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THE DIFFERENTIAL INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL REPUTATION
IN THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF REJECTED
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Fred Arthur Rogosch

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THE DIFFERENTIAL INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL REPUTATION
IN THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF REJECTED
AND ISOLATED CHILDREN

By

Fred Arthur Rogosch

A THESIS

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

THE DIFFERENTIAL INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL REPUTATION IN THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF REJECTED AND ISOLATED CHILDREN

By

Fred Arthur Rogosch

The influence of social reputation on first-, third-, and fifth-grade boys' and girls' (N=182) social interaction and effectiveness was investigated. Each child completed a peer nomination sociometric, a class play sociometric, and predicted behavior for children of different reputations in hypothetical social interaction vignettes. Divergence in mutual friendship involvement distinguished isolated and rejected children. Both groups lacked mutual friends in first grade. However, fifth grade isolated children attained mutual friendships while rejected children remained limited in mutual friendship relations. Divergent social reputations were attributed to isolated and rejected children by peers. Rejected children were restricted by an interpersonally rejecting social reputation and concomitant peer expectations for negative social behavior while isolated children evidenced a non-distinct reputation and less rigid expectations from peers. Social reputation's role in regulating social behavior and constraining effective social development for rejected children and the need for peer group intervention were discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

Although children's social reputations appear to be a significant determinant of their social interactions in the peer group, the process by which social reputations influence social relations has been largely overlooked. Social reputations have been conceptualized as operating through collective peer group expectations for the characteristic behavior of individual children (Dodge, 1980). These expectations may bias social interaction, limit the types of social experience available to targeted children, and restrict friendship relations. In turn, individual children present social behavior which is a fulfillment of the peer group's expectations.

Evaluation of the characteristics which peers attribute to one another has traditionally been accomplished through nomination procedures such as Bower's (1960) class play and similar sociometric methods. These procedures require children to nominate peers who best characterize a range of personality attributes. Gronlund and Anderson (1957), for example, used this method to assess personality characteristics of socially accepted, socially rejected, and socially neglected or isolated preadolescents. Socially accepted boys and girls were characterized by being friendly, likable, enthusiastic, cheerful, and having a good sense of humor. Socially rejected children were noted as being restless, talkative, and not liked as well as lacking the positive characteristics attributed to accepted children. In contrast, socially neglected

children seemed to be overlooked by peers receiving only rare nominations for any of the attributes except for some mention as to being quiet. Interestingly, undersirable aggressive behavior, while not being attributed to girls, did not discriminate among boys of the three sociometric groups.

The pattern of results from investigations employing nomination procedures (e.g., Bower, 1960; Asher and Hymel, 1981) has typically been interpreted as an assessment of the personality attributes or behavioral styles of individual children. While the validity of this interpretation is plausible, an alternative interpretation can be that the pattern of results is also indicative of the social reputations maintained by the peer group about individuals. This alternative viewpoint changes the focus from an examination of what individual children are like to the manner in which the peer group collectively appraises individual children. As a result of the peer group's differential characterization of children at varying levels of social effectiveness, the social environment in which children of these different groups interact may be regulated by different sets of expectations for interpersonal behavior based on social reputations. These differential expectations could substantially influence the types of social interaction experienced by children and markedly influence their social development.

In a recent review by Darley and Fazio (1980), a model from adult social psychology is presented which has relevance to expectation processes which may be operative within children's social environments. The model proposes that a perceiver's expectations about an individual may be confirmed in a number of ways independent of the behavior of the individual. For example, expectations may guide decisions on whether

interaction with an individual is initiated. If the perceiver maintains negative expectations about an individual, interaction with this individual may be avoided or quickly terminated. This has the result of preventing disconfirmation of the perceiver's expectation because the individual does not have the opportunity to interact with the perceiver in order to alter the expectation which will be operative in later encounters. In actual interactions between the perceiver and the individual, direct confirmation of the expectation by the individual's behavior is possible, and if confirmed, the perceiver's convictions about the individual would be strengthened. However, the perceiver's expectations themselves may result in him/her behaving differently toward the individual, and the individual's response may be a reaction to the perceiver's unintentional cues rather than an indication of characteristic behavior. The perceiver's expectations may also be maintained when an individual behaves in an ambiguous manner. Here the perceiver is likely to be biased by previous expectations and judge the individual's behavior as confirmatory. Similarly, the individual may even act in ways which are contradictory to the perceiver's expectations. Yet, the perceiver may maintain the expectation by attributing the individual's behavior to transient situational determinants rather than to true dispositional qualities.

The results of these interactions have consequences for the individual. Avoidance because of the perceiver's expectations will limit the frequency with which social interactions are available. Further, while outcomes from actual interactions with the perceiver are probably less than favorable, the individual may come to expect social situations to be less rewarding and behave more in accord with what is expected of

him/her. In this way an individual's behavior may be channeled toward agreement with that which is expected of him/her.

These expectation processes have been demonstrated empirically among college undergraduates in manipulations of a "perceiver's" expectations about the friendliness/unfriendliness of an individual (Snyder, Tanke, and Berscheid, 1977). In a social encounter, the perceiver was seen to unwittingly modify his behavior toward the individual in accord with the contrived expectations. In turn, the individual was seen to respond to the perceiver in a manner consistent with the perceiver's expectations (friendly/unfriendly). Thus, the individual's behavior was a reaction to cues produced by the perceiver's expectations rather than a demonstration of personal characteristics. However, for the perceiver, previous expectations for the individual had been objectively confirmed. In future interactions, the perceiver's maintained expectations would again be assumed to operate thereby increasing the likelihood of similar interactions.

The expectations shared by the peer group which constitute a social reputation may also cause children to experience a generalized bias in social interaction. Children of varying reputations have been shown to differ in the amount and type of behavior which they direct toward others and which others direct toward them (Campbell and Yarrow, 1961; Yarrow and Campbell, 1963). Children of positive reputations (e.g., leader, helpful) were allowed greater freedom in the type of behavior they could perform. For example, these children could perform aggressive behavior without being evaluated negatively. As a result children of positive reputation may have the opportunity to gain greater skill in a range of behavior maintaining and fortifying their social competence. On the

other hand, children of negative reputations (e.g., afraid, angry) were more restricted in initiated behavior and in behavior directed to them. This could lead to less experience in social interaction, continued retardation of social skills, and increasingly poor social competence. Reputations tended to be quickly formed and retained greater stability than did behavior. Children's descriptions of their peers showed considerable discrepancy with actual observed behavior. Winder and Wiggins (1964) found a similar discrepancy for the behaviors and reputations of aggression and dependency. Moreover, rather than behavior leading to formulation of one's reputation, there were indications that over time reputation tended to elicit behaviors which were consistent with the reputation.

Dodge (1980) has shown that the reputation for being aggressive has implications for interaction with peers. A sociometric procedure was used to identify boys in grades two, four, and six who were aggressive and non-aggressive. These boys responded individually to hypothetical stories in which they were involved in a situation with a negative outcome as a result of the behavior of a peer known to them. The intention of the peer was left ambiguous. The subjects were more likely to interpret the situation as motivated by hostile intentions if the other child had an aggressive reputation. This confirmed their expectations of the child as being aggressive, and they were more likely to retaliate with aggressive behavior which they felt was justified. Subjects expected continued aggression from the child and also mistrusted him. Having more aggression directed against him, the child with the aggressive reputation was more likely to view his peers as hostilely motivated and to continue to retaliate with aggression himself which he felt was

justified. A cyclical self-perpetuating relationship develops leading to greater aggressive reputation, increasing aggressive behavior, and social rejection. The negative results of this label were shown to increase over time.

These investigations support the view that social reputations are operative in children's social environments and result in differential influences in the course of social development. The adverse effects associated with negative social reputations appear to result in progressive social rejection by peers, a significant warning sign of psychological risk. Roff, Sells, and Golden (1972) found a higher prevalence of later delinquency among those children who were rejected by their peers. Similarly, Cowen, Pederson, Babigian, Izzo, and Trost (1973) found that negative evaluation from peers in a class play was the most powerful predictor of later psychological disturbance. Additionally, Cowen, et al. speculated that peer group perceptions (i.e., social reputations) could have resulted in different behavior being directed toward these children, exacerbating their difficulties in social adjustment, and contributing to their later psychiatric difficulties.

Investigation of the process of social reputation thus seems paramount. It is important to include in this investigation examination of a wide range of reputational types rather than focusing on one or two specific social reputations. Wiggins (1979) points out the advantage of circumplex conceptualizations of interpersonal behavior. Circumplex models have the capacity to tap a broad domain of interpersonal characteristics while illustrating the relationship between the different attributes by ordering them within a two-dimensional framework.

Campbell and Yarrow (1961) attempted to use reputational categories derived from Leary's (1957) circumplex model. However, gaps were present in the range of reputations which they selected. A more complete representation of social reputations appears warranted.

The present study utilized a fuller circumplex model of reputational categories similar to Leary (1957) to investigate the development of social reputation in the elementary school years. A sociometric procedure was used to evaluate the social effectiveness of participating boys and girls as well as to determine the extent of their integration into the peer group by examining the degree of involvement in mutual friendships. A class play nomination was used to examine the social reputations which the peer group maintains for boys and girls of different social effectiveness levels. Measures of how the peer group made their reputational assignments were also determined. Finally, predicted behavioral expectations for children of different reputational categories were obtained in hypothetical situations to investigate the degree of consistency between reputation and expected behavior.

METHOD

Subjects

One hundred eighty-two children, enrolled in a large elementary school in semirural Michigan, participated in the investigation. The sample was comprised of approximately equal numbers of boys and girls in three classrooms each at grade levels first, third, and fifth ($n = 59, 63, 60$, respectively). The mean ages for subjects in the three grades were 7-0, 8-11, 10-11. In a sociometric procedure described below, four social effectiveness groups were delineated. Five boys and five girls at each grade level were selected for each group reducing the final experimental sample used in the data analysis to 120.

Procedure

Each child was escorted to a private room at the school for an individual interview session in which the child was assured that all responses would be kept confidential. Three tasks were completed during the interview: 1. a free-choice/forced choice sociometric nomination; 2. a modified class play nomination; and 3. a simulation procedure in which the child predicted behavioral responses in hypothetical vignettes portraying social interaction sequences. Additionally, free response descriptions of a random group of the child's classmates were obtained. However, this procedure is not considered in the present investigation.

Sociometric. Names of same-sex classmates were printed on separate cards. These cards were displayed to the child who was asked to read each name aloud to verify that the child recognized his/her classmates'

names. The child was then asked to select his/her three best friends. The cards representing these children were removed, and the child was asked to select three classmates with whom he/she would least like to play. The remaining cards were collected and presented to the child one at a time. The child was asked to indicate whether or not he/she would like to play with the child whose name was presented.

Class Play. Next, in a modification of Bower's class play methodology (1960), the child was instructed to pretend that his/her class was going to put on a play, and that he/she needed to decide who could best portray the various roles in the play. The child was told that the best way to make decisions was to choose classmates whom most children would think would play the role best. The eight roles used in the modified class play included someone who: 1. would be a good leader; 2. tries to help everyone; 3. is nice and follows directions; 4. is quiet and shy; 5. is afraid to do most things; 6. is often angry and complaining; 7. gets into fights often; and 8. is mean and bossy. The order of the item presentation was randomized across participants.

Vignettes. The final task required that the child pretend that he/she was engaged in a series of social interaction situations with different children. Each of the subject's choices for the eight class play roles was randomly assigned to one of eight hypothetical vignettes portraying a conflict situation between the subject and the chosen child. The eight vignettes were as follows: Pretend that you and (chosen child's name) - 1. are playing records and one gets broken; 2. are eating candy bars, and your candy bar falls on the ground and gets dirty; 3. are playing a game, and (child's name) loses; 4. are riding bikes. You fall off your bike; 5. had a fight. Later that day you see him/her; 6. are

painting pictures and paint gets spilled on his/her picture; 7. are playing a game and (child's name) wins; and finally 8. Pretend that a group of older kids are making fun of you on the playground and (child's name) comes by. The subject was asked to predict what the other child would be expected to do in the vignette. Responses were recorded verbatim, and the order of the presentation of the vignettes was randomized across subjects.

Measures

Each of the three tasks completed by the child -- the sociometric nomination, the class play nomination, and the vignette prediction -- yielded different groups of measures as discussed below.

Sociometric Measures. The number of times each child was chosen by a classmate as a friend and the number of times he/she was chosen as disliked were compiled. A binomial probability model of sociometric classification (Newcomb and Bukowski, in press) was used to distinguish four social effectiveness groups, star, average, isolated and rejected children, based on rare total scores for the friends and disliked measures. A criterion value of $p < .10$ was used to determine rare combinations of friend and disliked total scores. Stars were children who had many friends and few or no one who disliked them as determined by the probability criterion; rejected children had many who disliked them and few or no friends; isolated children had both few friends and few who disliked them; and average children had some friends and some who disliked them with neither total score being rare. Five boys and five girls at each grade level were selected for each of the four social effectiveness groups. These children best satisfied the definitional requirements of the group to which they were assigned.

The sociometric data were also examined for the number of mutual friendship choices between children. A mutual friendship was defined as a pairing of friendship choices in which two children nominated each other as friends. The total number of mutual friendships in which each child was involved was determined, and a score ranging from zero to three was given.

Class Play Measures. The percent of nominations each child received for each of the class play roles was computed. The content of the class play roles had been determined to be understandable to children in a pilot investigation. The eight class play roles were selected as descriptors for the octants of Leary's (1957) circumplex system. This model varies the class play roles along the two interpersonal dimensions of acceptance-rejection and dominance-submission. The theoretical arrangement of the class play roles is presented in Figure 1. Leader, helpful, nice, and quiet-shy represented the accepting half of the circumplex and differed to the extent to which they were relatively dominant or submissive. Likewise, mean-bossy, fights, angry-complaining, and afraid represented the rejecting half of the circumplex while being varied on the dominance-submission dimension. The circumplex was similarly divided into a top dominant half and a bottom submissive half with the corresponding categories varying along the acceptance-rejection dimension.

The relative positioning of children on this two-dimensional space was assessed to counterbalance the strength of each of the eight class play roles in relation to one another. A total acceptance score was derived by subtracting the percentage of nominations received on the rejecting half of the circumplex from the percent received on the

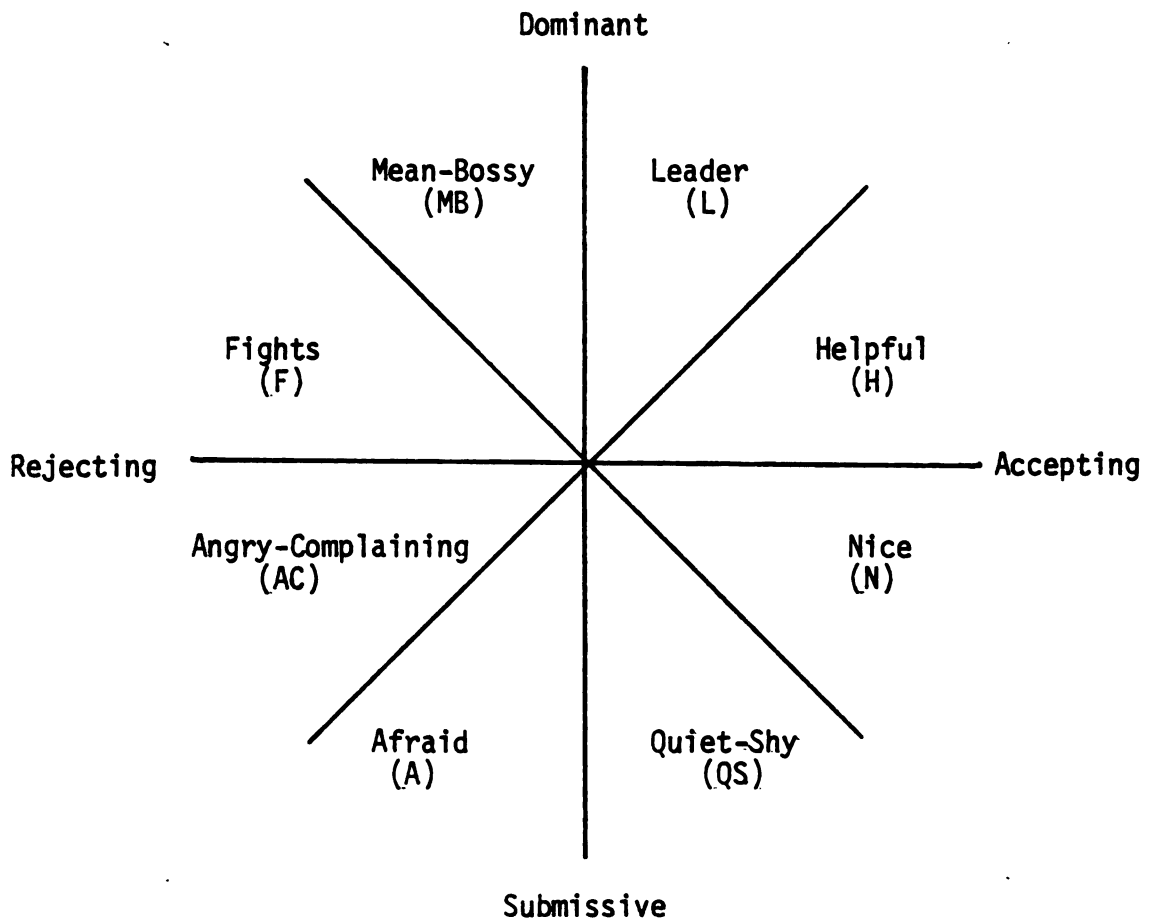


Figure 1

Circumplex Model Representing Relationship between Reputation
Types as Conceptualized along the Dimensions of
Dominance-Submission and Acceptance-Rejection

accepting half. Likewise, a total dominance score was derived by subtracting the percentage of scores on the submissive half from the percentage on the dominant half. Comparison of the total acceptance and total dominance scores allowed for locating the region of the circumplex most characteristic of the peer group's perception of the child when all of the reputational categories were considered together.

Two additional measures were derived from the class play data. These measures assessed how subjects made their choices for the class play roles. The first of these measures was the sex of the child nominated for each role. A female choice was scored zero and a male choice was scored one. The second measure examined whether or not the subject chose a classmate for each role who was also often chosen by other children. Binomial probability distributions were used to determine that a target needed at least four nominations for there to be a significant degree of consensus among peers ($p < .05$). Each child received a score of one or zero for each of the eight reputation categories depending on whether or not he/she chose a child about whom there was consensus.

Vignette Measures. Trained raters who were blind to the reputation category of the nominated child scored the vignette predictions. Each response was evaluated for the relative strength of the acceptance-rejection and dominance-submission dimensions implied by the predicted behavior. The response was then matched to the octant of the circumplex which most closely characterized the prediction. The eight resulting prediction categories corresponded to the eight class play roles. Agreement between raters was 96%. Examples of responses which were scored in the different octants for the vignette involving a broken record were as

follows: 1. leader - decide how to replace the record; 2. helpful - help me clean up the mess; 3. nice - smile and say it was too bad that the record broke; 4. quiet-shy - wouldn't really matter to him; 5. afraid - would hide the broken record; 6. angry-complaining - start yelling and swear; 7. fights - beat me up; and 8. mean-bossy - tell me that I was stupid for breaking the record.

The frequency with which responses were made in each of the eight prediction categories was compiled for each subject. This measure was used to study variations in the types of behavior characteristically expected.

A second measure assessed the degree of consistency between the reputation category of each nominated child and the subject's predicted behavior for this nominee. The eight class play reputational categories and the eight prediction categories were designed to have the identical circumplex ordering. Predicted behavior matching the octant of the reputational category comprised high consistency whereas predictions made in octants more distant on the circumplex indicated less consistency between reputation and predicted behavior. A means of scaling the degree of consistency was devised. The intercorrelations between the class play reputation types represented the empirical relationship between the circumplex octants. The consistency of the prediction for each reputation type was scored using the correlation coefficient between the octant representing the class play reputation and the octant representing the prediction type. Each of the subject's predictions was thus given a separate consistency score.

RESULTS

Each of the measures of the three tasks was subjected to an analysis of variance with grade, sex and social effectiveness group as the between-subjects factors. The dependent measure consisted of a single measure or a repeated measure depending on the nature of the variable being examined. Multiple comparisons were evaluated with the Scheffe test. All significant contrasts between means reported in the text were significant at the .05 level or better.

Sociometric

Mutual Friendships. The analysis of variance for the number of mutual friendships revealed a significant main effect for grade, $F(2,96) = 14.08, p < .001$. A significant increase was evidenced across the age range in the number of mutual friendships indicating continued movement toward friendship pairings in which both members considered each other as friends. A significant main effect also resulted for social effectiveness group, $F(3,96) = 66.24, p < .001$. Stars were involved in mutual friendship relations significantly more often than each of the other social effectiveness groups. Isolated children and rejected children did not differ in their mutual friendship relations and had significantly fewer mutual friendships as compared to average children. However, as shown in Table 1, a significant grade by effectiveness group interaction occurred, $F(6,96) = 3.14, p < .01$. Stars maintained a high level of mutual friendship involvement across the age

Table 1

**Mean Number of Mutual Friendships of Social
Effectiveness Groups by Grade**

Social Effectiveness Group	Grade		
	1	3	5
Star	2.70	2.70	2.70
Average	1.10	1.50	2.10
Isolated	.20	.90	1.80
Rejected	.30	.60	.70

range. In contrast, rejected children of different ages did not significantly differ in their minimal mutual friendship involvement. Both average and isolated children, however, significantly increased their participation in mutual relations between first and fifth grade. First grade isolated children were not distinguishable from first grade rejected children, both groups having minimal involvement in mutual friendships. However, the number of mutual friendships evidenced by fifth grade isolated children dramatically increased so that they were no longer differentiable from average children but distinctly different from rejected children.

The patterns of friendship selection by grade and social effectiveness group as shown in Table 2 indicated that the isolated children did not have different friendship selection patterns at the three grade levels. Instead at the older grade levels, star and average children tended to increase their number of nominations of isolated children as friends, and more of these nominations were mutual friendship choices.

Class Play

Each of the eight class play items chosen to represent the different octants of the interpersonal circumplex tended to evidence the strongest positive correlations with its adjacent octants and the most negative correlation with each octant's polar opposite. (See Table 3.) While the relationships between variables did not perfectly confirm the circumplex model, the pattern of intercorrelations tended to verify this conceptualization. The average of intercorrelations for all adjacent octants tended to decrease and become negative as more distant octants were considered. The average correlations of adjacent octants proceeding to polar opposite octants were as follows: .25, .08, -.10, and

Table 2
Patterns of Friendship Nomination for Star, Average, Isolated, and Rejected Children by Effectiveness Group and by Grade

Nominator Effectiveness Group		Grade	Star	Nominee Effectiveness Group		
				Average ^a	Isolated	Rejected
Star	1		6 (20) (100)	21 (70) (90)	2 (7) (50)	1 (3) (100)
	3		8 (27) (100)	19 (63) (84)	3 (10) (100)	0 (0) -
	5		10 (33) (100)	16 (53) (81)	4 (13) (100)	0 (0) -
Average ^a	1		39 (45) (49)	42 (48) (43)	2 (2) (50)	4 (5) (100)
	3		38 (38) (42)	49 (49) (49)	8 (8) (88)	4 (4) (75)
	5		31 (34) (42)	41 (46) (78)	13 (14) (85)	5 (6) (80)
Isolated	1		10 (33) (10)	17 (51) (6)	2 (7) (0)	1 (3) (0)
	3		9 (30) (11)	18 (60) (33)	3 (10) (67)	0 (0) -
	5		9 (30) (44)	17 (57) (65)	3 (10) (67)	1 (3) (100)
Rejected	1		12 (40) (8)	13 (43) (15)	4 (13) (0)	1 (3) (0)
	3		5 (17) (0)	17 (57) (23)	4 (13) (0)	4 (13) (50)
	5		6 (20) (0)	16 (53) (25)	6 (20) (17)	2 (7) (100)

Note. Table entries indicate frequency of nominations within each effectiveness group followed by proportion of nominations made for each group and proportion of nominations which were mutual friends.

^aAverage group consists of all children not assigned to star, isolated, or rejected groups ($N=29, 33, 30$ for first, third, and fifth grade, respectively).

Table 3
Intercorrelations between Reputation Types
Approximating Circumplex Structure

	L	H	N	QS	A	AC	F	MB
Leader (L)	1.00							
Helpful (H)	.34***	1.00						
Nice (N)	.24***	.37***	1.00					
Quiet-Shy (QS)	.00	.16*	.18**	1.00				
Afraid (A)	-.20**	-.08	-.06	.18**	1.00			
Angry-Complain (AC)	.01	-.20**	-.21**	-.16*	-.03	1.00		
Fights (F)	.06	-.13*	-.15*	-.13*	-.09	.38***	1.00	
Mean-Bossy (MB)	.03	-.12	-.19**	-.16*	-.04	.61***	.50***	1.00

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

-.18. A more stringent test of the circumplexity of the variables is to extract the first two principal components from the intercorrelation matrix and examine the plot of the variables on the two components (Wiggins, 1979). The utility of this method was untenable in the present investigation because of measurement error and the use of single items for each octant category. However, Wiggins (1979) argued that perfect circumplexes are not expected in real data but may approximate this structure within a tolerable range of deviation which the present data tended to confirm.

Percent of Nominations. The percents of nominations each child received for each of the class play roles comprised a repeated measure in the analysis of variance. A main effect for effectiveness group, $F(3,96) = 4.14$, $p < .01$, revealed that stars received more nominations on the class play than isolated or rejected children while not differing from average children. A significant interaction of effectiveness group and the class play roles as illustrated in Table 4, $F(21,672) = 2.43$, $p < .001$, indicated that the effectiveness groups were differentiated by the class play roles. Comparisons revealed that stars were viewed as leaders significantly more often than average, isolated, and rejected children. Rejected children were the least likely to receive the leader nomination. Stars were also more often regarded as helpful by peers than were rejected children. Similarly, stars received significantly more nominations as nice than did both rejected and average children while not differing from isolated children. The submissive roles of quiet-shy and afraid did not evidence significant differences between the social effectiveness groups. Similarly, the dominant-rejecting roles of fights and mean-bossy were not used by children to discriminate

Table 4
Mean Percent of Nominations for Class Play Roles
by Social Effectiveness Groups

Class Play Role	Group			
	Star	Average	Isolated	Rejected
Leader	9.06 (.53)	3.59 (.21)	3.52 (.20)	1.10 (.06)
Helpful	7.45 (.40)	5.28 (.28)	3.46 (.18)	2.62 (.14)
Nice	7.04 (.45)	2.75 (.18)	4.38 (.28)	1.35 (.09)
Quiet-Shy	7.01 (.39)	3.41 (.19)	4.52 (.25)	3.23 (.18)
Afraid	3.47 (.20)	4.69 (.27)	5.41 (.31)	4.12 (.23)
Angry-Complain	4.87 (.27)	3.80 (.21)	2.10 (.12)	7.27 (.40)
Fights	4.89 (.28)	5.60 (.33)	2.63 (.15)	4.04 (.24)
Mean-Bossy	4.08 (.22)	5.26 (.29)	2.56 (.14)	6.40 (.35)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate the proportion of nominations for social effectiveness groups within role categories.

the effectiveness groups to a significant degree. Angry-complaining, however, was used significantly more often to characterize rejected children than isolated children.

A significant interaction of sex and the class play roles, $F(7,672) = 10.85$, $p < .001$, indicated as shown in Table 5 that the peer group differentiated between boys and girls by the characteristics they attributed to them. Contrasts revealed that girls were significantly more often seen as nice and quiet-shy whereas boys were more characteristically viewed as angry-complaining, fights, and mean-bossy. Boys and girls did not differ significantly in the number of nominations they received for leader, helpful, or afraid. Boys and girls appeared to be viewed on opposite sides of the circumplex with the girls characteristically seen as accepting and submissive whereas boys were seen more often as dominant and rejecting.

Acceptance and Dominance Dimensions. The relationships between the class play roles for boys and girls and for the effectiveness groups were clarified by examination of the total acceptance and the total dominance dimensions. These dimensions balanced the strength of the individual items in relation to one another. (See Figure 2.) An analysis of variance with these two dimensions comprising the repeated factor yielded significant interactions of both sex and effectiveness group with the two dimensions, $F(1,96) = 32.46$, $p < .001$, and $F(3,96) = 2.87$, $p < .05$, respectively. Girls were seen as more accepting than boys whereas boys were seen as more dominant than girls. Stars and rejected children were significantly different on the acceptance dimension with stars overall being more accepting while rejected children were on the rejecting end of this dimension. Thus, even though rejected children

Table 5
Mean Percent of Nominations for
Class Play Roles by Sex

Class Play Role	Sex	
	Boys	Girls
Leader	5.23 (.61)	3.36 (.39)
Helpful	4.14 (.44)	5.27 (.56)
Nice	1.97 (.25)	5.80 (.75)
Quiet-Shy	2.96 (.32)	6.16 (.68)
Afraid	4.00 (.45)	4.85 (.55)
Angry-Complaining	6.09 (.68)	2.93 (.32)
Fights	8.34 (.97)	0.24 (.03)
Mean-Bossy	6.45 (.70)	2.70 (.30)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate the proportion of nominations for sex group within role categories.

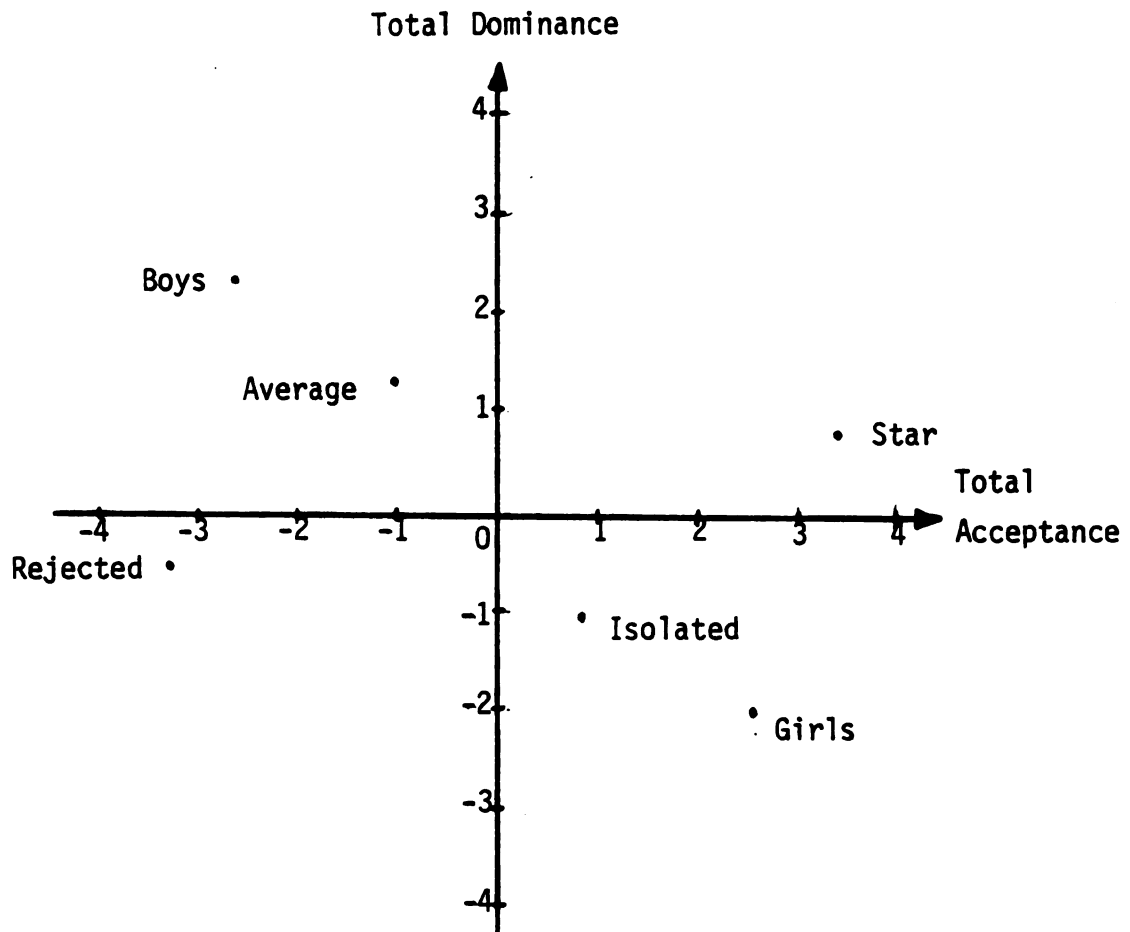


Figure 2

Relationship between Total Acceptance and Total Dominance

Dimensions for Boys and Girls and for
the Social Effectiveness Groups

were not significantly discriminated by the individual rejecting class play roles (e.g., fight, mean-bossy), when the total dimension of acceptance was examined, rejected children were seen on the rejecting side because they were rarely attributed accepting roles to counterbalance negative roles attributed to them. Contrasts did not significantly discriminate average children or isolated children from either stars or rejected children which indicated that they fell between stars and rejected children when the total dimensions were considered.

Sex of Nomination. The sex differences reported for the percent of nominations and for the total acceptance and dominance measures were influenced by whether subjects nominated a boy or girl to each of the class play roles. The analysis of variance with the sex of the nomination as the dependent measure resulted in a significant main effect for the sex of the subject, $F(1,96) = 60.42$, $p < .001$. Both boys and girls were more likely to nominate same-sex peers for the class play roles. However, a significant interaction of the sex of the subject and the class play reputational types, $F(7,672) = 3.50$, $p < .001$, indicated a differentiation on how boys and girls selected male and female peers for the class play roles as illustrated in Table 6. Nonsignificant contrasts indicated that boys and girls were equally likely to nominate males for fights and angry-complaining, either sex for mean-bossy, and females for quiet-shy. Significant contrasts for the roles of leader and afraid indicated that boys and girls were more likely to nominate same-sex peers for these roles. Finally, significant contrasts for helpful and nice revealed that boys nominated either sex for these roles whereas girls were more likely to nominate females.

Table 6
Proportion of Male and Female Nominations Made by
Boys and Girls for the Class Play Roles

Class Play Role	Sex of Subject	
	Boys	Girls
Leader	.75 / .25	.35 / .65
Helpful	.53 / .47	.23 / .77
Nice	.43 / .57	.12 / .88
Quiet-Shy	.30 / .70	.17 / .83
Afraid	.65 / .35	.25 / .75
Angry-Complaining	.72 / .28	.63 / .37
Fights	1.00 / .00	.97 / .03
Mean-Bossy	.65 / .35	.53 / .47

Note. Table entries are presented with the proportion of male nominations followed by the proportion of female nominations.

Consensus of Choice. The consensus measure assessed children's ability to select other children for whom there was agreement among peers as to their being characteristic of a class play role. The consensus measure was used as the dependent variable in an analysis of variance with the reputation types as a repeated within subjects factor. Overall, a significant main effect for the repeated factor, $F(7,672) = 20.21$, $p < .001$, indicated greater consensus for different class play roles. Contrasts revealed that the rejecting roles of fights and mean-bossy evidenced greater consensus than did afraid, helpful, and leader. A main effect for grade, $F(2,96) = 8.95$, $p < .001$, revealed that the level of overall consensus among peers increased from first to third grade but did not significantly increase from third to fifth grade. These two main effects were clarified by a significant interaction of grade with the class play roles, $F(14,672) = 2.98$, $p < .001$, as presented in Table 7. Significant contrasts revealed an increase in consensus between first and fifth grade for the reputational types of nice and quiet-shy. The consensus for leader significantly increased between first and third grade but did not significantly differ between third and fifth grade. No additional significant age increases were found for the other reputation categories. However, the high level of consensus for fights and mean-bossy remained stable over the age range.

Vignette Predictions

Predicted Type Frequencies. Children's predictions of how others would interact in social situations evidenced a difference in frequency with which the varying types of predictions were made. The analysis of variance with the eight prediction types comprising the repeated measure resulted in a main effect for the prediction types, $F(7,672) = 3.00$,

Table 7

Mean Consensus of Choice for the
Class Play Roles by Grade

Class Play Role	Grade		
	1	3	5
Leader	.05	.33	.25
Helpful	.15	.13	.28
Nice	.10	.33	.40
Quiet-Shy	.00	.30	.38
Afraid	.06	.30	.05
Angry-Complaining	.28	.33	.50
Fights	.58	.70	.68
Mean-Bossy	.55	.40	.38

$p < .001$. Leader, helpful, angry-complaining, and nice were predicted significantly more often than quiet-shy, fights, and afraid responses. A significant interaction occurred between grade and prediction type as presented in Table 8, $F(7,672) = 3.00$, $p < .001$. Contrasts revealed that leader responses decreased in frequency between first and fifth grades, and mean-bossy predictions increased for the same interval. Angry-complaining responses were predicted more often in third grade than in first grade, but this increase was not maintained in fifth grade. All other prediction categories did not evidence significant changes in frequency between grades. A significant sex by prediction type interaction, $F(1,672) = 2.26$, $p < .05$ revealed that girls significantly predicted more leader responses than boys (1.93, 1.48, respectively), and boys were more likely to predict fight responses than girls (.65, .30, respectively).

Prediction-Reputation Consistency. An analysis of variance assessing the degree of consistency between reputation and predicted behavior resulted in a significant main effect for the reputation type, $F(6,672) = 15.50$, $p < .001$. Means for the eight reputation types are presented in Table 9. The reputation types of afraid and quiet-shy evidenced significantly less consistency as compared to all of the other reputation types which did not differ significantly from each other.

Table 8
Mean Number of Predictions for Each
Prediction Type by Grade Level

Prediction Type	Grade		
	1	3	5
Leader	2.20 (.28)	1.63 (.20)	1.30 (.16)
Helpful	1.55 (.19)	1.43 (.18)	1.50 (.19)
Nice	1.13 (.14)	1.05 (.13)	1.38 (.17)
Quiet-Shy	0.08 (.01)	0.15 (.02)	0.20 (.03)
Afraid	0.65 (.08)	0.55 (.07)	0.50 (.06)
Angry-Complaining	1.18 (.15)	1.78 (.22)	1.45 (.18)
Fights	0.60 (.08)	0.45 (.06)	0.38 (.05)
Mean-Bossy	0.63 (.08)	0.98 (.12)	1.30 (.16)

Note. Table entries are mean frequencies based on eight predictions. Numbers in parentheses indicate the proportion of prediction type within grade level.

Table 9

Mean Consistency between Reputation and
Predicted Behavior by Reputation Type

Reputation Type	
Leader	.35
Helpful	.36
Nice	.22
Quiet-Shy	.10
Afraid	-.02
Angry-Complaining	.27
Fights	.33
Mean-Bossy	.34

DISCUSSION

The findings of the present study indicated that in the course of children's social development, the peer group becomes more well integrated through mutual friendship pairings and that children move toward more unified perceptions of one another through social reputations. These social reputations were shown to distinguish children who differed in the extent to which they were socially effective and to provide children with a basis for forming expectations of how children would interact in social situations.

The cross-sectional data from this investigation suggest that attention must be directed to the role which social reputations play in the ineffective social development of rejected children. Socially rejected children not only have few friendship relations as do isolated children but also are actively disliked. In first grade both rejected and isolated children evidenced low involvement in mutual friendship relations. However, fifth grade isolated children were able to gain access to peers with whom they could form mutual relationships. Rejected children, on the other hand, did not evidence a significant increase in mutual friendship involvement across the three age groups. At each grade level, rejected children had limited opportunity to form close friendship bonds. In part, the development of this differentiation between rejected and isolated children could be a result of the differential influence of social reputations for these two groups in the course of children's

social development.

The peer group collectively distinguished between rejected and isolated children through social reputations which were comprised of a differential pattern of attributes. The peer group appeared unified in rarely regarding the rejected children as interpersonally accepting. However, as was found by Gronlund and Anderson (1957), the rejected children were not uniquely perceived as interpersonally rejecting. Yet, in the absence of positive, accepting characteristics attributed to them to counterbalance the negative characteristics, the rejected children may in fact stand out in the peer group's perception as interpersonally rejecting. Children have been demonstrated to balance or average opposing characteristics in this manner even in the early school years (Hendrick, Franz, and Hoving, 1975). Thus, if only rejecting characteristics are perceived by the peer group in the absence of accepting characteristics, the peer group may form strictly negative social reputations for the rejected children even though rejected children are not the only children who are perceived as characteristic of rejecting attributes.

In contrast to rejected children, the isolated children were not seen as different from stars for the attribute of nice. They also were considered far less angry and complaining than were the rejected children. The isolated children, similar to Gronlund and Anderson's (1957) neglected children, did not receive noteworthy mention for any of the reputational types including the submissive roles of quiet-shy and afraid. Thus, the peer group appears to be less certain about isolated children and may not have firm expectations established for how to perceive them with a distinct social reputation.

The negative social reputation of rejected children may become more

entrenched with age as a result of growing consensus among peers about who characterizes different attributes. The highest consensus among peers was for the dominant, rejecting reputational types. In general, consensus increased with age for the accepting roles. This age pattern suggests that the peer group approaches a more unified agreement with age as to who will be regarded in a positive light. Rejected children, who were rarely viewed with the accepting roles, may be progressively restricted from the possibility of being regarded positively. The negative attributes of their social reputation would in comparison become more salient in the perceptions of the peer group.

The differentiation between rejected and isolated children through social reputations extends to the behavior which the peer group expects from these children. The predictions which children made about how children of varying reputational types would respond in social conflict situations evidenced a pattern of consistency between reputation and behavior for the more dominant attributes, both accepting and rejecting. Interpretation of this finding is complicated by the fact that stars and to a lesser extent average children were nominated to a variety of roles. However, Campbell and Yarrow (1961) found that the more socially effective children were granted more flexibility in how they were permitted to interact. Rejected children, however, are restricted to the rejecting roles. Thus, they are more likely to be viewed by peers as exhibiting the demonstrated consistency between negative reputations and expected rejecting behavior. In contrast to the rejected children, isolated children, who were not rigidly classified by the peer group with a social reputation, would have less distinct behavioral expectations about them maintained by the peer group. Isolated children would

thus experience greater flexibility in social encounters without the peer group's interactions with them being guided by firmly established behavioral expectations or the negative expectations maintained for rejected children.

Some researchers would maintain that the negative social reputations established for rejected children were merely accurate peer group perceptions of the rejected children's actual dispositions. However, the question of to what extent peer evaluations represent actual dispositions and characteristic behavior patterns of children or reputational expectations held by the peer group needs to be more closely addressed. It is unlikely that the peer group assigns reputations randomly to children and that children are totally dissimilar to what others perceive of them. It is equally unfeasible to assume that collective peer group appraisals of children do not significantly alter the social environment experienced by different children. Most likely, a reciprocal interplay between these two outlooks is operative.

Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1979) followed the course of social rejection and negative reputations assigned by peers to boys in divorced families. After the divorce these boys evidenced a high degree of aversive behavior to which peers reacted with ignoring, aversive opposition, and hostile physical aggression. By two years after the divorce, the boys no longer evidenced the aversive behavior, but peers still attributed an aggressive reputation to them. These boys were consequently still avoided by peers and had difficulty gaining access into groups even though the ratio of their positive to negative initiations was not different from other boys. However, boys from divorced families who had changed schools thereby entering a new peer group without the

negative reputational bias experienced greater social acceptance from peers supporting the view that peer group expectations are contributing to the less effective social adjustment of children with negative social reputations.

Recent work by Putallaz and Gottman (1981) contrasted behavior patterns of popular and unpopular children as they attempted to enter groups of peers. Unpopular children did not evidence entry-skills deficits and exhibited all the behaviors employed by popular children, yet the unpopular children experienced greater difficulty entering the groups. Although the unpopular children tended to be more disagreeable and their entry strategies were less effective, it is interesting to speculate that a large degree of their difficulty could result from a negative reputational bias maintained by peers who would be more likely to avoid or reject them independent of their actions. Some of their disagreeable behavior could result from their need for greater effort to overcome the negative reputational expectations.

Dodge and Frame (1982) revealed the peers' expectations for hostile intentions and their biases in recalling negative information about boys with reputations for aggression. In turn, the "attributional bias" of aggressive boys in expecting peers to be hostile to them may be an accurate reflection of the aggressive social environment in which they interact rather than an unwarranted social-cognitive bias, an interpretation which Dodge and Frame tend to favor. The continued aggressive behavior of these boys may be maintained and amplified in a defensive nature in response to a hostile peer group which would, in turn, fortify the peers' negative reputational expectations.

Although an attempt is not made here to explain what may initially

cause children to behave in different styles, it seems probable that in the course of development, social reputations may progressively restrict the type of social interaction available to rejected children. These children will experience less amiable social interactions and develop in a social environment where opportunity for positive social encounter is limited. Their behavior is likely to be channeled toward increasingly rejecting interpersonal styles as a result of the types of interactions the peer group offers them. Thus, they will tend to confirm the social reputations attributed to them by their peers. While the peer group does not seem to have firm reputations established for isolated children, these children unlike rejected children appear to be able to move away from being without friends and are thus able in time to achieve mutual friendship bonds. Thus, it appears that isolated children are at far less risk for psychological disturbance than are rejected children.

The process of peer group expectations also seems to have relevance for sex-stereotyping. Boys and girls were distinctly differentiated by their peers. Boys were seen as more dominant and rejecting whereas girls were viewed by the peer group as more accepting and submissive. This finding is consistent with traditional sex-role stereotypes (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974) and reflects sex differences in adults as reported in Wiggins' (1979) circumplex model of interpersonal behavior. This sex difference pattern may be maintained over the course of social development in part as a result of peer group reputational expectations in the same fashion as reputations influence the behavior of the social effectiveness groups.

Boys and girls both tended to nominate males for the dominant

rejecting class play roles and females for the accepting-submissive roles. In future research, limiting class play nominations to same-sex choices could lead to a clearer delineation of how members of the social effectiveness groups are more sharply distinguished within their same-sex groups.

In sum, the present investigation emphasizes the need for future research to focus attention on how reputational expectations operate to channel and direct the course of social development. The investigation more cogently demands immediate concern for the implications which the process of social reputation has on the effectiveness of interventions with socially rejected children. Alteration of the negative social reputations maintained within the child's peer group would be crucial in order to alleviate the effect of negative expectations and allow the child more flexibility in social encounters.

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