
Gender and friendship: relationships within peer groups of young children

Carollee Howes and Leslie Phillipsen, University of California at Los Angeles

Abstract

We examined the influences of developing gender segregation on children's friendship maintenance in a longitudinal sample of 40 (17 girls) children who began their peer group experiences as infants. Friendships were behaviorally identified and social interaction was observed and rated six times between average age 16.3 months and average age 49.1 months. The proportion of cross-gender friendships increased with age only when children formed friendships outside of the core group of peers with whom they had begun infant care. Girl-girl and cross-gender friendships were more likely to be maintained than boy-boy friendships. Cross-gender friends tended to be similar in gregariousness in both toddler and preschool periods, similar in hostile aggression as toddlers, and similar in withdrawn behavior as preschoolers. Same-gender friends were not similar in social interaction style. Social skill similarity was generally more important as a basis for friendship in the toddler periods than in the preschool periods. However, cross-gender friends tended to be similar in social skills throughout both the toddler and preschool periods.

Keywords: Peer relations; gender; friendship; social interaction

Introduction

Gender segregation or preference for same-gender playmates is a well documented aspect of preschool children's playgroups (Fagot & Patterson, 1969; Foot, Chapman & Smith, 1980; Hartup, 1983; Maccoby, 1990). By age three preschool friendships as well as play partners follow gender lines. In fact, by late preschool it is difficult to find cross-gender friendship pairs (Gottman, 1986). At least one study reports that gender segregation begins towards the end of the toddler period with girls initially forming same-gender playgroups (LaFreniere, Strayer & Gauthier, 1984). Other research suggests that girls may form same-gender groups simultaneously with or in response to gender-selective behaviors from boys. Howes (1988a) reports that toddler age boys are less likely to respond to a girl's invitation

We appreciate the efforts of the research team who worked on this study: Kristin Droege, Darlene Galluzzo, Annette Groen, Claire Hamilton, Catherine Matheson, Lisabeth Meyers, Jacqueline Moore, and Ellen Wolpov. We are very grateful for the graciousness of the families and child care teachers who allowed us to study the children. Reprint requests may be addressed to Carollee Howes, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1521, USA.

to play than to a boy's. Serbin, Sprakin, Elman and Doyle (1984) found that, between the ages of three and five, boys decreasingly responded to girls' attempts at social influence. This asymmetrical responsiveness is pervasive in studies of preschool-age boys and girls (Charlesworth & Dzur, 1987; Charlesworth & LaFreniere, 1983; Fagot, 1985; Jacklin & Maccoby, 1978; Maccoby, 1990).

These generalizations about gender segregation and same-gender friendships are less true for toddler peer groups than preschool peer groups. Although toddler age children interact differently with different partners (Ross & Lollis, 1989; van Lieshout, *in press*) and differentiate between friends and playmates (Hinde, Titmus, Easton & Tamplin, 1985; Howes, 1983; 1988b) they do not select their friends (Howes, 1988a) or their playmates (Moller, 1991) on the basis of gender. The purpose of this study is to examine in a longitudinal fashion the influence of developing gender segregation on children's friendship relationships that were formed prior to gender segregation. We were particularly interested in examining developmental shifts in the basis for friend selection. If toddlers initially form their friendships using criteria other than gender, do these same children shift to forming friendships on the basis of gender as preschoolers?

Children enrolled as infants in child care can have relationships with both long term peers and with newcomers to the peer group. If a child enters child care as an infant and remains with a stable core group of peers who also began as infants, she or he also has access to a second group of peers who enter the group as older children. A second common child care pattern is for the child to change child care setting between the toddler and preschool periods. Often several children make this transition together. These children, then, have a pool of long term acquaintances and new children from which to form friendships. Based on the strength of gender segregation as a developmental phenomena (Maccoby, 1990), we expected that new preschool friendships would be more likely to be formed on the basis of gender matching than the original toddler friendships. We also expected that same-gender friendships would be more likely to be maintained into the preschool period than would cross-gender friendships.

If toddlers are not initially forming their friendships on the basis of gender, what criteria are they using? Hartup (1983) suggests that school age children form friendships primarily on the basis of gender, age, and race; only secondarily are behavioral and attitudinal similarities a factor in friendship formation. As toddler peer groups tend to be similar in age, and as racial awareness tends to begin after the toddler period, we examined behavioral similarities as well as gender as an initial base for friendship.

There are early individual differences in children's social interaction style (Lee, 1973; Moller, 1991). Some children are very sociable and gregarious while others prefer solitary play. Moller (1991) found that toddler age children who frequently played in proximity tended to have similar or compatible play styles. Likewise, we expected toddler friends would be more similar in social interaction style than toddler pairs who were not friends.

Gender-segregation may intensify sex-differences in social interaction style (Maccoby, 1988, 1990). Ample research evidence exists for differential social styles in preschool age children (see review by Maccoby & Jacklin, 1987). For example, by mid to late preschool, boys are more rough and aggressive than girls (DiPietro, 1981), and girls are less concerned with dominance issues and use more turn-taking

than boys (Maccoby, 1985). These findings are corroborated in several ethnographic accounts of play themes and patterns within preschool classrooms (Paley, 1984; Pitcher & Schultz, 1983). Based on this literature, we expected preschool same-gender friendships to be more similar in social interaction style than toddler same-gender friendships.

At least one ethnographic study (Z. Rubin, 1980) suggests that preschool friendships may be complementary as well as compatible in behavioral style. Complementary friendships are between socially active and socially withdrawn children. Therefore, in our work we examined complementary as well as compatible behavioral styles.

Friendship relationships and social skills are correlated. Both toddler and preschool friend pairs play more socially skillfully than non-friend pairs (Howes, 1983; Werebe & Baudonnière, 1991). Furthermore, Howes (1988a) found that children who maintained friendships from the toddler period were more socially skilled as preschoolers than those who did not maintain friendships. Hartup (1991) argues that children become socially skillful within friendship relationships. This may be particularly true of toddler age children whose reliance on non-verbal and idiosyncratic symbolic social behaviors may limit their ability to play with a wide range of partners. Alternatively, more socially skillful children may form friendships with socially skillful partners. We will examine these hypotheses by comparing similarity in social skills of friend pairs across time.

Method

Sample

Seventy-two children (32 girls) initially comprised the sample. Approximately two-thirds of the children in the sample were from middle class and one-third from working class families. The children in the sample were 61% European-American, 14% African-American, 13% Latino and 12% Asian-American. All of the children were enrolled in child care prior to their first birthdays (average age at entrance 6.3m). The children ranged in age from 13 to 24 months at the first data collection point. Over the three year course of the study we lost twenty-four children reducing our longitudinal sample size to 40 (17 girls). Children left the study because they moved out of the geographic area, because they no longer attended child care arrangements that included peers or because they left their original peer groups as toddlers. Children remaining in the study were no different in terms of ethnicity or family background than children who left the study.

The children were initially enrolled in six different child care centers and family day care homes. Thirteen (5 girls, 33% of the sample) of these children remained in the same child care center throughout the study. These 13 children, although they were in the same center, remained in two separate peer groups. Fourteen (5 girls, 35% of the sample) of the children moved from the same infant-toddler arrangements to the same preschool child care centers. Most of these children moved as pairs or triads. These two groups, totalling 27 children, contributed data at all six data collection points.

An additional 13 (7 girls, 32% of the sample) children remained in stable peer groups through the third data collection point (average age of subsample at third

data collection point = 30.1 months). After this the children continued in the study through the sixth data collection point but moved as individuals to other child care centers. For the purposes of these analyses we used only the first through third data collection point data for these 13 children.

The core sample of 40 children resulted in a total of 115 dyads in the first to third data collection periods, and 75 dyads in the fourth to sixth data collection periods. The 115 dyads included 21 girl pairs, 47 boy pairs, and 47 cross-gender pairs. The 75 dyads included 12 girl pairs, 39 boy pairs and 24 cross-gender pairs.

In addition to forming friendships among themselves, the children in the core sample also formed friendships with one to five children who were in their peer group but not in our core sample. These additional friend pairs were collected in the friendship scans (see below). Only gender and first names are available for these additional children. Child care peer groups, unlike our core sample, were balanced for sex. Therefore children had equal opportunities to form friendships with same- or cross-gender peers.

Procedure

We collected data on the children in the study six times. Each data collection point was approximately six months apart. At each data collection point each child was observed in the child care setting a total of four times on four separate days by two observers. Each visit lasted an hour. Visits were scheduled at times when the child was free to interact with both adults and peers.

Friendship scans

Friendship scans were completed at five minute intervals across the entire visit. A random order list of all children in the study was prepared for each classroom. The observer went down the list of children in the study in that classroom and noted the child's partner by name. She then determined if the pair met the definition of a behaviorally identified friend (Howes, 1988b). To be coded as behaviorally identified friends the dyad had to (1) be within three feet of each other (2) be engaged in interactive social play and (3) express shared positive affect. Shared positive affect was defined as *both* children expressing positive affect while engaged in social play. Dyads meeting the behaviorally identified friend criteria during 30% of the friendship scans in a data collection period were considered friends.

Inter-observer reliability for friendship scans was established to a criterion of 82% agreement prior to each data collection point. Inter-observer reliability was re-established at monthly intervals throughout the entire data collection period. Inter-observer reliability for friendship scans ranged from .90 to .94; median equalled .93.

A minimum of 12 friendship scans were completed for each child during each data collection period. Children who were in peer groups with larger numbers of study children had more opportunities to be in friendship scans than children in peer groups without other study children. The actual number of friendship scans including a child per data collection period ranged from 24 to 60. The number of friendship scans collected on a child was unrelated to the number of friendships recorded for that child ($r(38) = .02$).

Observation of social behavior and interaction

During each one-hour visit the observer coded three 5-minute time samples of the social behaviors and interaction of the child. The time samples were spaced evenly throughout the observation period; that is, the child's behavior was coded approximately every 20 minutes. Each 5-minute time sample was broken into fifteen 20-second intervals. Behaviors were coded as present or absent within each interval. The child's partner or partners were identified in each interval. Friendship scans and behavioral observations were not conducted simultaneously.

From these behavioral observations we created four dimensions of social interaction style-gregarious, hostile aggression, instrumental aggression, and withdrawal. These dimensions were reliable within and across developmental periods (Howes, Phillipsen & Hamilton, in press). Table 1 presents definitions and inter-observer reliabilities for these data. Inter-observer reliabilities were established in an identical manner to the friendship scans.

At the conclusion of the observations for each data collection period each observer completed the Baumrind Preschool Q-Set (Baumrind, 1968). Item scores were averaged across observers. We used factor analytic techniques to create four cluster of items that were consistent across all six observation periods (Howes, *et al*, in press). These clusters represented prosocial, gregarious, hostile aggression and withdrawn social interaction dimensions. See Table 1.

Activity ratings

At the final data collection point we asked parents to complete the Toddler Temperament Scale (Fullard, McDevitt & Carey, 1984). Because of previous reports of gender differences in activity, the activity rating from this scale was used in the current analysis.

Results*Description of friendships*

At all data collection periods most children had at least one and as many as 12 friendships. The average number of friendships varied with age. The children averaged one friendship as young toddlers (average age: 16.3 months), three (average age: 22.9 months) to four (average age: 29.4 months) as older toddlers and five to six as preschoolers (average ages 36.9 months, 43.1 months, and 49.1 months). Boys and girls had similar numbers of friendships at each data collection period (time 1: $t(38)=1.49$; time 2: $t(38)=1.74$; time 3: $t(38)=1.45$; time 4: $t(25)=.43$; time 5: $t(25)=.67$; time 6: $t(25)=.91$).

Gender composition of friendship

The gender composition of friend pairs is in Table 2. The percent of cross-gender friendships formed between core sample children and all children in their peer group decreased from 53 percent to 15 percent across the course of the study. The proportion of girl-girl friendships remained relatively constant at approximately 20

percent and the percent of boy-boy friendships increased from 25 percent to 61 percent. Thus, as expected, the proportion of cross-gender friendships decreased as the children became preschoolers. However, contrary to the predictions from prior literature, only the proportion of boy-boy same-gender friendships increased. The proportion of girl-girl same-gender friendships remained constant from the toddler to preschool periods.

In order to explore this discrepancy more fully, we examined friendships formed among children in the core sample, together since infancy, and friendships formed between core sample children and non-core sample children. These friendships are also tabled on Table 2. The only dramatic, but not significant, decrease in cross-gender friendship in the sample of friend pairs among just core sample children came between time 1 when 77 percent of the friendships were cross-gender and time 2 when the proportion decreased to 30 percent ($\chi^2(1)=3.47$, $p<.10$). There were so few friend pairs at time 1 that this instability in distribution is not remarkable. From time 2 until time 6 the proportion of cross-gender pairs increased (although not significantly) to 43 percent. In contrast, the proportion of cross-gender friendships in the sample of friend pairs formed between core sample and non-core sample children steadily and significantly decreased from 48 percent at time 1 to eight percent at time 6 ($\chi^2(1)=22.97$, $p<.01$).

Although the percent of girl-girl friendships in the sample of friendships among children in the core sample increased from time 1 to time 6, the change was not significant ($\chi^2(2)=.66$). The percent of girl-girl friendships in the sample of friendships between children in the core sample and non-core sample also increased from time 1 to time 6. This increase was significant ($\chi^2(1)=7.06$, $p<.01$).

The percent of boy-boy friendships in the sample of friends among children in the core sample remained constant across the toddler and preschool periods ($\chi^2(1)=.67$). In contrast the percent of boy-boy friendships in the sample of friendships increased from 26 percent to 69 percent. This increase was significant ($\chi^2(1)=25.57$, $p<.01$).

Therefore, in summary, the decrease in cross-gender friendship pairs appeared to occur only when the core sample children formed friendships with children outside of the core sample. This supports the hypothesis that same-gender friendships are formed from the pool of children new to the peer group rather than from the pool of children together since infancy.

Stability of same and cross-gender friendships

In order to determine whether children drop or maintain their cross-gender friendships as they make the transition from infancy to preschool we examined the stability of friendship pairs within the core sample. The number of pairs of friends of each gender composition maintained over various time periods is displayed in Table 3. Girl-girl and cross-gender friendship dyads tended to be maintained over time while boy-boy dyads were less likely to be maintained (one time period $\chi^2(1)=10.54$, $p<.01$; two time periods $\chi^2(1)=9.87$, $p<.01$; three time periods $\chi^2(1)=13.76$, $p<.01$; four time periods $\chi^2(1)=7.68$, $p<.01$). This finding is contrary to our hypothesis that same-gender friendships would be more likely than cross-gender friendships to be maintained.

Table 1. Dimensions, Procedures, and Measures.

Dimensions	Variable Name	Procedure	Definition	Inter-observer reliability (kappa) Median across observation periods
<i>Social interaction style</i>				
Gregarious	<i>Observed gregarious</i>	Behavior samples	Sum of verbal and nonverbal social bids, e.g., smile, vocalize, offer, point, plus look	.93
	Total initiations		To be successful, the target of the social bid must look and/or make a social bid in response	.94
	Percent successful initiations			
	Total target of initiations from peers		Sum of verbal and nonverbal social bids from peers	.91
Hostile aggression	Percent cooperate with peers		To cooperate the child must smile, make a prosocial verbal comment, accept an offered toy, or join a suggested game	.96
	<i>Rated gregarious</i>	Q-set	6 items, including 'comfortable and secure in interaction with peers'	.93-.96
	<i>Observed hostile aggression</i>	Behavior samples	Hits, bites, pulls hair, etc.	.95
	Physical aggression		screaming or verbal insult	.89
	Verbal aggression			

	Reject peer		In response to a social bid, the child turns her back, pushes away; offered toy, says, 'no, you can't play,' pulls hair, or makes another aggressive move	.96
	Fight		Both children engage in physical aggression, e.g., biting, hitting	.96
	<i>Rated hostile aggression</i>	Q-Set	4 items including 'destructively impetuous and impulsive'	.90-.96
Withdrawn	<i>Observed withdraw</i> Solitary	Behavior samples	Child not engaged with adults or peers	.94
	Unoccupied		Aimless wandering without focus on activity or people	.93
	<i>Rated withdraw</i>	Q-Set	2 items including 'timid with other children'	.92-.94
Social Skill Complex play	<i>Observed complex play</i> Complementary-reciprocal	Behavior samples	Action based role reversals in social e.g., run-chase or peek-a-boo	.95
	Cooperative social pretend		Enactment of complementary roles within social pretend play	.94
	Complex social pretend		Social pretend play plus meta-communication about play, i.e., naming or assigning roles, proposing or modifying the script	.96

Table 2. Gender Composition of Friend Pairs.

	Mean age in months					
	16.3	22.9	29.4	36.9	43.1	49.1
<i>Friendships between core sample children and all children in their peer group</i>						
Girl-girl	7	18	26	34	32	32
Boy-boy	8	32	72	94	94	84
Girl-boy	17	25	42	46	31	21
<i>Friendships among just children in the core sample</i>						
Girl-girl	1	7	5	7	7	7
Boy-boy	2	12	18	22	13	9
Girl-boy	6	8	14	16	13	12
<i>Friendships between core sample and non-core sample children</i>						
Girl-girl	6	8	21	27	25	25
Boy-boy	6	20	54	72	81	75
Girl-boy	11	17	28	30	18	9

Activity as a basis for friendship

In order to examine activity compatibility as a basis for toddler and preschool friendships, we computed Pearson product moment correlations between the activity ratings of the members of our friend pairs. These correlations were completed separately for same- and cross-gender pairs at each time period. There were no significant correlations. Therefore, in this sample activity, compatibility does not appear to be a basis for friendship.

Social interaction style as a basis for friendship

We examined similarity of same- and cross-gender friend pairs in social interaction style (see Table 1) by computing Pearson product moment correlations between the social interaction styles of friends. The Pearson product moment correlations are in Table 4. Cross-gender friends tended to be similar in gregariousness in both the toddler and preschool periods. They were similar in hostile aggression as toddlers and similar in withdrawn behavior as preschoolers. Same-gender friends were not similar in social interaction style. We computed similar correlations to examine complementarity in social interaction style and found fewer significant correlations than would be expected by chance.

Social skill similarity as a basis for friendship

Finally we examined similarity in social skill as a basis for friendship by computing correlations between social skill ratings of friends. These correlations were done separately for each time period. They are displayed in Table 5. As we had predicted, social skill similarity was generally more important in the toddler periods

than in the preschool periods. However, cross-gender friends tended to be similar in social skills throughout both the toddler and preschool periods.

Discussion

The current study makes two major contributions to our understanding of friendship formation and maintenance in young children. The first of these findings concerns cross-gender friendships. The second concerns the basis for friendships in the toddler and preschool periods.

Previous literature reports that toddler friendships are gender-neutral (Howes, 1988b). In the current study, we found that cross-gender friendships formed in the toddler period were likely to be maintained into preschool. The same children who tended to form same-gender friendships with newcomers to the peer group as preschoolers were also able to maintain their cross-gender friendships in the context of a peer group becoming increasingly gender-associated. We also found that girl-girl friendships were more likely to be maintained than boy-boy friendships. This suggests that girls may be doing more of the 'work' of friendship

Table 3. Gender Composition of Maintained Friendships Formed Between Children in the Core Sample.

	Girls	Gender Composition ^a	
		Boys	Cross-Gender
Time periods			
Time 1 to Time 2	0	100	50
Time 1 to Time 3	0	100	50
Time 1 to Time 4	0	0	100
Time 1 to Time 5	0	0	100
Time 1 to Time 6	0	0	100
Time 2 to Time 3	93	92	95
Time 2 to Time 4	100	82	100
Time 2 to Time 5	100	55	100
Time 2 to Time 6	100	40	100
Time 3 to Time 4	100	72	100
Time 3 to Time 5	100	50	100
Time 3 to Time 6	100	41	100
Time 4 to Time 5	100	55	75
Time 4 to Time 6	100	41	75
Time 5 to Time 6	100	69	92

^a Figures in table are percent of friendships in the gender composition category that were maintained. Adjustments have been made for decrease in available dyads Time 3 to Time 4.

Table 4. Similarity in Friends' Style of Social Interaction.

	Gregarious		Social Interaction Style		Withdrawn	
	Obs.	Rated	Hostile Obs.	Rated	Obs.	Rated
<i>16.3 months</i>						
same-gender (n=3)	.63	.28	-.88	-.41	.08	-.21
cross-gender (n=6)	.77	.11	-.02	.60	.49	.58
<i>22.9 months</i>						
same-gender (n=19)	.15	.18	-.29	-.15	.07	.16
cross-gender (n=8)	.35	.51	.51	.37	.40	.19
<i>29.4 months</i>						
same-gender (n=23)	.13	.25	.01	.04	.18	.18
cross-gender (n=14)	.41	.55*	.74**	.55*	.34	.56*
<i>36.4 months</i>						
same-gender (n=29)	.25	.30	.03	.09	-.28	.54**
cross-gender (n=16)	.49*	.58*	.28	.17	.22	.55*
<i>43.3 months</i>						
same-gender (n=20)	.10	.19	-.05	-.08	-.12	-.12
cross-gender (n=12)	.65*	.63*	.31	.34	.62*	.51
<i>49.1 months</i>						
same-gender (n=16)	-.05	-.33	-.06	-.11	-.12	-.01
cross-gender (n=12)	.67*	.59*	.25	.34	.59*	.39

*p<.05

**p<.01

maintenance. Older girls' friendships are reported to be more intensive, while older boys' friendships to be more extensive (Waldrop & Halverson, 1975). The social skills needed to develop intensive and presumably more intimate friendships may be the same skills that maintain friendships. Future research is needed to examine the patterns of interaction that are linked to friendship intimacy and maintenance.

Table 5. Relations between Social Skill Ratings of Friends.

mean age in months	Cross Correlations					
	16.3m.	22.9m.	29.4m.	36.9m.	43.1m.	49.1m.
Friend categories						
all friend pairs	.43	.46*	.31*	.17	.04	.18
same-gender	.49	.45*	.21	-.02	-.07	-.17
cross-gender	.41	.47*	.61**	.62**	.52*	.31

*p<.05

**p<.01

Maccoby (1990), in reviewing the literature on the process of gender segregation, suggests that girls continue to make social overtures to boys as the peer group is undergoing gender segregation but that boys tend to ignore or reject these overtures. If this was the dominant pattern of social interaction in our peer groups as they made the transition between toddlers and preschoolers, how were the cross-gender friendships maintained? In previous research we found that a boy during this period was far more likely to respond to a girl if she was a friend (Howes, 1988b). In the current research we found that cross-gender but not same-gender friendships tended to be similar in social interaction style. Perhaps the 'glue' for the cross-gender friendships is compatibility. The cross-gender friend may be so much fun and comfortable as a play partner that it doesn't matter that he or she is of the other gender.

Compatibility between friends was particularly apparent in social skills. All friends were similar in social skills as toddlers. This may be because toddler peer interaction is dependent on ritualized idiosyncratic meanings instead of shared symbolic communication (Howes, 1988a). However only cross-gender friend pairs were similar in social skills in preschool. This suggests that cross-gender friendships may be maintained because of a good match in social skills.

In conclusion and contrary to our hypotheses, we found that, for children enrolled in child care as infants, early friendships were more powerful than gender segregation. The children in our study did not give up their cross-gender friendships in the face of developing gender segregation. Instead, cross-gender friendships were stable across time. One reason for the resiliency of these friendship appears to be highly compatible play styles. Future research may wish to examine differences in the play styles of same- and cross-gender friendships. Perhaps cross-gender friendship pairs have evolved a more gender-neutral style of interaction that contributes to the stability of their friendships.

References

- Baumrind, D. (1968). Manual for the Preschool Behavior Q-Sort. University of California, Berkeley.
- Charlesworth, W.R. & LaFreniere, P. (1983). Dominance, friendship utilization and resource utilization in preschool children's groups. *Ethology and Sociobiology*, 4, 175-186.
- Charlesworth, W.R. & Dzur, C. (1987). Gender comparisons of preschooler's behavior and resource utilization in group problem solving. *Child Development*, 58, 191-200.
- DiPetro, J. (1981). Rough and tumble play: A function of gender. *Developmental Psychology*, 17, 50-58.
- Fagot, B.I. (1985). Changes in thinking about early sex role development. *Developmental Review*, 5, 83-98.
- Fagot, B.I. & Patterson, G. (1969). An in vivo analysis of reinforcing contingences for sex-role behaviors in preschool children. *Developmental Psychology*, 22, 440-443.
- Foot, H.C., Chapman, A.J. & Smith, J.R. (1980). Patterns of interaction in children's friendships. In A.J. Chapman & J.R. Smith (Eds.), *Friendships and social relations in children* (pp. 267-289). New York: Wiley.
- Fullard, W., McDevitt, S.C. & Carey, W.B. (1984). The toddler temperament scale. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology*, 9, 205-217.
- Gottman, J. (1986). The world of coordinated play: Same- and cross-sex friendships in young children. In J. Gottman and J. Parker (Eds.), *Conversations of friends* (pp. 139-191). New York: Wiley.
- Hartup, W.W. (1983). Peer relations. In E.M. Hetherington & P.H. Mussen (Series Eds.),

- Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 4, Socialization, personality, and social development* (pp. 103-196). New York: Wiley.
- Hartup, W.W. (1991). *Having friends, making friends, and keeping friends: Relationships as educational contexts*. Paper presented at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.
- Hinde, R.A., Titmus, G., Easton, D. & Tamplin, A. (1985). Incidence of 'friendship' and behavior with strong associates versus nonassociates in preschoolers. *Child Development*, 56, 234-245.
- Howes, C. (1983). Patterns of friendship. *Child Development*, 54, 1041-1053.
- Howes, C. (1988a). Same- and cross-sex friends: Implications for interaction and social skills. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 3, 21-37.
- Howes, C. (1988b). Peer interaction of young children. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Young Children*, 53 (Serial No. 217).
- Howes, C., Phillipsen, L. & Hamilton, C. (in press). Constructing social communication with peers: Domains and sequences. In J. Nadel & E.L. Camaioni, (Eds.), *New Perspectives in Early Communication Development*. London: Routledge.
- Jacklin, C.N. & Maccoby, E.E. (1978). Social behavior at thirty-six months in same-sex and mixed-sex dyads. *Child Development*, 49, 557-569.
- LaFreniere, P., Strayer, F.F. & Gauthier, R. (1984). The emergence of same-sex affiliative preferences among preschool peers: A developmental/ethological perspective. *Child Development*, 55, 1958-1965.
- Lee, L.C. (1973). Social encounters of infants: The beginnings of popularity. Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the *International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Maccoby, E.E. (1985). Social groupings in childhood. In D. Olweus, J. Block & M. Radke-Yarrow (Eds.), *Development of antisocial and prosocial behavior: Theories, research, and issues* (pp. 227-331). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Maccoby, E.E. (1988). Gender as social category. *Developmental Psychology*, 24, 755-765.
- Maccoby, E. (1990). Gender and relationships: A developmental account. *American Psychologist*, 45, 513-520.
- Maccoby, E.E. & Jacklin, C.N. (1987). Gender segregation in childhood. In H.W. Reese, (Ed.), *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, Vol. 20. New York: Academic Press.
- Moller, L. (1991). *Toddler preferences*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Concordia University, Montreal.
- Paley, V. (1984). *Boys & girls: Superheroes in the doll corner*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pitcher, E.G. & Schultz, L.H. (1983). *Boys and girls at play: The development of sex roles*. South Hadley, MA: Begin & Garvey.
- Ross, M. & Lollis, S. (1989). A social relations analysis of toddler peer relations. *Child Development*, 60, 1082-1091.
- Rubin, Z. (1980). *Children's friendships*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- van Lieshout, C.F.M. (in press). Contributions of the target person and target to dyadic interactions in 1 to 3 year old toddlers. In J. Nadel & E.L. Camaioni (Eds.), *New Perspectives in Early Communication Development*. London: Routledge.
- Waldrop, M.F. & Halverson, C.F. (1975). Intensive and extensive peer behavior: Longitudinal and cross sectional analyses. *Child Development*, 46, 19-26.
- Werebe, M.J. & Baudonniere, P. (1991). Social pretend play among friends and familiar peers. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 14, 411-428.

This document is a scanned copy of a printed document. No warranty is given about the accuracy of the copy. Users should refer to the original published version of the material.

This document is a scanned copy of a printed document. No warranty is given about the accuracy of the copy. Users should refer to the original published version of the material.