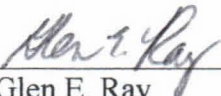
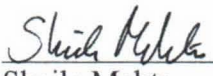


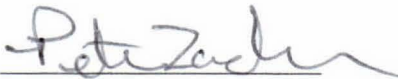
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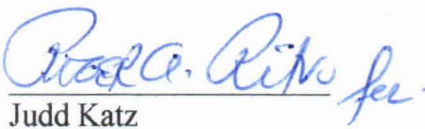
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**CHILDREN'S EVALUATIONS OF PEER INFLUENCE:
THE ROLE OF RELATIONSHIP TYPE AND
SOCIAL SITUATION**

Brea Anna Burton

**A Thesis
Submitted to
the Graduate Faculty
of Auburn University at Montgomery
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the
Degree of
Master of Science**

Montgomery, Alabama

May 11, 2001

VITA

Brea Anna Burton, daughter of Robert and Carmelita Burton, was born May 22, 1977, in Huntsville, Alabama. She graduated in 1995 from Madison Academy High School in Huntsville, Alabama. She graduated cum laude with a Bachelor's of Science degree in Psychology in May 1999. In September of 1999 she entered Graduate School at Auburn University at Montgomery.

THESIS ABSTRACT
CHILDREN'S EVALUATIONS OF PEER INFLUENCE:
THE ROLE OF RELATIONSHIP TYPE AND
SOCIAL SITUATION

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The present study examines second-, third-, fifth-, and sixth grade children's evaluations of peer influence situations. Specifically, children evaluate hypothetical peers portrayed as either best friends or acquaintances engaging in five different peer pressure scenarios (e.g., modeling, positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, expert, referent). Evaluations are assessed in terms of the target peer's immediate and future compliance behaviors. Additional analyses focus on evaluations of mutual liking between target peers, target peers' affect, as well as the observer's affect and the observer's willingness to comply. Results demonstrate that older children evaluate the target peer as being more apt to cheat than do younger children both immediately and in the future. Older children also report higher incidences of cheating, being less upset observing peer pressure, and more likely to be influenced themselves, than do younger children. Results also show girls being more upset than boys observing peer pressure situations. Children evaluated a peer's influence on another peer to be strongest in the

referent peer influence scenario. Further all children evaluate best friends as liking each other more than acquaintances, and evaluated the responder (peer being influenced) as being more upset when in a best friend relationship with the initiator than when in an acquaintances relationship with the initiator. Findings are discussed in terms of how much the present finding extended previous research on peer influence.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VITA.....	4
ABSTRACT.....	5-6
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES.....	9-10
INTRODUCTION.....	11
Importance of Peers.....	11-14
Negative Influences of Peers.....	13-16
Types of Peer Influence.....	16-19
The Present Study.....	19-21
METHOD.....	23
Participants.....	23
Design.....	23
Measures.....	23
Relationship Type.....	24
Peer Influence Scenarios.....	24-25
Peer Evaluation Questionnaires.....	23-24
Procedure.....	25-26
RESULTS.....	27
Hypothesis Analyses.....	27-30
Hypotheses one and two: investigating age effects on immediate and future compliance.....	27-28
Hypotheses three and four: investigating relationship effects on immediate and future compliance.....	28
Hypotheses five and six: investigating the gender effect on	

immediate and future compliance.....	28
Hypotheses seven and eight: investigating the grade by peer influential type interaction for immediate and future compliance.....	28-29
Hypotheses nine and ten: investigating the relationship type by peer influence type interaction on immediate and future compliance.....	29-30
Hypotheses eleven and twelve: investigating gender by peer influence types on immediate and future compliance.....	30
Additional Analysis.....	30-36
Mutual liking between targets.....	30-32
Responder affect.....	32-34
Responder liking after the initiation.....	34-35
How realistic.....	35
Observer affect.....	35-36
Observer compliance.....	36
DISCUSSION.....	37-43
REFERENCES.....	44-49
APPENDICES.....	50-54

LISTS OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1:	
Mean likelihood of compliance as a function of peer influence type.....	29
Table 2:	
Mean evaluation of target's liking for each other.....	32
Table 3:	
Mean evaluation of responder's affect as a function of relationship type and gender.....	33
Table 4:	
Mean evaluation of responder's affect as a function of grade and relationship type.....	34
Table 5:	
Mean evaluation of responder's liking after the initiation.....	35
Table 6:	
Mean evaluation of observer's affect.....	36
Figure 1:	
Mutual liking between targets: Gender x Relationship Type..... (grades 2-3)	31
Figure 2:	
Mutual liking between targets: Gender x Relationship Type..... (grades 5-6)	31
Figure 3:	
Responder's affect: Gender x Relationship Type Interaction.....	32
Figure 4:	
Responder's affect: Grade x Relationship Type Interaction.....	33

Figure 5:
 Responder's liking after initiation: Relationship x Influence Type..... 34

Figure 6:
 Observer's Affect: Gender x Influence Type Interaction..... 36

Children's Evaluations of Peer Influence: The Role of Relationship Type and Social Situation

Research convincingly shows that children's peer relationships are important to social, cognitive, and physical development (e.g., Newcomb, Bukowski, Hartup, 1996). As children get older they begin spending more time with their peers. For example, by age 11, approximately 50% of children's interactions are with same-age peers (Mussen, 1986). Until recently, it was assumed that a peer's influence was always positive. In fact, the literature (e.g., Davies & Kandel, 1981) assumed that in children's relationships, the influence must be positive.

It has become increasingly obvious however, that some peer influence is negative, especially under certain circumstances (Duck, 1996b; Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990). For example, children influence each other to engage in cigarette smoking, vandalism, and various other negative activities. Thus, many researchers (e.g., Brofenbrenner, 1970; Steinburg, 1986) report peer influence to be largely negative, in that friends usually encourage friends to engage in undesirable and antisocial acts. Furthermore, theories of deviance and delinquency have placed considerable emphasis on the negative influence of peers (e.g., Akers, 1977; Elliot, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985; Miller, 1958). Thus, while previous researchers (e.g., Brofenbrenner, 1970; Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990) investigated various behaviors and situations that led to negative outcomes, little if any research has addressed children's social-informational processing (e.g., evaluations) of peer pressure situations. The purpose of the present study is to investigate possible influences on children's evaluations of peer pressure situations. Of particular interest are influences of different types of peer relationships (e.g., best friends, acquaintances) and different types of peer pressure (e.g., modeling, referent, expert).

Importance of Peers

While peer influence can be negative, previous research (Berndt, 1989; Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995; Youniss, 1980) documents that peer relationships provide a context in which children develop needed social skills. Investigators (e.g., Davis & Todd, 1985; Duck, 1996a) confirm that peer relations contribute greatly to the growth of a child in the capacity to interact with others, develop social control, and facilitate the acquisition of social values (Mussen, 1986). Piaget (1935) concluded that friendships were critical to moral development. Peers also provide support, protection, and intimacy (Berndt, 1989; East & Rook, 1992; Sullivan, 1953; Youniss, 1980). Through intimate conversations and social situations, friends provide practical advice and emotional support for one another. This support equips friends with an ability to cope with stress and life's situations (Davis & Todd, 1985).

Further, peer relations facilitate the development of the self and help in the promotion of a high self-esteem (Sullivan, 1953). As peers share personal information they develop a better understanding of other people and their peer's influential processes. Through integrating their own ideas and those of their peers, children begin developing their own individualized selves (Berndt, 1989; East & Rook, 1992; Sullivan, 1953; Youniss, 1980). As evidence for the importance of peers, research (Newcomb, et.al, 1996) shows that a lack of friends or peer relationships has been associated with negative outcomes (e.g., low support, academic failure) as well as future problems (e.g., drop out, drug use, delinquency).

Friends become the benchmarks that guide our attitudes and beliefs, teaching us how to react appropriately in both obvious and subtle ways (Duck, 1996a). Competent children of all ages are "tuned in" to social and environmental cues enabling them to adjust their behavior to that of their peers (Pettit & Harrist, 1993). Children want to behave according to the expectations they have about friendships and the ideas they have concerning what is appropriate behaviors (Duck, 1996b). Children seem to have many

different expectations concerning what is an appropriate and inappropriate behavior in peer relations. For example, research (e.g., Ray & Cohen, 1999; 2000) shows children expect friends to engage in mutual rewarding behaviors (e. g. helping) and expect enemies or those who are not friends not to engage in positive, reciprocal ways. Importantly, this relationship knowledge influences a child's evaluations of observed social behavior occurring between other peers. Whether observing the behaviors of others or engaging in actual social interactions, both children in a relationship will facilitate mutual regulation of their behavior and affect. There is always an effort to find common ground because forming and maintaining satisfying relationships with peers is a central developmental task for the boys and girls (Gottman, 1983).

While younger children's understandings about friendships are based strictly on specific overt characteristics, older children expand their notions about friendships. Older children begin to include psychological constructs as well as behaviors (Furman, 1982). For example, younger children seem more concerned with the activities they share in common with their friends. While this is also true for older children, intimacy and other psychological concerns seem to surface as more important. As children age, friends informational support has also been shown to become a central feature (Berndt & Savin-Williams, 1993). Companionship support also increases with each other (Larson & Richards, 1991). Due to the fact that intimacy (Hartup, 1993), informational, and companionship support increases with age, (Berndt & Savin-Williams, 1993) the likelihood of having an influence on each other influence increases as well. For example, a child may be more influenced by a peer they are particularly close too and rely on more than someone they have no particular relationship with (Berndt, 1996).

Not only is age a factor in influential peer processes, gender is another factor of importance. Researchers (e. g., Brown & Gilligan, 1992) have noted distinctly different cultures that are present in boys' and girls' friendships. Buhrmester and Prager (1995) documented that early on, girls report more frequent interactions of an intimate and

supportive nature than boys do with their friends. Further, girls more frequently interact with friends and engage in substantially higher levels of self-disclosure and emotional support than do boys (Buhrmester & Carbery, 1992). Wright (1982) distinguished boys' friendships as a "side-by-side" alignment focused on doing things together, whether it is watching sports, engaging in competitive games, or various other activities. Also when boys do talk, their conversations revolve around sports figures, games, or school more often than not (Lever, 1978). Given the documented gender differences that exist in boys and girls friendships (Thorne, 1986), perhaps friends' influence differs for boys and girls. Thorne (1986) reported that gender segregation is so extreme during the elementary years that girls and boys live in totally separate worlds.

Further, peer pressure may be largely responsible for this separation. Boys seem more concerned with issues of domination. This is noticeable through verbal, as well as physical means. Cross-sectional studies (e.g., Berndt, 1979; Steiberg & Silverberg, 1986) have revealed that boys seem more willing to conform to socially undesirable behavior than do girls. Even though boys may more easily engage in antisocial situations, girls typically have more intimate relationships (e.g., more disclosure) with their best friends than do boys (Davies & Kandel, 1981) and therefore, girls may be more likely to be influenced by their close relationships as compared to boys.

Negative Influences of Peers

While childhood is a time where fundamental skills of competency are learned, researchers (e.g., Parker & Asher, 1987) report that children also learn roguish, inappropriate behaviors, such as stealing and vandalizing from their peers. Findings suggest that deviant activities in particular need the content of a peer group for their initiation as well as their maintenance. That is, children usually do not behave mischievously on their own. Many of the pranks, and disobedient behaviors children engage in are committed in parties of two or more (Sutherland & Cressey, 1970).

Kandel (1978) found that children who are friends consistently have in similar

attitudes and engage in similar behaviors. For example, if one's friend uses drugs, they will be more likely to engage in illegal drug use themselves. While drug use may be one kind of behavior friends facilitate in each other, there are a numerous others such as drinking, alcohol, cigarette smoking, premarital sex, academic cheating, stealing, vandalizing, and showing disrespect to authority figures. Graham, Marks, and Hansen (1991) conducted a study asking seventh graders how often their friends invited them to drink alcohol, compared to seventh graders who were not asked. Findings confirm that those asked by their friends were highly likely to show an increase in alcohol use a few months later. Researchers (e.g., Barrett, Simpson, & Lehman, 1988; Steinberg & Steinberg, 1986) argue that friends' influence is a major factor in adolescence's alcohol use, drug use, and many other delinquent behaviors. Current research studies shown clear evidence of the influence of intimate friends and friendship groups on sexual behavior, the tendency towards risky driving (e.g., Millstein, Peterson, & Nightingale, 1993), as well as the use of cigarette, alcohol and marijuana use (e.g., Fisher & Bauman, 1988; Kandel, 1978).

Peer influence is a common source for the involvement in negative activities for children (Berndt, 1996; Kandel, 1978). Duck (1996b) found that children acknowledge the negative qualities of their friends. For example, children say that their friends sometimes annoy them and boss them around. These behaviors are often the source of conflicts between friends (Hartup, 1992). Researchers (e.g., Berndt et al., 1993; Youniss, 1980) also show that friends often engage in rivalry and competition. As children grow into adolescence they begin noticing more of their peers' personality and negative characteristics. As intimacy and companionship increases, children develop an increasingly sophisticated view of their peer's inner characteristics, personalities, moods, wishes, desires, motivations, and intentions. In turn, children use this information when interacting with their friends (Duck, 1996b). While friends can become close, best friends have an even more distinguished, and intimate knowledge of each other (Berndt,

1994; Kandel, 1978; Cohen, 1983). Prior research (Duck, 1996b; Hartup, 1992) has concluded that simple peer pressure is not the primary means by which friends influence each other. Depending on the gender, a boy or girl may use different strategies (e.g., positive reinforcement, expert) of pressure (Kandel & Davies, 1981). Skillful children learn to use gentler sorts of pressures in relationships to increase their desired outcome (Hartup, 1989). Sherif and Sherif (1964) believe there is a misguided assumption that peer pressure is always direct and overt and suggest, however, that peer influence operates in a much softer fashion (Sherif & Sherif, 1964).

Types of Peer Influence

While research (e.g., Fisher & Bauman, 1988; Kandel, 1978; Millstein, et. al, 1993) has documented the activities friends engage in, there is also a developing line of research investigating the mechanisms by which peers influence each other. As early as 1959, French and Raven began looking at such processes, collectively called social power. More recently, Hartup (1983) outlined ways peers influenced each other. These researchers (e.g., French & Raven, 1959; Hartup, 1983) complimented each other in many aspects. The first type of peer influence is reinforcement or reward. Reward refers to anything that promotes a behavior being repeated in the future. Among friends, reward is often times the companionship and support that friends provide. Children enjoy the opportunities to spend time with their friends and rely heavily on them for advice and help in various situations. With the friend's ability to disperse or withdrawal these rewards, they can be very powerful in influencing a child's behavior (Berndt, 1996). This reward power can become a persuasive force when trying to encourage peers to start drinking (Graham, Hansen, & Marks, 1991) and becoming involved in other negative behaviors. Hartup, (1983) concluded that we must assume that peer reinforcement may promote the behavior change of individuals. Whether a child's own behavior was reinforced or a child witnessed another child's behavior being reinforced (modeling, see below), it becomes highly influential in changing behavior. Along the same line, friends

sometimes offer rewards to others. For example, a friend might say, "Let's go to the movies. I'll pay for the gas." Another common reinforcement used among children is companionship. A friend might say, "Let's go to the mall first and then we can go eat like you want to." Reinforcement is equally seen in antisocial situations. A friend might say, "If you smoke with us, we can all be friends" (Berndt et al., 1993).

We must not only focus on positive reinforcement and reward, but also on negative reinforcement, another mechanism used by peers to influence each other (Kopfstein, 1972). Negative reinforcement is engaging in a behavior to keep negative consequences from happening. For example, a friend might say, "If you do not sneak out with us, you can no longer be apart of our club." More recent studies (e.g., Berndt et al., 1993; Cohen, 1983) have revealed similar findings concluding that by associating with deviant peers, an individual may themselves engage in deviant activities because their peers have facilitated and reinforced beliefs in them that delinquent activity is not wrong. It is as if peers become desensitized to the deviant behavior altogether due to their friends' reinforcement of negative behavior.

A second type of peer pressure or way friends influence each other is modeling or referent power. It involves the imitating of one person's behavior to another person's as a consequence of direct or symbolic observation. Bandura (1977) discovered that children can actually be influenced to engage in particular behaviors by simply watching another child's behavior and the consequences that follow. That is, children are likely to engage in behaviors they see being reinforced and not engage in behaviors they see not being reinforced or being punished. Interestingly, a child may model another's behavior because they admire and want to be like them (Berndt, 1996). Experimental studies reveal peer modeling to be very strong in affecting change in a child's behavior (O'Connor, 1969). O'Connor (1969) studied withdrawn children by showing them a series of videos of peers interacting. After viewing the videos, withdrawn children became more sociable in their interactions with other children. Further, it has also been

discovered that the modeling and reinforcement required to produce antisocial behaviors do not come from the family unit, but from an individual's peers (Elliot, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985). Previous studies (e.g., Epstein, 1983; Sherif & Sherif, 1964) likewise concluded that children often try to become friends with other children they perceive as popular, athletic, or outstanding in some way. Then after these friendships are formed, adolescents strive to model the popular, athletic individuals behaviors (Epstein, 1983; Sherif & Sherif, 1964). Once these friendships are formed they continue to use the popular, athletic individuals as referent others as seen in Bandura's (1977) social learning theory of observational learning. Berndt (1996) claims that such a power as modeling is very intriguing because it works without any need for pressure of any kind. Thus, it is a much subtler fashion of peer influence than other types of influence. Perhaps this type of influence is what Sherif and Sherif (1964) were alluding to when they stated that peer influence is not always direct.

A third type of pressure is conformity. Conformity can be defined as a complex mixture of one's understanding of the origins and nature of social rules, one's motives, and the make up of the social organizations to which one belongs (Allen & Newston, 1972; Hartup, 1970). Berndt (1979) found a drastic rise in peer conformity to antisocial norms around the third grade. Conformity may occur through passive observations of one another in conversations. A child may say, "I think athletes are cool" and in return others may begin to share similar views. Previous studies (Gelfand, 1962; Landsbaum & Willis, 1971) have revealed situational factors, which impinge on conformity among adolescents. First, it is believed competent individuals generally exert greater influence than those not competent. As in French and Raven's (1959) expert power, it is the power a person with special knowledge uses to influence others. While one friend may be better at arranging parties, another may be better in their scholastic abilities. When a decision concerning a friend's area of expertise appears, their ideas may be more highly valued and in turn, more influential. Second, the presence of a nonconforming individual will

reduce the amount of conformity seen in others in a general situation (Allen & Newtson, 1972). For example, if one child decides not to sneak out of the house at a spend-the-night party, others may also choose to refrain from sneaking out of the house. Third, social status impinges on conformity in relation to both the subject and the source of influence (MacNeil & Pace, 1973). For example, a more popular peer may be more influential than a peer who is not as significantly popular. Fourth, the orientation of the source (e.g., best friend, friend, acquaintance, enemy), rather than the content of the behavior has been shown to be influential in changing behavior (McDavid, 1959).

To expand this fourth point, it also appears that peer influence has different effects in different dyadic relationships. While there is significant variability across relationships, (e.g., best friend, friend, acquaintance, enemy) it seems the best friend relationships may have a unique impact on development apart from other relationships in the child's broader social network. For example, if influence derives from the need to please or be like a close friend, one could possibly infer that best or intimate friends would be more influential than general friendship groups. Several studies have revealed such evidence (Berndt & Keefe, 1995; Cohen, 1983; Kandel, 1978, Morgan & Grube, 1991; Mounts & Steinberg, 1995). Influence in a best friendship can be a mutual process. Each child influences his or her friends and is, in turn, influenced by them. A close, supported, collaborative relationship with a best friend provides a degree of intimacy and mutual engagement that is not found in any other relationships. Halliman (1983) also found a friend's influence may be strongest based on mutual trust and shared goals. As a result, a best friend may have the most influence on a child's behavior and attitudes (Morgan & Grube, 1991; Mounts & Steinberg, 1995; Sullivan, 1953).

The Present Study

The present study examines children's evaluations of peer pressure situations (e.g., modeling, reinforcement) between best friends and neutral acquaintances. One peer, named "Pat" is the peer being influenced and is also labeled the "responder". The

other peer, named “Chris” is always attempting to influence Pat and is thus also labeled the “initiator.” Due to age related differences in children’s susceptibility to peer influence (e.g., Berndt, 1996) it is first hypothesized that older children (grades 5-6), will evaluate the responder (child being influenced) as being more likely to comply immediately and thus cheat than will younger children (grades 2-3). Second, it is predicted that older children will also evaluate the responder as being more likely to cheat in the future than will younger children.

According to past research (e.g., Berndt, 1996; McDavid, 1959), it is predicted that the closer the relationship between the two peers (best friends, neutral acquaintances) the more influential, they will be on each other. Hypothesis three states that children will evaluate best friends as being more influential than acquaintances in terms of the responder’s cheating behavior. Hypothesis four states that children will evaluate best friends as being more influential than acquaintances in terms of the responder’s future cheating behavior.

Gender differences are expected to surface because during childhood, boy and girl friendships are quite different (Ray, Cohen, Secrist, 1995; Thorne, 1986). Hypothesis five states that girls’ relationships will be more influential in terms of immediate compliance due to their more intimate friendships, than will boys’ relationships (Billy & Udry, 1985; Davies & Kandel, 1981). Hypothesis six states that girls’ relationships will be more influential in terms of future compliance due to their more intimate friendships, than will boys’ relationships.

Predictions are also made concerning the five influential types (e.g., modeling, positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, referent, expert). Hypotheses seven and eight predict an age by influence type interaction. Specifically, hypothesis seven states that younger children will be more influenced in terms of immediate compliance by either positive or negative reinforcement and older children will be more influenced by referent, expert, or modeling, because as we age, friends and status become more

important (Berndt, 1979). Hypothesis eight states that younger children will be more influenced in terms of future compliance by either positive or negative reinforcement and older children will be more influenced by referent, expert, or modeling.

Hypotheses nine and ten pertain to a relationship type by influence type interaction. Specifically, hypothesis nine states that children will evaluate a best friend as being more influential in terms of immediate compliance, in the modeling influence scenario than will an acquaintance. Hypothesis ten states that children will evaluate a best friend as being more influential in terms of future compliance, in the modeling influence scenario than will an acquaintance.

Hypotheses eleven and twelve both predict a gender by influence type interaction. Hypothesis eleven states that girls will be more influential in the referent and expert scenarios, in terms of immediate compliance, because they have more intimate relationships than will boys (Haselager, Hartup, Van Lieshout, & Riksen-Walraven, 1995). Hypothesis twelve states that girls will be more influential in the referent and expert scenarios, in terms of future compliance, because they have more intimate relationships than will boys.

Method

Participants

Participants are 78 girls and 82 boys from the second-, third-, fifth-, and sixth grades (N=160) of a public elementary school in Montgomery, Alabama. All participating children returned written parental consent and also gave their own written consent prior to the study (see Appendix A). Participants were told, while we appreciate their help, they do not have to participate if they do not want to and can stop at any time during the course of the interview. To examine grade effects with ample group size, the four grades were collapsed into two levels forming a younger group (Grades 2-3) (n = 83, mean age = 8 yrs. 7 months), and an older group (Grades 5-6) (n = 78, mean age = 11 yrs. 8 months).

Design

In addition to Grade and Gender, Relationship Type (Best Friend, Acquaintance) was a between-participant variable. The study also included Influence Type (Modeling, Referent, Negative Reinforcement, Positive Reinforcement, Expert) as a within participants variable. Thus, the general design is a 2 (Grade: young, old) x 2 (Gender of child) x 2 (Relationship Type: best friend, acquaintance) x 5 (Influence Type: Modeling, Positive Reinforcement, Negative Reinforcement, Referent, and Expert) mixed-factorial design.

Measures

Each child listened to a total of six audiorecorded scenarios: one for a particular level of Relationship Type (e.g., Best Friend, Acquaintance) and five delivering the Peer Influence Scenarios (e.g., Modeling, Positive Reinforcement, Negative Reinforcement, Referent, Expert).

Relationship Type. Two Relationship Type Vignettes (e.g., Best Friend, Acquaintance) were audiorecorded, following Ray and Cohen (1999; 2000)(see Appendix B). The Best Friend vignette focuses on trust and intimacy and behavioral reciprocities such as sharing and cooperation that distinguish best friends from other types of social relationships (Hartup, 1983). The Acquaintance vignette reflects that the two children are unacquainted and had not formed a judgment of each other. Thus, they neither liked nor disliked one another.

In addition to the audiorecorded vignette, a drawing to represent each Relationship Type was constructed (Ray & Cohen, 1999; 2000). All drawings included two same-gender children and were matched to the gender and race of the participants. There were 8 drawings in total: two male and two female for African Americans, and two male and two female for European Americans. For Best Friends, the drawings were of two boys/girls standing close together, facing one another and smiling. For Acquaintances the drawings were of two children standing beside each other with neutral facial expressions and facing forward.

Peer Influence Scenarios. Five audiorecorded Peer Influence Type Scenarios (e.g., Positive and Negative Reinforcement, Modeling, Expert, and Referent) were constructed (see Appendix C). In the Positive Reinforcement scenarios, the responder (Pat) is offered some type of incentive to cheat from the initiator peer (Chris). In the Negative Reinforcement scenario, Pat is encouraged with a negative consequence from Chris for cheating. In the Modeling scenario, Pat witnessed Chris cheating and doing very well. In the Expert scenario, Pat witnessed Chris, who is good at school work and tests, cheating. And in the Referent scenario, Pat desperately wanted to be like Chris (popular, lots of friends). It is important to note that the two children depicted in the Relationship Type Vignettes are the same two children depicted in each of the Peer Influence Scenarios.

Peer Evaluation Questionnaires. Children's evaluations of peer influence were

obtained from five different questionnaires corresponding to the five different Peer Influence Scenarios (see Appendix D). Children evaluated Behavior Responses (e.g., Is Pat going to cheat like Chris?), Affective States of Targets (e.g., How upset does Chris feel?), and Target's Liking each other (e.g., Before this happened, how much did Chris like Pat?). To assess the influence of these evaluations on the observer, questions pertaining to the Observer's Affective State (e.g., How upset would you be watching this happen?) and the Observer's Behavior Response (e.g., If you were Pat, would you cheat?) were also assessed. Children's responses were assessed using a Likert Type scale ranging from 1 to 6 (see Appendix D).

Procedure

Each child was individually interviewed in a quiet area outside his or her classroom in a 15 to 20 minute session. Each child listened to a total of six audiorecorded scenarios: one for particular level of Relationship Type (either Best Friends or Acquaintances) and five delivering the Peer Influence Scenarios (Modeling, Positive Reinforcement, Negative Reinforcement, Expert, Referent). Each child was also presented with a picture corresponding to the particular level of Relationship Type. First, a particular Relationship Type scenario and corresponding picture is presented. The particular Relationship Type picture remained in full view for the entire interview. After administration of the first peer influence type scenario, children filled out the corresponding questionnaire. Children filled out each questionnaire immediately following each Peer Influence Type scenario. After completing the questionnaire, the child was presented with the next peer influence scenario. Peer influence scenarios were counterbalanced across children to control for possible carryover and sequencing effects. Children were instructed at the beginning of each scenario, "Instead of that happening, let's pretend that this is what happened." Upon completion of all questionnaires, the child was debriefed by being reminded that the scenarios are not real and did not actually happen. The child was then asked if he or she had any questions and then returned to the

classroom.

Results

Results are divided into two sections. The first section includes t-tests and mixed factorial ANOVAS, which are used to test the individual hypotheses. For the mixed factorial ANOVAS, Grade, Gender, and Relationship Type (Best friend, Acquaintance) are between-participant variables and Influence Type (Modeling, Positive Reinforcement, Negative Reinforcement, Referent, Expert) is a within-participant variable. The second section contains additional analysis using a series of mixed factorial ANOVAS. Thus, a series of 2 (Grade: young, old) x 2 (Gender) x 2 (Relationship Type: best friend, acquaintance) x 5 (Influence Type: modeling, positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, referent, expert) mixed factorial ANOVAS are conducted on variables assessing the target's behavioral responses, affective states of the targets, the target's liking each other, as well as, the observer's affective state, and the observer's behavior response. T-test post hoc follow-up tests are conducted to determine sources of difference where appropriate. To control for the possibility of alpha inflation, a Bonferroni correction is used (.05/number of comparisons made).

Hypotheses Analyses

Hypotheses one and two: investigating Age effects on immediate and future compliance. Analysis for hypothesis one, predicting older children to evaluate Pat as being more likely to cheat than younger children is supported, $t(158) = -4.16, p < .001$. Older children ($M = 3.92, SD = 1.11$) reported Pat as being more likely to immediately comply, than do younger children ($M = 3.11, SD = 1.35$). Analysis for hypothesis two, investigating the effect of age on future compliance, also reveals a statistically significant effect, $t(158) = -3.60, p < .001$. Older children ($M = 3.99, SD = 1.13$) reported Pat as being more willing to comply in the future than do younger children

($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.16$). Although analyzed separately, older children evaluate Pat as being more likely to cheat both immediately and in the future than do younger children.

Hypothesis three and four: investigating Relationship effects on immediate and future compliance. Analysis for hypothesis three, predicting a best friend to be more influential than an acquaintance on immediate compliance reveals no statistically significant results, $t(158) = -.46$, $p > .05$. Thus, the best friend relationship is viewed as no more influential than the acquaintance relationship on immediate compliance. Likewise, analysis for hypothesis four, investigating the effect of relationship type on future compliance reveals no statistically significant results, $t(158) = .14$, $p > .05$. Thus, the best friend relationship is equally as influential as the acquaintance relationship on future compliance.

Hypothesis five and six: investigating the Gender effect on immediate and future compliance. Analysis for hypothesis five, predicting girls' best friends to be more influential on immediate compliance than boys' best friends reveals no statistically significant results, $t(158) = .75$, $p > .05$. Therefore, girl best friend relationships are equally as influential as are boy best friend relationships on immediate compliance. Analysis for hypothesis six, predicting girls' best friends to be more influential on future compliance than boys' best friends also reveals no statistically significant results, $t(158) = 1.25$, $p > .05$. Thus, girl best friend relationships are not more influential than boy best friend relationships on immediate or future compliance.

Hypothesis seven and eight: investigating the Grade by Peer Influence Type interaction for immediate and future compliance. Given the Grade x Situation predictions regarding hypothesis seven and eight stating that younger children will be more influenced by either positive or negative reinforcement and older children will be more influenced by referent, expert, or modeling, two mixed factorial ANOVAs were performed: one for immediate compliance and one for future compliance. Analysis on immediate compliance revealed a significant main effect for Grade, $F(1, 158) = 17.33$, p

<.001. Thus, similar to the finding for hypothesis one, grade 5-6 children ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 1.11$) report Pat as being more likely to immediately comply than do grade 2-3 children ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.36$). Analysis on immediate compliance also reveals a statistically significant main effect for Peer Influence Type, $F(4, 632) = 6.90$, $p < .001$. Children evaluate Pat as being more likely to cheat in the referent peer influence scenario compared to the modeling or negative reinforcement peer influence scenarios, which do not differ from each other (see table 1 for the means and standard deviations).

Table 1: Mean likelihood of compliance as a function of peer influence type

Peer Influence Types	Immediate Compliance		Future Compliance	
	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)
Modeling	3.24	(1.92)	3.51	(1.87)
Positive Reinforcement	3.59	(1.89)	3.53	(1.83)
Negative Reinforcement	3.16	(1.92)	3.48	(1.80)
Referent	3.99	(1.98)	3.93	(1.77)
Expert	3.53	(1.92)	3.76	(1.77)

Analysis on future compliance reveals a significant main effect for age, $F(1, 152) = 13.36$, $p < .001$. Grade 5-6 children ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.13$) report Pat as being more likely to comply in the future than do grade 2-3 children ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.16$). Analysis on future compliance also reveals a statistically significant main effect Peer Influence Type, $F(1, 608) = 2.72$, $p < .05$. Children evaluate Pat as being more likely to engage in future cheating in the Referent peer influence scenario compared to the negative reinforcement peer influence scenario (see table 1 for means and standard deviations).

Hypothesis nine and ten: investigating the Relationship Type by Peer Influence Type interaction on immediate and future compliance.

Given the relationship type and peer influential type prediction regarding hypothesis nine and ten, stating that a best friend will be more influential in the modeling

peer influential scenario compared to an acquaintance, two mixed factorial ANOVAs are performed: one for immediate compliance and one for future compliance. Analysis on immediate compliance reveals no statistically significant results, $F(4, 608) = 1.11, p > .05$. The influence of a best friend and an acquaintance do not vary across the different peer influence types for immediate compliance.

Analysis on future compliance also reveals no statistically significant results, $F(4, 608) = .75, p > .05$. The influence of a best friend and an acquaintance do not vary across the different influence types.

Hypothesis eleven and twelve: investigating Gender by Peer Influential Types on immediate and future compliance.

Given the gender and peer influence type prediction for hypothesis eleven and twelve, stating that girls will be more influenced in the referent and expert peer influential scenarios compared to boys, two mixed factorial ANOVAs are performed: one for immediate compliance and one for future compliance. Analysis on immediate compliance reveals no statistically significant results, $F(4, 608) = 1.22, p > .05$. Thus, the influence of gender does not vary across the different peer influence scenarios.

Analysis on future compliance also reveals no statistically significant results, $F(4, 608) = .58, p > .05$. The influence of gender does not vary across the different peer influence scenarios.

Additional Analysis

Mutual liking between targets. Analysis investigating the mutual liking between targets being evaluated reveals a statistically significant Grade x Gender x Relationship Type interaction, $F(1, 153) = 4.59, p < .05$. For ease of interpretation this three-way interaction is presented as two two-way interactions: one for each grade level. As seen in figures 1 & 2, both younger and older children evaluate best friends as liking each other more than acquaintances. Similarly, both boys and girls evaluate best friends as liking each other more than acquaintances (see table 2 for the means and standard deviations).

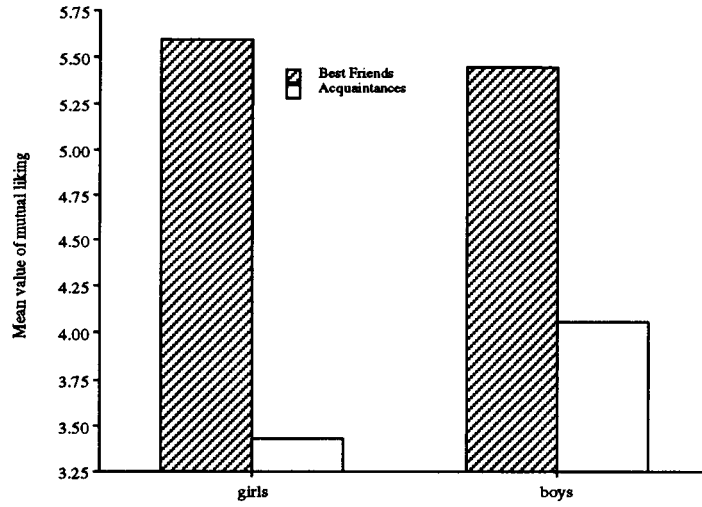


Figure 1: Grades 2-3: Gender x Relationship Type

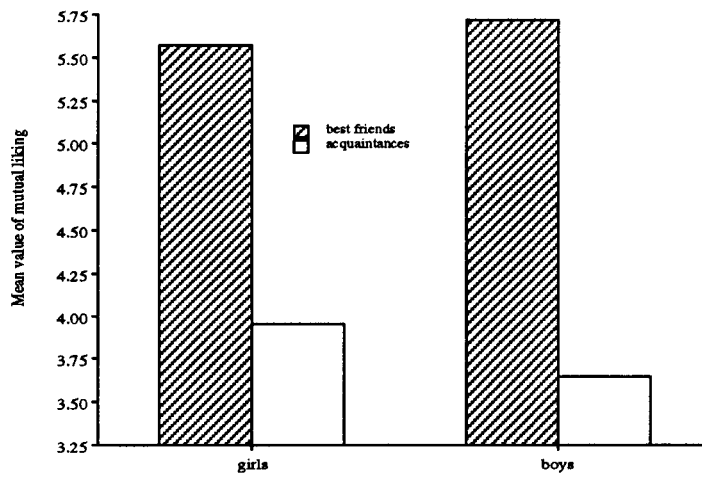


Figure 2: Grades 5-6: Gender x Relationship Type Interaction

Table 2: Mean evaluation of target's liking for each other

	Male		Females		Best Friends		Acquaintances	
	<u>M</u>	<u>(SD)</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>(SD)</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>(SD)</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>(SD)</u>
You.	4.77	(1.21)	4.57	(1.37)	5.53	(.91)	3.76	(.97)
Old	4.61	(1.31)	4.78	(1.26)	5.64	(.75)	3.79	(.99)

	Best Friends		Acquaintances	
	<u>(M)</u>	<u>(SD)</u>	<u>(M)</u>	<u>(SD)</u>
Girls	5.59	(.82)	3.68	(1.00)
Boys	5.50	(.86)	3.85	(.96)

Responder affect. Analysis investigating children's evaluation of how upset Pat was reveals a significant Relationship x Gender interaction, $F(1, 151) = 5.91, p < .05$. As seen in figure 3, girls report Pat as being more upset in the best friend relationship situation than in the acquaintance relationship situation (see Table 3 for means and standard deviations). No differences emerge for boys.

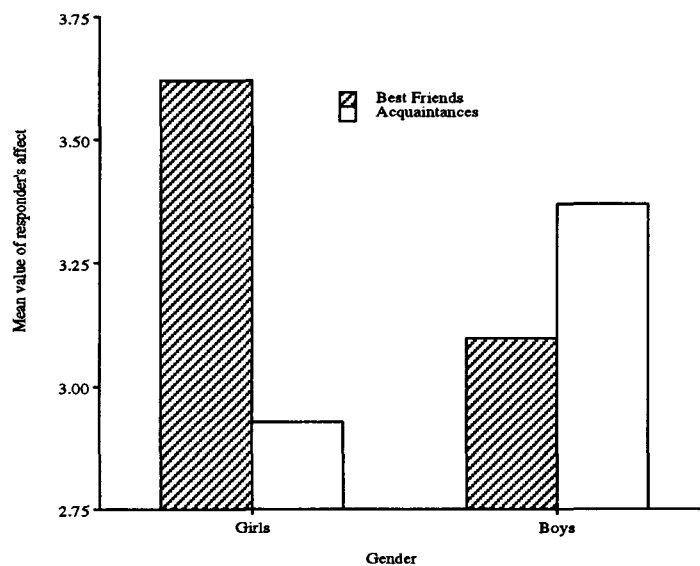


Figure 3: Responder's Affect: Gender x Relationship Type Interaction.

Table 3: Mean evaluation of responder's affect as a function of grade and relationship

	Best Friends		Acquaintances	
	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)
Boys	3.10	(1.49)	3.37	(1.25)
Girls	3.62	(1.35)	2.93	(1.32)

Analysis also reveals a significant Grade x Relationship Type interaction $F(1, 151) = 4.45, p < .05$. As seen in figure 4, for best friends, younger children evaluate Pat as being more upset than do older children. No developmental differences emerge for acquaintances (see table 4 for means and standard deviations).

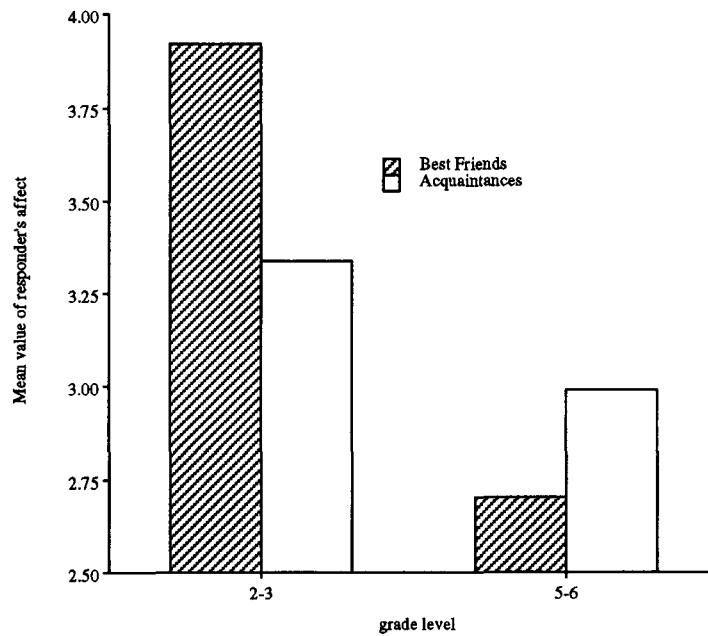


Figure 4: Responder's Affect: Grade x Relationship Type Interaction

Table 4: Mean evaluation of responder's affect as a function of grade and relationship

	Grades 2-3		Grades 5-6	
	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)
Best Friends	3.92	(1.34)	2.70	(1.16)
Acquaintances	3.34	(1.36)	2.99	(1.22)

Responder liking after the initiation. Analysis investigating children's evaluation of how much Pat liked Chris after the peer influence situation occurred, reveals a significant Relationship Type x Peer Influence Type interaction, $F(4, 608) = 2.78, p < .05$. As seen in figure 5, best friends report to like Chris more than acquaintances in the modeling peer influence scenario, as compared to the other peer influence scenarios. With regards to Pat's liking for Chris in the best friend relationship, modeling, referent, and expert power do not differ from each other but are higher than positive and negative reinforcement, which do not differ from each other. For acquaintances, positive reinforcement and referent peer influence scenarios do not differ from each other, but are higher than expert, which in turn is higher than modeling and negative reinforcement, which do not differ from each other (see Table 5 for means and standard deviations).

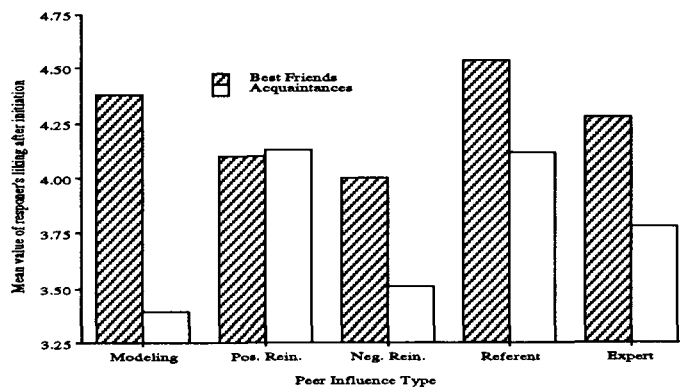


Figure 5: Responder's Liking After Initiation: Relationship Type x Influence Type.

Table 5: Mean evaluation of responder's liking after the initiation

Peer Influence Types	Best Friends		Acquaintances	
	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)
Modeling	4.38	(1.69)	3.39	(1.67)
Pos. Reinforcement	4.10	(1.83)	4.13	(1.56)
Neg. Reinforcement	4.00	(1.72)	3.51	(1.65)
Referent	4.54	(1.73)	4.12	(1.74)
Expert	4.28	(1.66)	3.78	(1.58)

How realistic. Analysis investigating how often children experience incidences of cheating reveals a statistically significant effect for Grade, $F(1, 152) = 13.91, p < .001$. Older children ($M = 4.19, SD = 1.27$) evaluate cheating incidences as happening more often than do younger children ($M = 3.43, SD = 1.33$).

Observer affect. Analysis investigating how upset the observer would be watching Chris try to get Pat to cheat reveals a significant Grade effect, $F(1, 152) = 12.07, p < .01$. Younger children's evaluations ($M = 4.78, SD = 1.41$) reveal that they would be more upset watching this happen than would older children ($M = 3.92, SD = 1.74$).

Analysis also reveals a significant Gender x Situation interaction, $F(1, 608) = 3.01, p < .05$. As seen in figure 6, girls report being more upset than boys in the positive reinforcement and negative reinforcement peer influence scenarios. No other gender differences emerge among the different peer influence scenarios. Girls report being more upset evaluating the positive reinforcement and negative reinforcement peer influence scenarios, which are not different from each other, but are higher than the modeling peer influence scenario. No other differences emerge for girls. No differences in observer affect emerge across the different peer influence scenarios for boys (see table 6 for means and standard deviations).

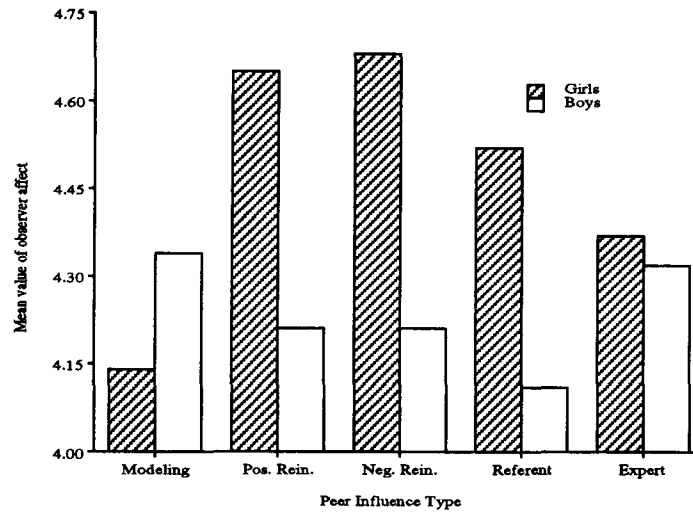


Figure 6: Observer's Affect: Gender x Influence Type Interaction.

Table 6: Mean evaluation of observer's affect

Peer Influence Types	Boys		Girls	
	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)	Mean	(Stand. Dev.)
Modeling	4.34	(1.92)	4.14	(2.02)
Positive Reinforcement	4.21	(1.94)	4.65	(1.74)
Negative Reinforcement	4.21	(1.99)	4.64	(1.64)
Referent	4.11	(2.01)	4.52	(1.80)
Expert	4.32	(1.92)	4.37	(1.83)

Observer compliance. Analysis investigating the observer's compliance to cheating reveals a significant Grade effect, $F(1, 152) = 3.99, p < .05$. Older children ($M = 1.8, SD = 1.27$) report being more willing to comply than do younger children ($M = 1.44, SD = .93$).

Discussion

Peer relationships are vital to the social, cognitive, and physical development of children (e.g., Newcomb, Bukowski, & Hartup, 1996). Much work has been done investigating special relationships of children and the influence they have on one another (see Berndt, 1989; Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995 for meta-analytic review). Until recently, it was assumed that a peer's influence was always positive, especially in children's friendships (Davies & Kandel, 1981). However, it has become increasingly obvious that some peer influence is largely negative (Duck, 1996b; Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990). Researchers have found that friends usually encourage friends to engage in undesirable and antisocial acts (e.g., fighting, smoking, drugs). Interestingly, little work has been directed toward children's social-informational processing of peer pressure situations. Thus, the present study investigated children's evaluation of negative peer influence as a function of different types of peer relationships (e.g., best friends, acquaintances) and different types of peer pressure (e.g., modeling, positive reinforcement, referent). Below is a detailed discussion of these findings.

The prediction that older children (Grades 5-6) would evaluate Pat as being more likely to cheat than would younger children (Grades 2-3) both immediately and in the future is supported, and both replicates and extends earlier work on children's susceptibility to peer influence. Researchers (e.g., Berndt, 1979; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986) have demonstrated that conformity to peer influence increases from middle childhood to middle adolescence (about age 15) and then decreases in late adolescence. The current study extends these finding in two important ways. First, the present study is among the first to use children as young as second grade in a sample investigating peer influences. Second, previous research has used hypothetical situations that directly

involve the participant (e.g., Will you cheat?). The current research is one step removed, where participants are evaluators of the interactions of other peers. Given that similar findings emerge when children evaluate themselves or when they witness the interactions of others, it appears that children may base their perceptions and evaluations of others, in part, on how they themselves would act in similar situations (Ray & Cohen, 2000).

As children age, they begin spending more time in the company of their peers than in the company of their parents. Further, while dyadic relationships are first to develop, belonging to the larger peer group becomes important in late childhood and early adolescence. Berndt (1979) found that conformity to peers on antisocial behavior increased greatly between third and ninth grade. Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) found that as children age they begin to surrender to the influences of their peers as they shed their parental orientation and replace it with dependency on their peers. Therefore, the older the child, the larger the measure of emotional autonomy in their family relationships. Also, past research (e.g., Brown et al., 1986; Hartup, 1983) has shown that with age there is a steady increase toward misconduct and older children perceive these negative behaviors as normative. Thus, older children are more apt to behave mischievously because they view antisocial behaviors differently than do younger children and they also rely more heavily on their friends than their parents for direction.

Contrary to past research (e.g., Berndt, 1996; McDavid, 1959), the prediction that the closer the relationship between the two peers being evaluated (best friends vs. acquaintances) the more influential one child will be on the other was not supported. In light of this relationship type non-finding, it is important to note that children did evaluate best friends differently than acquaintances because all children evaluate liking between best friends higher than liking between acquaintances. Also, the prediction that girls will evaluate best friends as being more influential than will boys was not supported. Thus girl best friends were no more influential than boy best friends on immediate and future compliance. In the present study, only positive (e.g., best friends) and neutral

(acquaintances) are used. Had a broader range of relationships been used (e.g., best friends, acquaintances, enemies), perhaps relationship effects would have emerged. For example, Ray and Cohen (1999; 2000) found that children's evaluations of best friends and acquaintances were quite similar and always more positive than the evaluations of enemies. In the present study, with reference to peer influence, children were evaluating two positive relationships and no differences emerged.

Further, researchers (e.g., Berndt, 1996) have demonstrated three areas where susceptibility to friends' influence is greatest. The first is a child's position in the peer group. Children of lower social status are likely to be more influenced than higher status children. While sociometric status of participants is not measured in the current study, it is a safe assumption to consider that the majority of children participating are not from unpopular status groups (see Ray, Cohen, & Secrist, 1995). Second, children whose personal relationships (parents, other peers) are less satisfying are more susceptible to friends' influence. This again, would suggest that unpopular and marginal status children will be more influenced than popular and average status children. Lastly, children appear to be more susceptible to friends' influence when the behavior/situation is not particularly important to their sense of self. While the current study does not measure characteristics of reputational salience, it appears that making good grades and being a "good student" are important to a sense of self for elementary school age children and are behaviors that are less susceptible to the influence of peers.

The prediction that younger children's evaluations will be more influenced by either positive or negative reinforcement and older children's evaluations will be more influenced by referent, expert, or modeling is not supported. This hypothesis is based on the fact that younger children's social cognitive reasoning is more categorical in nature (e.g., things are either right or wrong) compared to the sophistication of older children's reasoning. Therefore, it is assumed that young children will be influenced by situations where friends simply tell them something good (positive reinforcement) or something

bad (negative reinforcement) might happen to them, as opposed to watching a friend cheat. However, this hypothesis was not supported. In the present study, older children and younger children are equally affected across the peer influence scenarios.

Interestingly, with regard to both immediate and future compliance, referent power is evaluated as the most influential of the various influence types of peer influence. This finding supports Berndt's (1996) hypothesis that referent power may be the most significant source of friend's influence. As stated in the literature review, referent power emerges when children admire and want to be like another child. Researchers (Epstein, 1983; Sherif & Sherif, 1964) have found that children often try to become friends with other children whom they perceive as popular, athletic, or skilled in some other area. Berndt (1996) further stated that after these friendships are formed they continue to use their friends as referent others to guide and direct their own behavior.

The prediction that children will evaluate best friends as having more influence in the modeling peer influence scenario compared to acquaintances is not supported. The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that because best friends obviously like each other and like to be around each other, they want to mimic the other's behavior. Further, research shows (Haselager et al., 1995) that friends are more similar in antisocial characteristics (e.g., fighting) than in prosocial behaviors. However, the present study reveals that a best friend will be no more willing to model his/her best friend's behavior than will an acquaintance. As stated previously, children with poor parental relationships and low socioeconomic status have a higher vulnerability to influence. Also situations not used to create their identity are more susceptible to influence. Perhaps if children who fall in these categories had participated, and situations not relevant to identity development had been used, relationship effects may have emerged.

The prediction that girls will evaluate peers to be more influenced in the referent and expert peer influence scenarios than would boys is not supported. While research (Berndt, 1996; Haselager, et al., 1995) demonstrates that girl's friends are more similar to

each other and more intimate than are boy's friends, no differences emerge for gender in the present study. Thus it appears that greater intimacy between peers is not accompanied by an increase in one peer's ability to influence the other, at least with regard to children's evaluations of others' behaviors.

Additional Analyses

Additional analysis investigating the mutual liking between target peers reveals that all children evaluate best friends as liking each other more than acquaintances. This same pattern emerges when children evaluate Pat's liking for Chris after the scenario happens. That children evaluate best friends differently than acquaintances in terms of affect replicates earlier work on children as observers of peers (e.g., Ray & Cohen, 1999; 2000) but more importantly serves as a manipulation check for the Relationship Type independent variable in the current study.

Analysis investigating children's evaluation of target peer affect (Pat) reveals that within best friend relationships, girls as well as younger children report Pat to be more upset than did boys and older children. This supports previous research (Ray & Cohen, 2000) demonstrating that girls and younger children are more likely to report the peers they evaluate, particularly peers that have been wronged (i.e., aggressed against), as being more emotionally affected (more upset) than do boys and older children.

Analysis investigating how upset the participating children would be watching a child trying to get another child to cheat reveals younger children as being more upset than older children. As stated previously, younger children are much more innocent and naïve than are older children. Also, as children get older incidences of cheating become much more prevalent as the current study shows, and perhaps has less of a negative effect on a child. That is, as children get older and they see cheating on a more routine basis and perhaps they become desensitized to it. Also, older children are more willing to engage in such a negative behavior, as revealed in this study. Thus the older the child, the less they are going to be upset about an incidence that occurs everyday around them

and that they themselves are more likely to engage in.

Limitations of the current study include the fact that children are presented with hypothetical scenarios, which may have minimized the reality of the experiment for the evaluators. Children's responses to hypothetical situations may not coincide with how they will evaluate actual peer influence situations. Thus, it will be important for future research to begin investigating children's real world influence situations or experimental analog situations with actual peers. In addition, children are asked to evaluate each story using a forced choice questionnaire. Future research allowing children to respond more freely and independently to situations involving peer influence may have provide a more complete understanding of children's perceptions of influence. The present study focused only on dyadic (one-on-one) interactions between children. Future research into children's influence on each other will need to consider the effect of multiple friends and their collective influence on peer behavior. Further, in addition to cheating situations there are various other types of negative situations where the susceptibility to peer pressure is more likely (e.g., not important to identity). Lastly, while the present study only includes positive and neutral relationships (e.g., best friends and acquaintances), it will be beneficial for future research to include a broader range of relationship types (e.g., best friends, friends, acquaintances, enemies).

In conclusion, the present study reveals that older children evaluate the responder (Pat) as being more likely to cheat than did younger children. Further, older children also report that cheating is more common, and that they themselves would be more likely to cheat than would younger children. These finding coupled with earlier research documenting that older children are more susceptible to the influences of their peers, begins to shed light on how children actually go about the business of making evaluations of others. It appears that how children evaluate the interactions of others is, in part, determined by how they themselves would behave in similar situations. Perhaps the developmental differences evidenced in the current study are the result of an ability of

older children to “put themselves in the situation”, while younger children respond to the situation(s) in a concrete way. Clearly, how children evaluate the interactions of their peers has important developmental consequences not only for the evaluator, but for the children being evaluated as well. Peer pressure situations are daily occurrences and children obviously witness peers attempting to influence each other. As such, the current study is a beginning in understanding how children evaluate these peer pressure situations between others and the factors that influence these evaluations.

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APPENDIX A
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear Parent:

Your child is being invited to participate in a project looking at how children understand and think about social situations with peers. The knowledge gained by the project will be useful to teachers and researchers who need to better understand children's peer relationships. Your child is being invited because all second, third, fifth, and sixth graders at Dannelly are being invited to participate. If you decide to allow your child to participate, he/she will be presented with short, hypothetical stories and will answer some questions about what they observe. Your child will be interviewed right outside their classroom in the hallway. At no time will your child leave the school's premises. Each child will be interviewed for about 10-15 minutes at a time approved by their classroom teacher. Children's names will not be used in the study. Only groups will be investigated. No individuals will be identified. Mr. Armistead has approved this project. We need your permission for your child to take part. Please complete and return this form to your child's homeroom teacher. Your child will also be asked to sign this consent form giving them permission to take part. If you have additional questions we will be happy to answer. Thank you for your help.

YOU ARE MAKING A DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO HAVE YOUR CHILD PARTICIPATE. YOUR SIGNATURE INDICATES THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED THAT IT'S OKAY FOR YOUR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE, HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOVE.

Sincerely,

Brea Burton 244-3306(AUM)

Dr. Glen E. Ray 244-3690(AUM)

Child's name: _____

_____ Yes, my child may participate in this project.

_____ No, my child may not participate in this project.

Parent's signature _____

Date: _____

Child's signature _____

Date: _____

Witness's signature _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B

Relationship Type Vignettes

Best Friends: Let's pretend that you're new to this school and don't know the kids in the story you're about to hear. The story is about Chris and Pat. Chris and Pat are best friends. They go to the same school and are in the same class. Chris lives down the street from Pat so they get to spend a lot of time together playing games and having fun. They sat together and shared their lunch today. Chris and Pat tell each other secrets and take up for each other. Chris and Pat have been best friends for a long time.

Acquaintances: Let's pretend that you're new to this school and don't know the kids in the story you're about to hear. The story is about Chris and Pat. Chris and Pat are in the same class together. Chris and Pat know each other but don't sit by each other in class or at lunch time. It's not that they don't like each other. They just don't know each other well enough to know whether they like each other or not. Chris and Pat are not enemies, but they are not really friends either.

APPENDIX C

Influential Type Situations

Modeling: Let's pretend that one day a class was about to take a very important test. Chris and Pat sit by each other in class. The teacher passes out the test to everyone and says "Go ahead and start working on the test. I have to go to the principle's office to talk to someone. Please remember to keep your eyes on your own test." The teacher leaves the room and the class begins working on the test. Pat wants to do very good on the test, but the test starts getting really hard. Pat looks over and sees Chris opening a book under the desk and cheating and hears Chris say, "Wow, this test is really easy now."

Positive Reinforcement: Let's pretend that one day a class was about to take a very important test. Chris and Pat sit by each other in class. The teacher passes out the test to everyone and says "Go ahead and start working on the test. I have to go to the principle's office to talk to someone. Please remember to keep your eyes on your own test." The teacher leaves the room and the class begins working on the test. Pat wants to do very good, but the test starts getting really hard. Pat looks over and sees Chris opening a book under the desk and cheating. Chris leans over and says "Hey Pat this is a really hard test. Here, use my answers and you will do really good."

Negative Reinforcement: Let's pretend that one day a class was about to take a very important test. Chris and Pat sit by each other in class. The teacher passes out the test to everyone and says "Go ahead and start working on the test. I have to go to the principle's office to talk to someone. Please remember to keep your eyes on your own

test.” The teacher leaves the room and the class begins working on the test. Pat wants to do very good, but the test starts getting really hard. Pat looks over and sees Chris opening a book under the desk and cheating. Chris leans over and says “Hey Pat this is a really hard test. If you do not cheat, you are going to fail.”

Referent: Let’s pretend that one day a class was about to take a very important test. Chris and Pat sit by each other in class. The teacher passes out the test to everyone and says “Go ahead and start working on the test. I have to go to the principle’s office to talk to someone. Please remember to keep your eyes on your own test.” The teacher leaves the room and the class begins working on the test. Pat wants to do very good on the test, but the test starts getting really hard. Pat looks over and sees Chris opening a book under the desk and cheating. Chris has lots of friends and everybody likes Chris. Pat wants to be just like Chris.

Expert: Let’s pretend that one day a class was about to take a very important test. Chris and Pat sit by each other in class. The teacher passes out the test to everyone and says “Go ahead and start working on the test. I have to go to the principle’s office to talk to someone. Please remember to keep your eyes on your own test.” The teacher leaves the room and the class begins working on the test. Pat wants to do very good on the test, but the test starts getting really hard. Pat looks over and sees Chris opening a book under the desk and cheating. Chris turns to Pat and says, “Hey Pat, this test is a really hard test. Look at my answers. I always do great on tests.”

APPENDIX D

1. How much do Pat and Chris like each other?	1	2	3	4	5	6	Not at All	Very Much
2. Is Pat going to cheat like Chris?	1	2	3	4	5	6	Very Unlikely	Highly Likely
3. Now that this has happened, how likely is Pat to cheat on other tests?	1	2	3	4	5	6	Highly Unlikely	Highly Likely
4. How upset does Pat feel?	1	2	3	4	5	6	Not Upset	Very Upset
5. After this happened, how much did Pat like Chris?	1	2	3	4	5	6	Not at All	Very Much
6. How often does this sort of thing really happen?	1	2	3	4	5	6	Not Ever	All the Time
7. How upset would you be watching this happen?	1	2	3	4	5	6	Not Upset	Very Upset
8. If you were Pat, would you cheat?	1	2	3	4	5	6	Highly Unlikely	Highly Likely
BF AC	1	2	3	4	5		MO	PR NR RE EX