.74, p < .001$, and relationship type by sex, $F(5, 870) = 3.60, p < .001$. Both boys and girls reported the greatest amount of conflict with siblings and the least amount with grandparents. Boys' ratings of the remaining four relationships were not different, but girls' ratings of conflict with teachers were lower than those for friends or either parent. Follow-up analyses also revealed that boys perceived more conflict with siblings and teachers than girls did. The analysis of constellation effects revealed a significant main effect for age-spacing, $F(1, 239) = 13.84, p < .001$. Conflict occurred more frequently in narrow-spaced dyads than wide-spaced dyads. This effect was moderated, however, by a significant interaction between age-spacing and relative age. Children reported less conflict with wide-spaced older siblings than with narrow-spaced older siblings or with younger siblings of either spacing.

In the analysis of importance scores, significant main effects were found for sex, $F(1, 175) = 5.01, p < .05$, and relationship type, $F(5, 875) = 192.31, p < .001$. Girls perceived their relationships to be more important than boys did. The importance ratings clustered into four groups, each significantly different from the others. From highest to lowest scores, the ratings were as follows: (a) mothers and fathers, (b) grandparents and siblings, (c) friends, and (d) teachers. Analysis of the constellation variables revealed a significant effect for age spacing, $F(1, 239) = 5.62, p < .05$. Ratings of importance were greater when the age spacing was wide than when it was narrow.

Finally, the analysis of satisfaction scores revealed a significant main effect for relationship type, $F(5, 870) = 3.60, p < .001$. The ranking of scores for the six relationships from highest to lowest was mothers, fathers, friends, grandparents, siblings, and teachers. All were significantly different from each other except friends and grandparents for whom the ratings were essentially identical. Constellation variables did not affect ratings of satisfaction.

Discussion

As a whole, the results offer a rich picture of the social provisions obtained from different relationships during middle childhood. Parents are seen as important sources for many social provisions. As predicted, mothers and fathers received the highest ratings on four provisions—affection, reliable alliance, enhancement of worth, and instrumental aid. Clearly,
parent–child bonds have strong emotional and instrumental components.

Ratings of companionship and satisfaction were higher for relationships with mothers than those with fathers. Additionally, girls reported greater intimacy with mothers than with fathers, although boys did not distinguish between parents. These differences are consistent with the finding that mothers typically spend more time interacting with their children than fathers do (Lytton, 1980). Still, fathers were perceived to be very important sources for many provisions.

Next to parents, grandparents received the highest ratings for affection, enhancement of worth, and importance, but the ratings of the tangible types of social provisions (e.g., companionship, intimacy, and instrumental aid) were relatively low. Children also reported less conflict with them than with anyone else. Apparently, even though children may interact less with grandparents than with the other significant members of their network, the interactions seem very affectionate and supportive. Clearly, these relationships deserve further attention by social scientists (Tinsley & Parke, 1984).

Sullivan (1953) hypothesized that during preadolescence, friends or chums first become important sources of social support. Consistent with this hypothesis, the ratings of companionship with friends were greater than those for anyone else, and the ratings of intimacy with friends were equalled by only those for mothers.

Girls appear to rely on their best friends more heavily than boys do. In previous studies girls have been found to prefer intense dyadic relationships, whereas boys have been found to prefer extensive relationships with many peers (Lever, 1976; Tietgen, 1982). Additionally, ratings of intimacy in girls' best friendships are greater than those in boys' best friendships (Hunter & Youniss, 1982; Sharabany et al., 1981). In the present study, girls reported more intimacy, affection, and enhancement of worth in their best friendships than boys did. These three qualities have been thought to be increasingly characteristic of friendships as children grow older, suggesting that girls' best friendships may be more developmentally mature than boys' best friendships (Bigelow & La Gaipa, 1980; Sharabany et al., 1981). It should be noted, however, that most of these sex differences are relationship-specific and are not characteristic of boys' and girls' interactions with everyone.

Relationships with siblings are somewhat paradoxical in nature. On the one hand, children reported that they are important sources of several social provisions, such as companionship. On the other hand, children reported that conflict occurred most often with siblings, and they were less satisfied with their relationships with siblings than with anyone except their teachers. The paradoxical nature of these descriptions seems to reflect the ambivalence inherent in sibling relationships. The structure of families binds siblings into close proximity to each other. As a result, siblings have ready access to each other as sources of social provisions, but competition and conflicts of interest are also likely to occur. The striking mixture of closeness and conflict may lead to unique learning experiences in sibling relationships.

Certainly, however, not all sibling relationships are alike. In fact, the differences among sibling relationships are as striking as the similarities among them. Family constellation variables were found to affect almost all the relationship qualities assessed in this study. Like parents, siblings who were older were frequent sources of instrumental aid. On the other hand, same-sex siblings, particularly those close in age, were frequent sources of intimacy and companionship. In many respects, these latter relationships seem to resemble friendships, but the high amount of conflict does distinguish them from friendships.

Although each relationship has specific structural and functional characteristics, there is considerable overlap among the relationships. All provisions can be obtained from more than one person. Functionally, it seems valuable for children to be able to obtain a provision from more than one person in case someone is unavailable or is unwilling or unable to provide it. In effect, the present findings illustrate the synergistic interplay among relationships. Each relationship has a unique role, but the roles of different relationships complement and reinforce one another.

Although emphasis has been placed on the differences among various types of relationships in the social network, it is also clear that
the characteristics of any specific kind of relationship vary from child to child as the results concerning sibling relationships demonstrate. Moreover, any child is likely to have somewhat different relationships with each grandparent, sibling, friend, or teacher he or she has. In the present study, we primarily focused on the relationships with the ones perceived to be the most important. If we had examined all instances of these relationships, the descriptions of them may have been somewhat different.

The primary sources of various provisions may also vary from child to child. For example, some children may turn to their peers for companionship, whereas others may turn to their siblings. Many investigators have studied individual differences in specific relationships, but we know of little research on individual differences in social networks (see Cochran & Brassard, 1979; Tietjen, 1982).

The Network of Relationships Inventory appears to be a valuable instrument for assessing the similarities and differences in relationships. The present investigation, however, is just the initial step in the process of validating the measure and studying the characteristics of social networks. As noted previously, however, the NRI is a measure of children’s perceptions of the characteristics of their relationships. Further research is needed to determine the relations between children’s perceptions and actual patterns of interaction in various relationships.

Developmental changes in the characteristics of children’s relationships are also of interest. For example, as children grow older, we expect that ratings of intimacy with friends will increase markedly, whereas ratings for parents will remain stable or decrease moderately (Buhrmester & Furman, 1984; Hunter & Youniss, 1982). In fact, one can generally expect same-sex friends to become more important sources of many of the provisions as children reach adolescence. Cross-sex friendships and romantic relationships are also likely to become important in adolescence and should be incorporated in studies of adolescents’ relationships.

In subsequent research, the relations between the characteristics of children’s social networks and their socioemotional adjustment should be studied. Weiss (1974) hypothesized that negative emotions are experienced when social provisions are not obtained; the specific emotions experienced vary depending upon the provision that is missing. As yet, this hypothesis has not been tested. Numerous investigators have documented that the characteristics of parent–child or peer relationships are related to socioemotional adjustment, but these investigators have usually examined only a single relationship at a time. By examining the range of relationships, we can compare the effects that different relationships (and different provisions) have on socioemotional adjustment.

In fact, almost any topic that has been of interest to investigators studying specific relationships would be an appropriate topic to study from a comparative perspective. Investigators examining different kinds of relationships have remained relatively isolated from each other. By examining simultaneously the multitude of relationships in children’s networks, we can develop a unified approach that can integrate the different literatures. Such an approach will lead to a better understanding of how children’s personal relationships affect development.

References


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