

#### 4 Social self-discrepancy: A theory relating peer relations problems and school maladjustment

*Janis B. Kupersmidt, Kathy S. Buchele, Mary Ellen Voegler, and Constantine Sedikides*

A growing body of literature indicates that problematic peer relations in childhood and adolescence are predictive of both academic and behavioral problems in school (see Kohlberg, LaCrosse, & Ricks, 1972; Kupersmidt, Coie, & Dodge, 1990; Parker & Asher, 1987, for reviews). The findings from this literature have been important for the development of criteria for defining, identifying, and screening children at risk for school maladjustment. Despite the fact that the relation between problematic peer relations and school maladjustment has been replicated across samples of children from different ethnic, geographic, and developmental groups, little is known about the mechanisms by which problematic peer relations may affect school maladjustment. The development and testing of such mechanisms has been slow, in part, because the transactional relations among social, behavioral, and academic functioning over time have been difficult to study due to methodological limitations and practical constraints. It is likely that there is a bidirectional influence between peer relations and school maladjustment; however, this chapter focuses only on one side of the equation, namely, the influence of problematic peer relations on school maladjustment. In this chapter, school maladjustment is defined in terms of behavioral, emotional, or academic difficulties that may interfere with adequate functioning in school.

One mechanism that has been proposed for understanding the impact that problematic peer relations have on children's school maladjustment suggests that poor peer relations are stressful for children due to both the experienced negative affect and the accompanying lack of social support that, in turn, increases children's vulnerability to other life stressors (Armacost, 1989; Colton & Gore, 1991; see also Birch & Ladd, this volume). In fact, children report that being disliked or picked on by peers is a major stressor (Jones & Fiore, 1991) and they rate negative changes in peer acceptance as equally stressful as other life events, such as failure of a year

in school or hospitalization of a parent for a serious illness (Johnson, 1988). Children with poor peer relations may be socially isolated or ostracized and may, in turn, isolate themselves from peers by not attending school to avoid further exposure to stress. If the social isolation of children is associated with teasing or peer victimization, they may also develop heightened social anxiety and fear of public performances in school, such as reading aloud.

Although problematic peer relations can have negative consequences in terms of mental health and school maladjustment, these consequences do not necessarily generalize to all children. There may be children for whom problematic peer relations do not affect adjustment. For these children, the level of need for relatedness, affiliation, or peer status may be relatively low. For example, they may describe themselves as not caring what others think about them or not wanting or needing friends. Alternatively, these children may have other means of satisfying their social needs, such as a positive affiliation with a pet, parent, or sibling. Thus, we need to know a child's desired type, quality, and quantity of peer relations in order to be able to predict his or her reaction to different kinds of interpersonal stressors with peers.

In this chapter, we propose a model for understanding the differential impact of peer relations problems on children's school maladjustment. Specifically, we propose that individual differences in cognitions about the social self may account for this differential impact (see also Erdley, Juvenon, this volume). The aim of the present chapter is to begin to develop a framework for explaining individual differences in the impact of the type, quality, and quantity of children's peer relations problems on school maladjustment. We will develop a theory about the ways in which social self cognitions mediate the relation between problematic peer relations and school maladjustment. In addition, we will present the preliminary results of focus group discussions that are relevant to our theory.

In order to begin to examine the proposed model, we conducted focus group discussions with 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, and 11th grade students. Trained adult interviewers conducted separate groups with boys and girls. The older groups (7th, 9th, and 11th grades) consisted only of African-American, inner-city children, whereas the younger groups (3rd and 5th grades) consisted of both Caucasian and African-American children. We conducted all groups in school or a school-based summer camp during the day. The interviewers were trained to use a semi-structured interview and were guided by a standard script of questions used with each group of students. Children were asked to discuss five types of peer relations including so-

cial networks, best friends, boyfriends and girlfriends, popularity, and being disliked or rejected by peers. The results of these focus group discussions will be presented throughout the chapter to complement the existing empirical literature.

The specific organization of the chapter is as follows. In the next section, we will briefly discuss the importance of positive peer relations for normal development, and we will provide a brief review of the literature on the prediction of school maladjustment from different kinds of peer relations problems. In the following section, we will discuss the existing adult literature relevant to our theory. Because mediators of problematic peer relations on school maladjustment have not been directly examined in the child literature, we reviewed the adult literature for ideas about social cognitive mediators of interpersonal stress on maladjustment. This review provides the foundation for the remainder of the chapter, which begins with a discussion of the concept of social needs followed by sections on a working definition of social needs and the domains of social needs. We then review group and individual differences in social needs. Finally, we will introduce self-discrepancy theory as a potential framework for understanding the impact of interpersonal stress, more broadly, and peer relations problems, more specifically, on maladjustment. In the final section, we will discuss various mechanisms through which cognitions about the social self in the context of problematic peer relations may affect school maladjustment.

### The importance of peer relations for school maladjustment

The importance of establishing and maintaining healthy peer relations in normal social development has been well-documented. Vandell and Mueller (1980) note that in the first six months of life, children begin to show evidence of interest in peers, such as touching, peer-directed smiling, and babbling. Social interactions increase in frequency during the preschool years (Rubin, Fein, & Vandenberg, 1983). The presence of reciprocated friendships provides the opportunity for modeling and corrective feedback in the social skill development of school-aged children (Hartup, 1989). Relationships with peers become increasingly important to children, and children report that the functions these relationships serve grow to equal or sometimes surpass relationships with other central network members (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985).

The following comments from focus group discussions suggest the importance of peer relations to children and adolescents: "I come to school

to get the gossip." "[I like] the social life. Just to see people. That's why I like school." When asked what they like most about school, children's most common response was "coming to see my friends." Thus, not only are peer relations subjectively important to children, but they also appear to motivate them to attend school.

Most of the developmental psychopathology literature in the last 15–20 years that has examined the role of peer relations has focused upon children's relations with same-aged peers as the primary indicator of problematic peer relations. The following section discusses five types of peer problems that may be associated with increased risk for school maladjustment and how each type of problem relates to other types of peer problems. We will also discuss, when possible, individual variation in response to exposure to each particular peer problem.

One way that peer problems have been operationalized is through the use of peer nomination methods to identify "rejected children," or children who are actively disliked by a substantial number of peers while simultaneously being most liked by few, if any, peers (Coie, Dodge, & Coppotelli, 1982). This dislike or negative affect directed towards certain peers has been found to be correlated with negative behavior being directed toward rejected children as well. Rejected children are often the targets of overt aggression (Coie & Kupersmidt, 1983; Dodge, Coie, & Brakke, 1982) as well as the victims of relational aggression (Crick & Grotpeter, 1994).

Rejected children have been found to be at heightened risk for a wide range of school-related problems including absenteeism, school dropout, low academic achievement, poor grades, and grade retention (Coie, Lochman, Terry, & Hyman, 1992; DeRosier, Kupersmidt, & Patterson, 1994; Kupersmidt & Coie, 1990; Ollendick, Weist, Borden, & Green, 1992; Wentzel, 1991; see also Hymel et al., this volume). In tests of the effects of the chronicity and proximity of peer rejection on behavioral and academic adjustment, even one experience of peer rejection was predictive of increases in school absenteeism, after controlling for prior levels of absenteeism in the model (DeRosier et al., 1994). Likewise, the interaction between the chronicity of peer rejection and prior levels of aggression was associated with heightened levels of aggression in school. The strength of the correlation between prior aggression and later aggression was directly related to the chronicity of peer rejection. The academic achievement of children in early elementary school was more negatively affected by chronic peer rejection than the achievement of children who experienced chronic peer rejection later in elementary school (DeRosier et

al., 1994). In addition to the impact of peer rejection on behavioral and academic functioning, rejection has also been associated with internalizing problems including anxiety and depression (Asarnow, 1988; French & Waas, 1985; Waas, 1987).

In addition to these more recent findings on peer rejection and its consequences, an earlier literature on unpopularity also suggests an association with school-related problems (see Parker & Asher, 1987, for a review); however, the operational definition of unpopularity varied substantially across these earlier studies. Despite the consistent findings regarding negative outcomes associated with peer rejection, the specific form of negative outcome appears to vary across individuals, leading some to suggest that peer rejection may operate as a general stressor rather than a specific precursor to a specific disorder (Kupersmidt & Coie, 1990; Kupersmidt & Patterson, 1991). In addition, substantial individual differences in the response to peer rejection have been observed. For example, Kupersmidt and Coie (1990) reported that approximately 35% of rejected children dropped out of school.

More recently, interest in the *normal* development of dyadic peer relationships among children has emerged in the theoretical and empirical literature (Bukowski & Hoza, 1989; Parker & Asher, 1993). Based upon this line of research, a second way that having a peer relations problem has been operationalized is the absence of a best friendship using reciprocal peer nominations. Although group acceptance and friendship are considered to be distinct constructs, some empirical evidence has emerged that suggests that these constructs are related. For example, low status children (e.g., rejected or neglected) are less likely than other children to have a group of prosocial friends or a best friend and are more likely than other children to have low or average status friends (Kupersmidt, DeRosier, & Patterson, 1995; Kupersmidt, Griesler, & Patterson, 1994; Parker & Asher, 1993). Likewise, higher status popular or controversial children are more likely than other children to have friends and have higher status friends. However, it is noteworthy that some low status children do have both reciprocated friendships and best friends (Kupersmidt et al., 1995; Kupersmidt, Griesler, & Patterson, 1994; Parker & Asher, 1993). Nevertheless, low status children report less caring, instrumental aid, intimacy, and more conflict and betrayal in their reciprocated best friendships than higher accepted peers (Parker & Asher, 1993).

Although it has been shown that dyadic relationships, particularly best friendships, are important to children and adolescents (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985), little is known about the consequences for school be-

havior and performance of not having a friend. One exception is from a recent cross-sectional study by Parker and Asher (1993), in which they reported that not having a reciprocated best friend and low group acceptance made separate contributions to the prediction of loneliness. Thus, this finding presents new evidence to suggest an additive relation between two peer problems as independent risk factors.

A third peer relations problem has been defined through ratings or observations of the quality of the best friend relationship. Although many low-accepted children have friendships, they report less caring, instrumental aid, and intimacy, and more conflict and betrayal in their reciprocated best friendships than do higher-accepted children. Some have suggested that having a poor quality relationship with a best friend such as one characterized by frequent conflicts may have negative effects on children's development (Berndt, 1989; Rook, 1984). In particular, Berndt (1992) reported that adolescents with more supportive friendships were better adjusted to school than adolescents with less supportive friendships. In addition, Goodyer, Wright, and Altham (1989) reported that friendship difficulties were associated with both anxiety and depression. Finally, Parker and Asher (1993) reported that various friendship qualities made independent contributions to the prediction of loneliness, even after controlling for peer acceptance.

A fourth kind of peer relations problem concerns the lack of membership in a social network. The relations among low peer status, lack of a best friend, and lack of a social network have not been thoroughly investigated, so that the prevalence of the co-occurrence of these problems is not known. In addition, the short- and long-term consequences of this type of social isolation have not been well investigated.

A fifth kind of peer relations problem concerns the characteristics of the child's best friend or peer network members. Members of children's peer groups have been found to be similar with respect to their level of motivation in school (Kindermann, 1993; this volume) and although there is substantial turnover in the membership of groups, groups remain fairly stable in their motivational composition. In other words, according to Kindermann (1993) children who were very motivated in school tended to affiliate with one another, and those who were less motivated also tended to hang out together. Similarly, Tesser, Campbell, and Smith (1984) reported homogeneity among affiliated peers with respect to school performance and Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Gest, and Garipey (1988) reported that aggressive children tend to associate with one another in antisocial networks. In addition, adolescents who are friends and, in particular, those

who stay friends across time tend to become more similar to one another in behavior, attitudes, and school motivation (Berndt, Laychak, & Park, 1990; Epstein, 1983b; Kandel, 1978a, 1978b). Adolescents also report substantial peer group influence that affects many aspects of life including their appearance and illicit behaviors and cognitions (O'Brien & Bierman, 1988). Social affiliation with an antisocial peer group is a powerful predictor of a range of school-related problems and antisocial behaviors (Dishion & Loeber, 1985; Elliot, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985; Patterson & Dishion, 1985).

A recent longitudinal study examined developmental patterns of five indices of problematic peer relations including low group acceptance, not having a reciprocated best friend, low perceived social support from the best friend, high conflict with the best friend, and having aggressive friends as predictors of aggression and delinquency (Kupersmidt, Burchinal, & Patterson, 1995). Multiple peer relations problems were additively associated with the prediction of each outcome, suggesting that children with more problems were at higher risk than children with fewer problems. In this way, these findings are consistent with those reported earlier for the prediction of loneliness by Parker and Asher (1993), suggesting that the evaluation of social risk factors requires the assessment of multiple aspects of social functioning with peers. In addition, these findings provide additional evidence for substantial individual differences in the impact of each peer relations problem on a variety of negative outcomes.

In summary, five different kinds of peer relations problems have been identified that are expected to be associated with heightened risk for school maladjustment, including being rejected, not having a best friend, having a poor quality friendship, lack of membership in a social network, and being a member of an antisocial network. Individual differences in the negative impact of these problems on school maladjustment were reported in these studies. Additional research on each of these peer relations problems is needed in several areas. First, the prevalence and interrelations among different kinds of peer relations problems need to be studied across development. Second, the prediction of school maladjustment from both independent peer relations problems as well as from multiple peer relations problems needs to be examined. Most importantly, additional theory and research is needed on the mechanisms by which these processes operate.

Because mechanisms underlying the link between the various types of children's peer relations problems and school maladjustment have not been studied directly, we reviewed the literature on social self cognition

factors that mediate the effects of interpersonal stress on adult adjustment. The next section provides a brief review of this adult literature and our conclusions about how these findings provided direction for the development of our theory of social self cognitions as mediators of the effects of children's peer relations problems on school maladjustment.

### Social needs as a mediator of adult maladjustment

It has long been hypothesized that deficits in the formation of social relationships (Fromm-Reichmann, 1959; Sullivan, 1953) or the loss of social relationships (Bowlby, 1980) lead to negative outcomes. These ideas have been explored in the adult literature, with particular attention to loneliness and depression as outcome measures. The results of these studies have been mixed. Russell, Peplau, and Cutrona (1980) found that loneliness correlated positively with time spent alone, whereas others found no significant relation between number of friends reported and loneliness (Jones, 1982; Stokes, 1985; Williams & Solano, 1983). In the past decade, a great deal of research has been devoted to explaining individual differences in the extent to which the adequacy of adults' social relationships predicts loneliness or depression. The research in each of these areas has identified social needs as one of the mediating variables between actual social relationships and these specific negative outcomes for adults.

The adult loneliness literature has suggested that two types of loneliness exist and are related to different social needs (Weiss, 1973). Weiss (1973) proposed that emotional loneliness occurs when an intimate attachment is not present. He distinguished emotional loneliness from social isolation, which occurs when a network of social relationships is absent or inadequate (Weiss, 1973). Weiss' theory suggests that the presence of specific kinds of relationships is necessary for everyone, and that loneliness can be predicted by simply measuring all of the relationships that exist in a person's life. Later work has shown that the quality of relationships is more important than the quantity in making this prediction (Rook, 1987; Shaver & Buhrmester, 1983). Several researchers have theorized that the prediction of loneliness is dependent on the degree of discrepancy between an individual's desired and actual social relationships (Peplau & Perlman, 1982; Rook, 1988). From this perspective, loneliness is a function of the discrepancy between an individual's social needs and the individual's perception of his or her actual social relationships.

The adult depression literature had taken a similar approach, considering the interactions among an individual's social needs, actual social rela-

tionships, and psychological adjustment. Beck (1983) proposed that personality traits could be used to predict which individuals would become depressed when faced with certain kinds of life stressors. Specifically, he hypothesized that sociotropic individuals (individuals who are dependent on interpersonal relationships for safety, help, and gratification and highly dependent on feedback from others) will be prone to depression when rejection by or separation from others is experienced, whereas autonomous individuals (individuals who are dependent on meeting achievement-related internal standards and goals and are less dependent on feedback from others) will be relatively unaffected by these social stressors. In support of this theory, several researchers have found that depression in sociotropic adults is correlated with negative social events (Hammen, Ellicott, Gitlin, & Jamison, 1989; Robins & Block, 1988; Robins, 1990). From this perspective, then, depression is a function of an interaction between an individual's social needs (conceptualized as a personality trait) and negative changes in his or her actual social resources.

In both the loneliness model and the depression model, the discrepancy between social needs and perceived social relationships is thought to be a cognitive mediator between social relationships and psychological adjustment. Although this idea had been supported empirically for adults, it has not yet been extended to the study of children's social relationships. The adult psychiatric literature led us to consider the application of individual differences in social needs as underlying the negative impact of children's peer relations problems on school maladjustment.

The model we will propose differs from the adult models in several ways. First, in the adult literature, the social needs construct is conceptualized as a global personality variable (such as sociotropy or need for relatedness). In contrast, we are conceptualizing social needs as being domain-specific. In the case of children's social needs, domain-specificity refers to the type (e.g., group, dyadic), quality (e.g., conflict, support), and quantity of peer relations. We theorize that a child's social needs within each domain will be relatively independent of his or her social needs in other domains. Second, the adult literature guided us only in terms of developing theories related to the specific outcomes of depression and loneliness as a function of the discrepancy between social needs and actual social resources. Although both of these affective problems are associated with school performance and behavior, we were interested in developing a model that would help to explain a broader range of school outcomes including absenteeism, disruptive behavior, and aggression in school. Thus, we reviewed the social psychological literature on the social self. Finally,

the adult literature presents a static model of how mental health may be affected by interpersonal stress exposure and stable individual differences in social needs. In contrast, our model is conceptualized from a developmental perspective, with the expectation that social needs will differ not only across individuals, but also across developmental periods.

Given that the adult literature guided us to examine social needs as a mediator of peer relations problems on school maladjustment, we began the development of our theory by defining the construct, thinking about the domains or features of social needs, and by examining any normative data on social needs in children of different ages. We were also interested in gender, cultural, and individual differences in reported social needs. The next section reviews these points.

### **Characteristics of social needs**

#### *Definition of social needs*

The study of children's social needs has not been directly examined in the empirical literature on social development. The literature that comes closest to examining this construct focuses in the study of children's social goals (see also Ford, Berndt & Keefe, Erdley, Wentzel, this volume). A "social goal" is defined within a social information-processing model as a type of social cognition that may determine the choice of strategies used to solve a social problem. Social goals have been operationalized in terms of the proximal and immediate goals for specific social situations (e.g., Renshaw & Asher, 1983). Although this line of research has proven fruitful, the present chapter defines social needs in a broader context than the more behavioral or instrumental definitions used for the study of social goals. Social needs are thought to reflect cognitive structures representative of the social self. These structures are thought to be chronically accessible in memory and capable of influencing social goals and behavior in specific situations (Sedikides & Skowronski, 1990, 1991; see also Higgins, 1990).

In our model, a social need is defined as an individual's subjective evaluation of the importance of and desire for various types, qualities, and quantities of social and interpersonal relations. For example, a person for whom having a best friend is viewed as very important would be said to have a high level of need for that type of relationship. Likewise, a person to whom being popular is relatively unimportant would be said to have a low level of need for popularity. Thus, social needs may or may not be sit-

ationally specific and may influence, but do not refer to situationally specific goals.

### *Domains of social needs*

We use three broad domains to organize our discussion of social needs. First, social needs may vary with regard to the *type* of social need; specifically, whether the type of desired peer relation is a dyadic or group affiliation or a particular status. In other words, some children may desire a best friend, others may want a group with which to hang out, and still others may want to be popular. There are at least two aspects of the type of peer relations that also are likely to vary across individuals. First, in addition to desiring a specific type of relationship, a child may *target* a particular person to fulfill that need. For example, a boy may want to have a girlfriend (a certain type of relationship) and may want a particular girl to be his girlfriend (a specific target). In addition, social needs may vary with regard to specific *characteristics* of the target of the relationship, such as gender. For example, a child may want to be friends with a group of boys. Another child may desire to have a best friend who is very popular with the peer group. In these examples, the characteristics of the targeted peer(s) are important components of the type of desired relationship.

Second, social needs may vary with regard to the *qualities* of the peer relationship or the functions provided by the relationship, such as admiration, acceptance, avoidance of rejection, companionship, intimacy, aid, safety, affection, enhancement of worth, trust, and resolution of conflict (see Furman & Buhrmester, 1985; Weiss, 1974, for a discussion of relationship qualities). For example, one child may have a need for companionship and not a need for intimacy, whereas another child may report a need for both qualities. In addition, the qualities or provisions of peer relationships desired by children may be experienced in varying *levels*. Children may have a high need for trust, a moderate need for companionship, and a low need for admiration.

Third, social needs may vary in terms of the *quantity* of relationships that a child desires. One child may have an extremely high level of need for a large quantity of best friends and be dissatisfied with less than five 'best friends.' Another child may also have a high need for best friend relationships, but desire and be satisfied with having one best friend.

In addition to social needs varying in terms of their domains or features, children may vary in terms of their *flexibility or rigidity* in meeting

particular social needs. For example, a child may be satisfied only with a best friend relationship with a particular person (indicating low flexibility) and may have difficulty having this need fulfilled by this particular person. Rigidity in social needs may prove to be frustrating and problematic for children, because it may be more difficult for them to have their social needs met. Other children may be more flexible in having their social needs met and experience less discomfort as a result of their social relationships. In addition, social needs may vary in terms of their *complexity*. For example, one child may need a best friend, a boyfriend, and to be popular in order to feel fulfilled, whereas another child may feel fulfilled simply by having a best friend.

Perceptions of social needs may also vary in terms of their *developmental timing and appropriateness*. For example, nonnormative social needs such as a precocious need for a physically intimate relationship with a member of the opposite sex may present problems for children.

Finally, social needs related to peers may compete at a particular point in time or in a particular setting with *other needs* such as the need for achievement. For example, a child who wants friends more than good grades may choose to neglect his homework rather than jeopardize a friendship by being unavailable after school to play.

### *Group differences in social needs*

**Developmental differences in social needs.** The specific social needs of children and adolescents as a function of development are not well understood due to a paucity of research on this topic. The examination of developmental trends in social needs has been limited to cross-sectional work with specific age groups and, for the most part, has examined self-reports of social goals or the relative importance of different kinds of relationships. Research on children's social networks suggests that children engage in different types of relationships at different ages and that relationships with different people are reported to be relatively more important across development (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985). Specifically, students' interest, dependency, and conformity to peers increases from childhood through adolescence as their reliance on parents decreases (Berndt, 1979; Costanzo, 1970; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). We might speculate, then that the overall decline in achievement task values reported by Wigfield and Eccles (1992) may reflect a developmental shift to a higher valuation of tasks that meet social needs.

The relative importance of having a best friend increases across child-

hood and peaks in preadolescence (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985). For example, most children (78%) in late elementary school have at least one friend; however, only about one-half have a reciprocated best friend (Parker & Asher, 1993). In addition, the importance of intimacy within the best friend relationship increases in middle childhood through early adolescence (Berndt & Perry, 1986; Furman & Bierman, 1983). In our focus groups, having a best friend was seen as extremely important by late elementary school-aged children: "Everybody has a best friend." "Most girls want a best friend." When asked what kids would think about someone who didn't want a best friend, these children responded, "If a girl didn't want a best friend, they might pick on her," and "I've never had a kid [who didn't want a best friend] in my grade." In contrast, adolescents saw having a best friend as less important: "As long as [someone] has friends, it doesn't matter." "It don't make no difference one way or the other."

In terms of the importance of broader peer group relations, belonging to a crowd is extremely important to young teenagers and reaches its peak at age 12 or 13 (Brown, Eicher, & Petrie, 1986). The importance attached to crowd membership steadily declines across mid- to late adolescence (Brown et al., 1986). Late elementary school-aged children seemed to view the concept of "a group of freinds" as implying an organized, somewhat structured group. They spoke of informal "clubs" that children "join," and several children indicated that groups of students had tests that an individual must pass in order to join the group. The younger children agreed that, although most students wanted to be part of a group, being part of a group is not very important as long as a child has a friend. Adolescents, however, reported that being part of a group of friends is most important to them: "It's *really* important to fit in." They reported that children who did not want to be part of a group would be thought of as "stuck up" or "conceited." They talked about groups of friends in terms of "hanging out" together, and about acting like the group members in order to gain acceptance: "OK, this group likes me, I have to do everything they do."

In one study, children reported that the importance of being popular decreases from late childhood through late adolescence (Epstein, 1983a). Interestingly, although children in our focus groups reported that the importance of being popular decreased for themselves, they reported that they thought being popular was always important to other students in their grade. Children at all ages in the focus groups agreed that being popular was important to some, but not all children (a 7th grade girl said, "...but there are some people who just don't care about being popular"); however,

definitions of popularity were very different across different ages. Younger children said that in order to be popular, a person would have to "make a lot of friends," "get every answer right," "be really smart," and "always act . . . like a kiss-up to the teacher." Older children had a more complex definition of popularity, and discussed popularity in terms of social salience: "There's two kinds of popularity - one where everybody likes you and one where everybody hates you."

Cross-sex friendships are almost nonexistent in elementary school; however, they steadily increase across adolescence (Eder & Hallinan, 1978). Sharabany, Gershoni, and Hoffman (1981) reported that adolescents' reports of intimacy in cross-sex friendships increase across adolescence as well, perhaps replacing the importance of the larger peer group or the same-sex best friend. In our focus groups, the importance of having a boyfriend or girlfriend appeared to increase with age. Younger children in the focus groups indicated that it would be acceptable for a person either to want or to not want a boyfriend or girlfriend. They talked about "act[ing] yourself" and "be[ing] nice" as ways to get boyfriends or girlfriends. Older children, in contrast, said it was "very important" to have a boyfriend or girlfriend, and that if someone did not want a boyfriend or girlfriend, kids would think there was "something wrong with her."

We were able to locate only one study that examined developmental patterns of younger children's social goals. Schmidt, Ollendick, and Stanowicz (1988) studied 6- to 13-year-old children, and found that older children tended to be more flexible in adapting social strategies to their assigned goals. Although these results do not indicate differences in social goals per se, they suggest a cognitive flexibility that may affect the development of social needs. A number of studies have examined adolescent populations, with the goal of understanding changing needs that characterize adolescence (Wentzel, 1993; Ford, 1982; Sewell, Farley, Manni, & Hunt, 1982). Ford (1982) found no difference between ninth and twelfth grade students' social goals, suggesting that for adolescents, social goals remain consistent over time. Wentzel (1993) and Sewell et al. (1982) reported significant differences in the content of social goals within adolescent populations, but these differences were identified as a function of gender and ethnicity rather than developmental level. In addition, the limited age range examined in their studies did not provide information for comparison between the differences in the specific social goals of children and those of adolescents. Clearly, more developmental research is needed in this area.

**Gender differences in social needs.** Gender differences have also been identified as an important factor in examining the definition and development of children's social needs and goals. However, as was found in the literature on developmental differences on social needs, the influence of gender is not well understood. Research on the affiliation patterns of children as a function of gender suggest that upon entrance to elementary school, boys name more friends than do girls in the same class (Tuma & Hallinan, 1979). Eder and Hallinan (1978) found that girls tend to have more exclusive friendships than boys, and that boys report larger social networks than girls (Clark & Ayers, 1988; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974); although no sex differences in the size of average friendship groups were reported in adolescence (Hansell, 1981). Sherman (1984) reported that girls evidence greater intimacy and sociability with same-sex friends than do boys. In addition, Clark and Ayers (1988) reported that friendships become increasingly reciprocal for girls as age increases. Boys report less intimacy, caring, instrumental aid, and more difficulty resolving conflicts with their best friend than do girls (Bukowski, Gauze, Hoza, & Newcomb, 1993; Parker & Asher, 1993). Males also report that popularity is more important to them than it is to females (Epstein, 1983a). Most of these studies do not address differences in social needs by gender; however, the findings suggest that girls possess stronger social needs for intimacy than do boys, whereas boys report greater need for popularity than do girls.

In our focus group discussions, gender differences emerged in discussions of boyfriend/girlfriend relationships and popularity. Older girls indicated that having sex was a necessary step to keep a boyfriend: "If you don't do it with 'em they think you're boring." "[If you don't have sex] they drop you right then." Boys, in contrast, did not identify sex as necessary to keep a girlfriend. Older children also saw popularity as different for boys and for girls. They reported that to be popular, girls "have sex," "play sports," and "get their hair fixed," whereas boys "go to a different crowd of people and change your friends . . . get with a different girl."

Research on social goals provides additional evidence for differential goals as a function of gender. Wentzel (1993) found that early adolescent girls reported higher academic and social responsibility goals than males. In contrast, Sewell et al. (1982) reported that within an all-African-American adolescent population, males demonstrated greater achievement motivation than females. These mixed findings may be attributed to the use of different measures in each study, as well as to possible interactions between gender and ethnicity. Overall, these findings provide important ad-

ditional evidence regarding the presence of multiple and possibly conflicting goals in school in adolescence.

**Ethnic or cultural differences in social needs.** A final sociodemographic variable examined in the context of social needs and goals is ethnicity or culture. We were able to locate only a few studies that addressed the contribution of ethnicity or culture to social needs. Wentzel (1993) reported that early adolescent Caucasian children demonstrated higher social responsibility goals than non-Caucasian children. Sewell et al. (1982) studied an African-American sample of adolescents with regard to achievement goals, but did not compare this group to a non-African-American population. Although Wentzel's findings suggest that cultural factors affect social goals, they do not explain the development of these cultural differences nor the mechanisms by which ethnicity or culture influence children's and adolescents' social needs.

Research on differential friendship patterns as a function of ethnicity suggest that children tend to play or be friends with others from their same ethnic group (Kupersmidt, DeRosier, & Patterson, 1995). In addition, African-American youth report somewhat different qualities in their friendships compared to Caucasian youth. For example, African-American males and females reported greater intimacy and support from peers than did Caucasian males, and less than Caucasian females (DuBois & Hirsch, 1990). DuBois and Hirsch (1990) also found that African-American peer networks included more neighborhood relationships than did Caucasian networks, although the size of the in-school networks did not differ. Clark and Ayers (1988) reported that African-American students made more nonreciprocated friendship choices compared to Caucasian students. Again, these findings are limited in their applicability to the characterization of social needs in different ethnic groups, but the results offer some indication that African-American and Caucasian students may differ in their affiliation needs with African-American youth possessing a greater need for affiliation, support, and intimacy than Caucasian youth.

#### *Individual differences in social needs*

In order for social needs to be useful as an important mediator for explaining individual differences in response to peer relationship problems, evidence demonstrating individual differences in social needs would need to be observed. Individual differences in distress about one's social experiences could provide additional evidence in support of this hypothesis. We



located several studies that provide initial support for each of these assumptions. For example, Crick and Ladd (1993) reported considerable within-social status variation in social distress (e.g., 16% of popular children and 44% of unpopular children reported high levels of social distress). In addition, Asendorpf (1993) has described three different types of children who may exhibit high rates of solitary behavior. He suggested that one type of child may prefer being alone to social activity and also prefer to play with toys or do school work (Asendorpf, 1991; Coplan, Rubin, Fox, Calkins, & Stewart, 1994). In contrast, another type of child may want to interact with his or her peers, but does not do so. Their social withdrawal is most obvious in novel settings where they fear negative evaluation of others (Asendorpf, 1991). A third group may consist of children who desire social interactions with others and do not try to isolate themselves, yet they may be isolated by peers due to their incompetent social behavior (Coie & Kupersmidt, 1983; Dodge, 1983; Rubin & Mills, 1988). Thus, taken together, these studies suggest that there are individual differences in levels of social needs and in the importance of different types of social interactions across individuals.

In addition, several studies have reported differences in children's social goals as a function of having different kinds of peer relations problems or behavior problems that are associated with peer relations problems. In conflict situations, unpopular or rejected children are more focussed on instrumental rather than relational outcomes (Crick & Ladd, 1990) and rank-order positive, social goals lower (Renshaw & Asher, 1983) than do more popular children. Likewise, very aggressive youth endorse goals that are hostile in nature (Slaby & Guerra, 1988) and place high value on dominance or control of peer victims (Boldizar, Perry, & Perry, 1989; Lochman, Wayland, & White, 1993) as compared to less aggressive youth. Taken together, these findings are consistent with theoretical work that suggests that less socially competent children have problems prioritizing goals and coordinating multiple goals as compared with socially competent youth, particularly in conflict situations (Dodge, Asher, & Park, 1989).

### **Social self-discrepancy theory, problematic peer relations, and school maladjustment**

We conducted a review of the social psychological literature on self-cognitions to attempt to explain the mechanism by which the discrepancy between adults' social needs and their social resources produced loneliness

or depression. Self-discrepancy theory, developed by Higgins and his colleagues (Higgins, 1987; Higgins, Bond, Klein, & Strauman, 1986; Strauman & Higgins, 1987), provides an excellent framework for understanding social needs as a mediator of the effects of problematic peer relations on school maladjustment. Self-discrepancy theory distinguishes between domains of the self and standpoints on the self. Two domains of the self were relevant to explaining the discrepancy of interest, namely, the actual self (representation of attributes actually possessed) and the ideal self (representation of attributes that might ideally be possessed). In addition, the theory emphasizes two standpoints on the self: own (representations that stem from a personal point of view) or other (representations that stem from the point of view of a significant other.)

There is an important difference between the original conceptualization of self-discrepancy theory, as described in the above paragraph, and our adaptation of the theory for the purposes of our research. The original proposal addressed self-discrepancies within the totality of self-representations, whereas we are concerned with self-discrepancies within the representations that are relevant to the social self. Specifically, we define the actual social self as children's actual social resources (e.g., the type, quality, and quantity of peer relations). We define the ideal social self as children's subjective accounts of their ideal social resources or their social needs (e.g., the desired type, quality, and quantity of peer relations). Consistent with the original theory, these subjective accounts of the actual social self can represent the standpoint of either the children themselves or significant others (e.g., peers, parents, teachers; see Hartup, 1989, and Higgins, 1991, for discussions of the important socializing roles of peers, parents, and teachers; see also Harter, this volume).

Studies with adults have found that discrepancies between the actual self and the ideal self are strongly associated with dejection-related emotions such as feeling sad, disappointed, or discouraged (Higgins et al., 1986; Higgins, Klein, & Strauman, 1985; Strauman & Higgins, 1987). In our case, then, a discrepancy between one's ideal social self (social needs) and one's actual social self would be expected to be associated with dejection-related affect. Although this discrepancy has not been studied directly among children, several studies have examined children's subjective experiences or reports of different types of desired peer relations. For example, the lack of best friendships, low peer acceptance, and poor quality friendships were all associated with loneliness when examined in the context of hierarchical regression models (Parker & Asher, 1993). This theory would speculate, then, that loneliness could be predicted from the discrepancy

between children's desire for better peer relations and their lack of desired peer relations. Likewise, adolescents without reciprocated or stable friends report that popularity is more important to them than do adolescents with reciprocated or stable friends (Epstein, 1983a). In addition, in middle school, submissive-rejected students report being lonelier than average children (Parkhurst & Asher, 1992).

The original self-discrepancy theory proposes that affective reactions, such as dejection-related affect, may lead to motivated thoughts or behaviors that are likely to alleviate the impact of negative affect. Motivated thinking or behaving include either changing cognition (e.g., changing the content of the actual or ideal social self) and/or changing behavior (i.e., behaving in ways that are likely to reduce the gap of the social self-discrepancy) (Aronson, 1969).

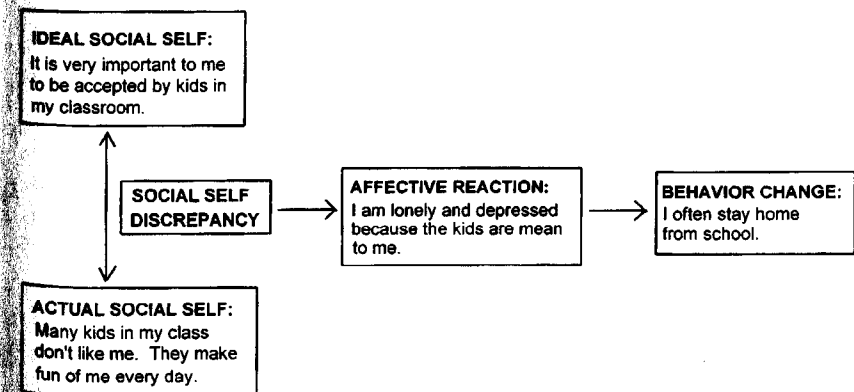
We should note here, however, that we are not arguing that the affect associated with social self-discrepancies is the only motivator of behavior. In addition, we suggest that the lack of discrepancy between social needs (the ideal social self) and social resources (the actual social self) may also be associated with an affective reaction that may also serve as a strong motivator of behavior in children. For example, children who want to be well-liked and are popular may be highly motivated to attend school because it is a rewarding and satisfying environment. In fact, in one of our focus groups, a 7th grade girl reported, "If you are popular, you are going to want to come to school to keep up your reputation." The lack of discrepancy does not guarantee positive school outcomes as suggested by another 7th grade girl who responded to a question about whether being popular and wanting to stay popular could affect a student's schoolwork by saying, "Yes, because you're so busy concentrating on being popular, you just don't even think about your schoolwork."

Children who experience dejection-related affect associated with and ideal:actual social self-discrepancy may be motivated to reduce the discrepancy by changing their cognitions or their behavior. One way that children may change their cognitions is by changing their ideal social self. For example, a child for whom peer acceptance is important (ideal social self), but who is rejected by her peers (actual social self) may change her ideal social self. She may, over time, develop a new ideal social self that elevates the desire for a same-sex best friend above the desire to be accepted by her peers. If she does acquire a same-sex best friend, the discrepancy that produced the negative affect will be reduced.

The other method for reducing a social self-discrepancy, behavior change, is perhaps more relevant to the goals of the present chapter. Fig-

ure 4.1 depicts a hypothetical example in which the negative affect associated with the ideal:actual social self-discrepancy motivates behavioral change relevant to school maladjustment. In Figure 4.1, the discrepancy is reduced through avoidance of the situational (i.e., school) cues that activate this discrepancy. This pattern would be consistent with literature on depression and school adjustment that suggests a significant correlation between depressed affect and school absenteeism (e.g., Young, Brasic, & Kearney, 1993; Kishadwala, 1990). In this example, then depressed affect is associated with school absenteeism as the student attempts to avoid the cause of the depressed feelings.

Several examples from our focus groups illustrate the association between ideal:actual social self-discrepancies and dejection-related affect. A third grade boy said "If [a boy] disliked he wouldn't want to go to school 'cause the kids don't like him." Likewise, a ninth grade girl said about kids who are disliked, "You'll see 'em one week, then they'll talk junk to somebody and seven girls'll jump 'em and they won't be back." A 7th grade female student reported that being disliked and wanting to be liked could produce dejection-related emotions and affect going to school in that "it would, it might make them want to drop out, if they are disliked – this girl in my sister's school, people didn't like her and talked about her and she committed suicide and her mother committed suicide because they had so much stress and stuff and her brother, he went to her school, they were still talking about her family and stuff and he still wanted to commit suicide." In this example, two behavioral strategies for reducing



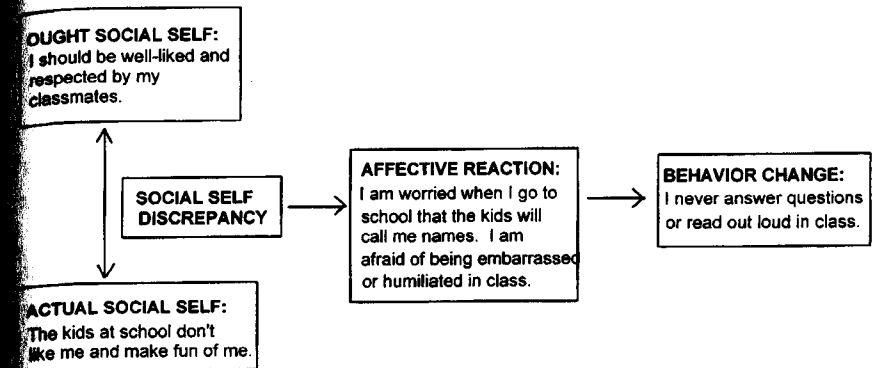
**Figure 4.1.** An example of a school-related behavior change resulting from an ideal:actual social self discrepancy.

an ideal:actual social self-discrepancy were implied, namely, avoiding school and committing suicide. This example provides a clear illustration of how the ideal:actual social self-discrepancy can impact school maladjustment. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis suggested by Coie (1990) that a child who wants to be liked by members of his or her peer group, but who is rejected by them, may avoid peers to avoid further rejection and to decrease exposure to negative behaviors directed at them by peers.

In addition to the ideal and actual domains of the self, self-discrepancy theory introduces another self-cognition that is relevant to broadening the scope of our theory. This third domain is termed the ought self, and is defined as a representation of attributes that ought to be possessed. In our case, the ought domain would be defined as the norms or standards for social development (e.g., the type, quantity, and quality of peer relations that a child of a particular age "should" possess). Higgins (1987) hypothesized that a discrepancy between the actual self and the ought self would be associated with agitation-related problems such as feeling worried, nervous, or tense. Several adult studies have reported a relation between the actual:ought discrepancy and anxiety-related symptoms (Higgins et al., 1986; Higgins et al., 1985; Strauman & Higgins, 1987). In the social domain, a discrepancy between one's social standards and one's actual social ability or resources might be expected to produce social anxiety. In this case, for example, socially rejected children who think they should be well-liked (as opposed to ideally wanting or needing to be well-liked by peers) would be expected to be socially anxious if they perceived themselves to be disliked by peers.

Social anxiety could function as a motivator for either a change in cognitions or a change in behavior that would reduce the ideal-ought social self-discrepancy. A child with a social standard that isn't met might be flexible and change this standard. This change may result in a reduced discrepancy which may, in turn, reduce anxiety-related affect. In the school setting, social anxiety might lead to a refusal to speak or perform in front of others in class and a timidity in social situations that form the fabric of everyday life in school. Figure 4.2 shows a hypothetical example of one way in which the ought:actual social self-discrepancy could lead to behavior change with implications for school maladjustment. Figure 4.2 depicts one component of this pathway, in that the discrepancy is reduced by a change in the actual social self that is accomplished by a behavior change of not participating in class.

One example from our focus group discussions illustrates the



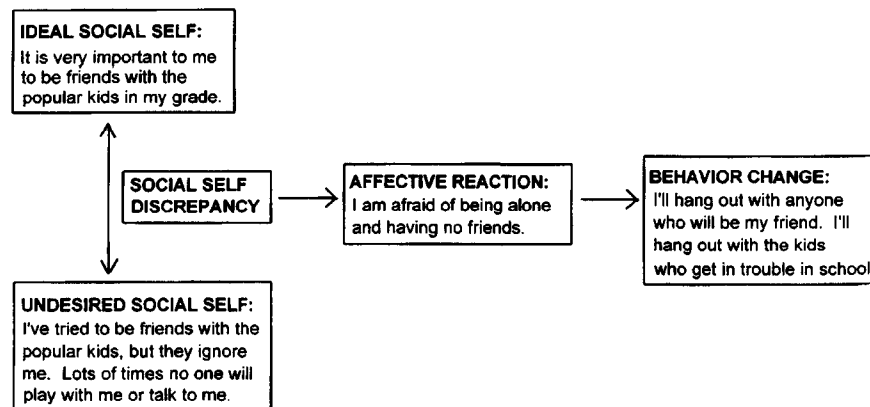
**Figure 4.2.** An example of a school-related behavior change resulting from an ought:actual social self discrepancy.

actual:ought social self-discrepancy was "She may not try to answer a question that she really knows, because she's scared she'll get it wrong, and she don't want to be really, really disliked." Although there are no direct studies on this actual:ought social self-discrepancy hypothesis for children, some studies suggest support for this hypothesis. For example, Durlak (1992) found that anxiety-related affect was related to school refusal and school phobia, and that children with internalizing disorders demonstrated heightened test and performance anxiety. Also, submissive-rejected middle school students report more concern about the possibility of being rejected or humiliated after lunch and between classes than do average students (Parkhurst & Asher, 1992). Rejected children reported more anxiety of the form of greater concern about peer evaluations than did more accepted peers (La Greca, Dandes, Wick, Shaw, & Stone, 1988).

A final mechanism is based upon the work of Ogilvie (1987) who introduced the concept of the undesired self. This notion is consistent with Sullivan's (1953) ideas about the "good" me, the "bad" me, and the "not" me. Applying Sullivan's theory, the ideal self would be derived from the good me, whereas the undesired self would have images of the bad me and the not me. Ogilvie argues that the "not me" is the most dangerous and disowned image of the self, because these images are derived from memories of dreaded experiences, embarrassing situations, fearsome events, and unwanted emotions. He argues that a discrepancy between the ideal self and the not me or the undesired self may produce a strong negative affective reaction and perhaps would be even more motivating than the negative affect produced by other types of self-discrepancies.

A child who has developed an undesired social self, based on previous negative experiences at school, then, would have a strong motivation to reduce this discrepancy, either through changes in cognition or behavior. Figure 4.3 depicts a hypothetical example in which behavior change is motivated by negative affect associated with an undesired:ideal social self-discrepancy, with implications for school maladjustment. In figure 4.3, the discrepancy is reduced through avoidance of the undesired social self. This avoidance is accomplished by the behavior change of affiliating with an antisocial peer group rather than be friendless.

This modification to self-discrepancy theory provides an expanded motivational framework for explaining observations and theories in the peer relations literature, such as the "shopping" metaphor introduced by Patterson, Littman, & Bricker (1967) to describe the developmental process involved in the initiation and maintenance of friendships among antisocial peers. Children and adolescents highly value having a group of friends or being part of a peer cluster (Oetting & Beauvais, 1987). However, there are some children who are disliked, have poor social skills, and have difficulty developing friendships with peers. These individual differences provide the substrate or underlying conditions that may affect the likelihood that an individual child will associate with others who have problems with school, authority, and crime. Students who get into trouble in school tend to affiliate with one another as well as to get into trouble together and have a modest negative influence upon one another (Berndt,



**Figure 4.3.** An example of a school-related behavior change resulting from an ideal:undesired social self discrepancy.

1992). In fact, a few longitudinal studies have demonstrated increases over time in friends' similarity on antisocial behaviors and attitudes (Epstein, 1983b; Kandel 1978a). The observed homophily among low status, low achieving, and antisocial students may be explainable as a reaction to the fear of being socially isolated and lack of access in establishing relationships with more desirable partners.

Self-discrepancy theory does not provide us with a means for explaining why social influence processes occur. We believe that the tenets of social learning theory as well as recent theoretical work by Berndt (1992) concerning mutual influence processes in friendships provide a better explanatory base for a discussion of influence processes. However, self-discrepancy theory provides a framework for understanding individual differences in the motivation behind the initiation of relationships with problematic peers, as well as individual differences in the susceptibility to peer influences on school misbehavior, school failure, and school dropout.

## Conclusions

The model that we have proposed in this chapter represents an attempt to integrate previous research on self-cognitions with the peer relations literature, with an emphasis on school maladjustment as an outcome. We have attempted to go beyond description of the relations among different kinds of peer relations problems and school maladjustment and to focus on a possible mechanism that may underlie the observed relation between social and school functioning. We have proposed one broad framework within which these mechanisms may be understood and tested. In this chapter, we have argued that discrepancies among various aspects of the social self can be powerful elicitors of negative affect which, in turn, may motivate behavior.

In the present framework, our goal has been to focus on peer problems and their relation to school problems; however, self-discrepancy theory may also be applicable to explain the relation between social success and school competence. This approach is not incompatible with other research on motivation and social behavior. The social needs:social resources discrepancy undoubtedly operates within a network of other motivators to produce an affective outcome.

The ideas contained in this chapter outline a clear agenda for future research as described below. The peer relations field has been richly developed over the past two decades, and has begun to describe the topography of social relations across different developmental periods. However,

cognitions about social relationships across different developmental levels are less well known. We have proposed that one type of cognition, children's desire for various types, qualities, and quantities of peer relations may play an important role in the association between peer and school problems and warrants systematic investigation. We have also introduced two additional social self-cognitions, including the ought and undesired selves, that have not been previously investigated in children and that also have potential explanatory power as mechanisms that may mediate the relation between peer and school problems. In addition to the study of individual differences in social as well as other needs, developmental, ethnic, and gender differences need to be examined. The use of a framework such as this will allow the field to move beyond the description of social relationships and their impact on youth to the development of explanatory models of the processes involved.

### Acknowledgments

This research was supported in part by a William T. Grant Faculty Scholars Award and a University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill University Research Council Grant to the first author. The authors would like to thank the students and staff of the Durham Public School System for their help in conducting the study reported in this chapter.

### References

- Aronson, E. (1969). The theory of cognitive dissonance: A current perspective. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (vol. 4, pp. 1-34). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Armacost, R. L. (1989). Perceptions of stressors by high school students. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 4*, 443-461.
- Asarnow, J. R. (1988). Peer status and social competence in child psychiatric inpatients: A comparison of children with depressive, externalizing, and concurrent depressive and externalizing disorders. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 16*, 151-162.
- Asendorpf, J. B. (1991). Development of inhibited children's coping with unfamiliarity. *Child Development, 62*, 1460-1474.
- Asendorpf, J. B. (1993). Abnormal shyness in children. *Journal of Child Psychology, Psychiatry, and Allied Disciplines, 34*, 1069-1081.
- Beck, A. T. (1983). Cognitive therapy of depression: New perspectives. In P. J. Clayton & J. E. Barrett (Eds.), *Treatment of depression: Old controversies and new approaches* (pp. 265-290). New York: Raven Press.

- Berndt, T. J. (1979). Developmental changes in conformity to peers and parents. *Developmental Psychology, 15*, 608-616.
- Berndt, T. J. (1989). Obtaining support from friends in childhood and adolescence. In D. Belle (Ed.), *Children's social networks and social supports* (pp. 308-331). New York: Wiley.
- Berndt, T. J. (1992). Friendship and friends' influence in adolescence. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 1*, 156-159.
- Berndt, T. J., Laychak, A. E., & Park, K. (1990). Friends' influence on adolescents' academic achievement motivation: An experimental study. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 82*, 664-670.
- Berndt, T. J., & Perry, T. (1986). Children's perceptions of friendships as supportive relationships. *Developmental Psychology, 22*, 640-648.
- Boldizar, J. P., Perry, D. G., & Perry, L. C. (1989). Outcome values and aggression. *Child Development, 60*, 571-579.
- Bowlby, J. (1980). *Attachment and loss. Vol. 3: Loss*. New York: Basic Books.
- Brown, B. B., Eicher, S. A., & Petrie, S. (1986). The importance of peer group ("crowd") affiliation in adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence, 9*, 73-96.
- Chirkowski, W. M., & Hoza, B. (1989). Popularity and friendship: Issues in theory, measurement, and outcome. In T. J. Berndt & G. W. Ladd (Eds.), *Peer relationships in child development* (pp. 15-45). New York: Wiley.
- Chirkowski, W. M., Gauze, C., Hoza, B., & Newcomb, A. F. (1993). Differences and consistency between same-sex and other-sex peer relationships during early adolescence. *Developmental Psychology, 29*, 255-263.
- Cairns, R. B., Cairns, B. D., Neckerman, H. J., Gest, S. D., & Garipey, J. L. (1988). Social networks and aggressive behavior: Peer support or peer rejection? *Developmental Psychology, 24*, 815-823.
- Clark, M. L., & Ayers, M. (1988). The role of reciprocity and proximity in junior high school friendships. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 17*, 403-411.
- Coie, J. D. (1990). Toward a theory of peer rejection. In S. R. Asher & J. D. Coie (Eds.), *Peer rejection in childhood* (pp. 365-401). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Coie, J. D., Dodge, K. A., & Coppotelli, H. (1982). Dimensions and types of social status: A cross-age perspective. *Developmental Psychology, 18*, 557-570.
- Coie, J. D., & Kupersmidt, J. B. (1983). A behavioral analysis of emerging social status in boys' groups. *Child Development, 54*, 1400-1416.
- Coie, J. D., Lochman, J. E., Terry, R., & Hyman, C. (1992). Predicting early adolescent disorder from childhood aggression and peer rejection. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 60*, 783-792.
- Clifton, M. E., & Gore, S. (Eds.) (1991). *Adolescent stress: Causes and consequences*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Coplan, R. J., Rubin, K. H., Fox, N. A., Calkins, S. D., & Stewart, S. L. (1994). Being alone, playing alone, and acting alone: distinguishing among reticence and passive and active solitude in young children. *Child Development, 65*, 129-137.

- Costanzo, P.R. (1970). Conformity development as a function of self-blame. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 14, 366-374.
- Crick, N. R., & Grotpeter, J. (1994). *Children's treatment by peers: Victims of relational and overt aggression*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Crick, N. R., & Ladd, G. W. (1990). Children's perceptions of the outcomes of social strategies: Do the ends justify being mean? *Developmental Psychology*, 26, 612-620.
- Crick, N. R., & Ladd, G. W. (1993). Children's perceptions of their peer experiences: Attributions, loneliness, social anxiety, and social avoidance. *Developmental Psychology*, 29, 244-254.
- DeRosier, M. E., Kupersmidt, J. B., & Patterson, C. J. (1994). Children's academic and behavioral adjustment as a function of the chronicity and proximity of peer rejection. *Child Development*, 65, 1799-1813.
- Dishion, T. J., & Loeber, R. (1985). Adolescent marijuana and alcohol use: The role of parents and peers revisited. *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 11, 11-25.
- Dodge, K. A. (1983). Behavioral antecedents of peer social status. *Child Development*, 54, 1386-1399.
- Dodge, K. A., Asher, S., & Parkhurst, J. T. (1989). Social life as a goal coordination task. In C. Ames & R. Ames (Eds.), *Research on motivations in education* (vol. 3). New York: Academic Press.
- Dodge, K. A., Coie, J. D., & Brakke, N. P. (1982). Behavior patterns of socially rejected and neglected preadolescents: The roles of social approach and aggression. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 10, 389-410.
- DuBois, D. L., & Hirsch, B. J. (1990). School and neighborhood friendship patterns of blacks and whites in early adolescence. *Child Development*, 61, 524-536.
- Durlak, J. A. (1992). School problems of children. In C. E. Walker & M. C. Roberts (Eds.), *Handbook of clinical child psychology* (2nd ed.). Wiley series on personality processes (pp. 497-510). New York: Wiley.
- Eder, D., & Hallinan, M. T. (1978). Sex differences in children's friendships. *American Sociological Review*, 43, 237-250.
- Elliot, D. S., Huizinga, D., & Ageton, S. S. (1985). *Explaining delinquency and drug use*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Epstein, J. L. (1983a). Examining theories of adolescent friendships in J. L. Epstein & N. Karweit (Eds.), *Friends in school: Patterns of selection and influence in secondary schools* (pp. 39-61). New York: Academic Press.
- Epstein, J. L. (1983b). The influence of friends on achievement and affective outcomes. In J. L. Epstein & N. Karweit (Eds.), *Friends in school: Patterns of selection and influence in secondary schools* (pp. 177-200). New York: Academic Press.

- Ford, M. E. (1982). Social cognition and social competence in adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 18, 323-340.
- French, D. C., & Waas, G. A. (1985). Behavior problems of peer-neglected and peer-rejected elementary-age children: Parent and teacher perspectives. *Child Development*, 56, 246-252.
- Fromm-Reichmann, F. (1959). Loneliness. *Psychiatry*, 22, 1-15.
- Furman, W., & Bierman, K. L. (1983). Developmental changes in young children's concepts of friendship. *Child Development*, 54, 549-556.
- Furman, W., & Buhrmester, D. (1985). Children's perceptions of the personal relationships in their social networks. *Developmental Psychology*, 21, 1016-1024.
- Goodyer, I. M., Wright, C., & Altham, P. M. E. (1989). Recent friendships in anxious and depressed school age children. *Psychological Medicine*, 19, 165-174.
- Hammen, C., Ellicott, A., Gitlin, M., & Jamison, K. (1989). Sociotropy/autonomy and vulnerability to specific life events in patients with unipolar depression and bipolar disorders. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 98, 154-160.
- Hansell, S. (1981). Ego development and peer friendship networks. *Sociology of Education*, 54, 51-63.
- Hartup, W. W. (1989). Social relationships and their developmental significance. *American Psychologist*, 44, 120-126.
- Higgins, E. T. (1990). Personality, social psychology, and person-situation relations: Standards and knowledge activation as a common language. In L. A. Pervin (Ed.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research* (pp. 301-338). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Higgins, E. T. (1991). Development of self-regulatory and self-evaluative processes: Costs, benefits, and tradeoffs. In M. R. Gunnar & L. A. Sroufe (Eds.), *Self processes and development: The Minnesota symposia on child psychiatry*, (vol. 23), Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Higgins, E. T., Bond, R. N., Klein, R., & Strauman, T. (1986). Self-discrepancies and emotional vulnerability: How magnitude, accessibility, and type of discrepancy influence affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 5-15.
- Higgins, E. T., Klein, R., & Strauman, T. (1985). Self-concept discrepancy theory: A psychological model for distinguishing among different aspects of depression and anxiety. *Social Cognition*, 3, 51-76.
- Johnson, J. H. (1988). *Life events as stressors in childhood and adolescence*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Jones, R. T., & Fiore, M. (1991, Nov). *Conceptualization of self-generated stressors: Alternatives, responses, and mediators*. Paper presented at the 25th annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Behavior Therapy, New York, New York.
- Jones, W. H. (1982). Loneliness and social behavior. In L. A. Peplau & D. Perlman (Eds.), *Loneliness: A sourcebook of current theory, research, and therapy*. New York: Wiley.

- Kandel, D. B. (1978a). Homophily, selection, and socialization in adolescent friendships. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, 427-436.
- Kandel, D. B. (1978b). Similarity in real-life adolescent friendship pairs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36, 306-312.
- Kearney, C. A. (1993). Depression and school refusal behavior: A review with comments on classification and treatment. *Journal of School Psychology*, 31, 267-279.
- Kindermann, T. A. (1993). Natural peer groups as contexts for individual development: The case of children's motivation in school. *Developmental Psychology*, 29, 970-977.
- Kohlberg, L., LaCrosse, J., & Ricks, D. (1972). The predictability of adult mental health from childhood behavior. In B. Wolman (Ed.), *Manual of child psychopathology* (pp. 1217-1284). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Kupersmidt, J. B., Burchinal, M., & Patterson, C. J. (1995). *Developmental patterns of childhood peer relations as predictors of externalizing behavior problems*. *Development and Psychopathology*, 7, 825-843.
- Kupersmidt, J. B., & Coie, J. D. (1990). Preadolescent peer status, aggression, and school adjustment as predictors of externalizing problems in adolescence. *Child Development*, 61, 1350-1362.
- Kupersmidt, J. B., Coie, J. D., & Dodge, K. A. (1990). The role of poor peer relationships in the development of disorder. In S. R. Asher & J. D. Coie (Eds.), *Peer rejection in childhood*. Cambridge studies in social and emotional development (pp. 274-305). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kupersmidt, J. B., DeRosier, M. E., & Patterson, C. P. (1995). Similarity as the basis for children's friendships: The roles of sociometric status, aggressive and withdrawn behavior, academic achievement, and demographic characteristics. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 12, 439-452.
- Kupersmidt, J. B., Griesler, P., & Patterson, C. P. (1994). *Sociometric status, aggression, and affiliation patterns of peers*. Unpublished manuscript. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Kupersmidt, J. B., & Patterson, C. P. (1991). Childhood peer rejection, aggression, withdrawal, and perceived competence as predictors of self-reported behavior problems in preadolescence. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 19, 427-449.
- La Greca, A. M., Dandes, S. K., Wick, P., Shaw, K., & Stone, W. L. (1988). Development of the Social Anxiety Scale for Children: Reliability and concurrent validity. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, 17, 84-91.
- Lochman, J. E., Wayland, K. K., & White, K. J. (1993). Social goals: Relationship to adolescent adjustment and to social problem solving. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 21, 135-151.
- Maccoby, E., & Jacklin, C. (1974). *The psychology of sex differences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- O'Brien, S. F., & Bierman, K. L. (1988). Conceptions and perceived influence of

- peer groups: Interviews with preadolescents and adolescents. *Child Development*, 59, 1360-1365.
- Oetting, E. R., & Beauvais, F. (1987). Peer cluster theory, socialization characteristics, and adolescent drug use: A path analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 34, 205-213.
- Ogilvie, D. M. (1987). The undesired self: A neglected variable in personality research. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52, 379-385.
- Ollendick, T. H., Weist, M. D., Borden, M. C., & Green, R. W. (1992). Sociometric status and academic, behavioral, and psychological adjustment: A five-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 60, 80-87.
- Parker, J. G., & Asher, S. R. (1987). Peer relations and later personal adjustment: Are low-accepted children at risk? *Psychological Bulletin*, 102, 357-389.
- Parker, J. G., & Asher, S. R. (1993). Friendship and friendship quality in middle childhood: Links with peer group acceptance and feelings of loneliness and social dissatisfaction. *Developmental Psychology*, 29, 611-621.
- Parkhurst, J. T., & Asher, S. R. (1992). Peer rejection in middle school: Subgroup differences in behavior, loneliness, and interpersonal concerns. *Developmental Psychology*, 28, 231-241.
- Patterson, G. R., & Dishion, T. J. (1985). Contributions of families and peers to delinquency. *Criminology*, 23, 63-77.
- Patterson, G. R., Littman, R. A., & Bricker, W. (1967). Assertive behavior in children: A step toward a theory of aggression. *Monographs of the society for research in child development*. (vol. 32, No. 5, Serial No. 113). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Replau, L. A., & Perlman, D. (1982). *Loneliness: A sourcebook of current theory, research, and therapy*. New York: Wiley.
- Renshaw, P. D., & Asher, S. R. (1983). Children's goals and strategies for social interaction. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 29, 353-374.
- Robins, C. J. (1990). Congruence of personality and life events in depression. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 99, 393-397.
- Robins, C. J., & Block, P. (1988). Personal vulnerability, life events, and depressive symptoms: A test of a specific interactional model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 847-852.
- Rook, K. S. (1984). The negative side of social interaction: Impact on psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, 1097-1108.
- Rook, K. S. (1987). Social support versus companionship: Effects on life stress, loneliness, and evaluations by others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52, 1132-1147.
- Rook, K. S. (1988). Towards a more differentiated view of loneliness. In S. W. Duck (Ed.), *Handbook of personal relationship: Theory, research and interventions*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Rubin, K. H., Fein, G. G., & Vandenberg, B. (1983). Play. In E. M. Hetherington

- (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology. Vol 4: Socialization, personality, and social development* (pp. 693–774). New York: Wiley.
- Rubin, K. H., & Mills, R. S. L. (1988). The many faces of social isolation in childhood. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 6*, 916–924.
- Russell, D., Peplau, L. A., & Cutrona, C. E. (1980). The revised UCLA Loneliness Scale: Concurrent and discriminant validity evidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 39*, 472–480.
- Schmidt, C. R., Ollendick, T. H., & Stanowicz, L. B. (1988). Developmental changes in the influence of assigned goals on cooperation and competition. *Developmental Psychology, 24*, 574–579.
- Sedikides, C., & Skowronski, J. J. (1990). Toward reconciling personality and social psychology: A construct accessibility approach. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 5*, 531–546.
- Sedikides, C., & Skowronski, J. J. (1991). The law of cognitive structure activation. *Psychological Inquiry, 2*, 169–184.
- Sewell, T. E., Farley, F. H., Manni, J. L., & Hunt, P. (1982). Motivation, social reinforcement, and intelligence as predictors of academic achievement in Black adolescents. *Adolescence, 17*, 647–656.
- Sharabany, R., Gershoni, R., & Hoffman, J. E. (1981). Girlfriend, boyfriend: Age and sex differences in intimate friendship. *Developmental Psychology, 17*, 800–808.
- Shaver, P., & Buhrmester, D. (1983). Loneliness, sex-role orientation, and group life: A social needs perspective. In P. B. Paulus (Ed.), *Basic group processes*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Sherman, L. W. (1984). Social distance perceptions of elementary school children in age-heterogeneous and homogeneous classroom settings. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 58*, 395–409.
- Slaby, R. G., & Guerra, N. G. (1988). Cognitive mediators of aggression in adolescent offenders: 1, Assessment. *Developmental Psychology, 23*, 580–588.
- Steinberg, L., & Silverberg, S. B. (1986). The vicissitudes of autonomy in early adolescence. *Child Development, 57*, 841–851.
- Stokes, J. P. (1985). The relation of social network and individual difference variables to loneliness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 48*, 981–990.
- Strauman, T. J., & Higgins, E. T. (1987). Automatic activation of self-discrepancies and emotional syndromes: When cognitive structures influence affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*, 1004–1014.
- Sullivan, H. S. (1953). *The interpersonal theory of psychiatry*. New York: Norton.
- Tesser, A., Campbell, J., & Smith, M. (1984). Friendship choice and performance: Self-esteem maintenance in children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46*, 561–574.
- Tuma, N. B., & Hallinan, M. T. (1979). The effects of sex, race, and achievement in school children's friendships. *Social Forces, 57*, 1265–1285.
- Vandell, D. L., & Mueller, E. C. (1980). Peer play and friendships during the first

- two years. In H. C. Foot, A. J. Chapman, & J. R. Smith (Eds.), *Friendship and social relations in children* (pp. 181–208). New York: Wiley.
- Waas, G. A. (1987). Aggressive rejected children: Implications for school psychologists. *Journal of School Psychology, 25*, 383–388.
- Weiss, R. S. (1973). *Loneliness: The experience of emotional and social isolation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Weiss, R. S. (1974). The provisions of social relationships. In A. Rubin (Ed.), *Doing unto others* (pp. 17–26). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Wentzel, K. R. (1991). Relations between social competence and academic achievement in early adolescence. *Child Development, 62*, 1066–1078.
- Wentzel, K. R. (1993). Motivation and achievement in early adolescence: The role of multiple classroom goals. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 13*, 4–20.
- Wigfield, A., & Eccles, J. S. (1992). The development of achievement task values: A theoretical analysis. *Developmental Review, 12*, 265–310.
- Williams, J. G., & Solano, C. H. (1983). The social reality of feeling lonely: Friendship and reciprocation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 9*, 237–242.
- Young, J. G., Brasic, J. R., & Kisnadwala, H. (1990). Strategies for research on school refusal and related nonattendance at school. In C. Chiland & J. G. Young (Eds.), *Why children reject school: Views from seven countries. The child and his family, vol. 10 & Yearbook of the International Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry for Allied Professions*. (vol. 10, 199–223). New Haven: Yale University Press.