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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPLIANCE-RESISTING BEHAVIORS IN FIRST-, FOURTH-, AND TENTH-GRADE CHILDREN

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPLIANCE-RESISTING BEHAVIORS IN FIRST-, FOURTH-, AND TENTH-GRADE CHILDREN

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

Jeffrey S. McQuillen

Norman, Oklahoma

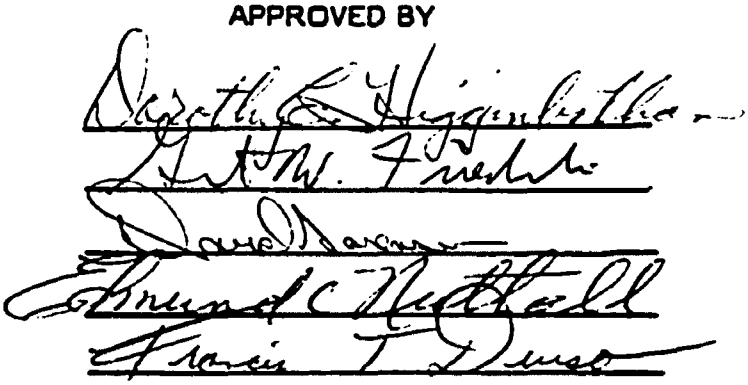
1984

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FIRST-, FOURTH-, AND TENTH-GRADE CHILDREN

APPROVED BY



AN INVESTIGATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPLIANCE-RESISTING BEHAVIORS IN FIRST-, FOURTH-, AND TENTH-GRADE CHILDREN

Abstract

The study investigates the development of compliance-resisting behaviors as a function of age, agent, and the types of compliance-gaining requests received by the target. Subjects were first-, fourth-, and tenth-grade children. An inductive approach to message construction was employed. Subjects were required to generate compliance-resisting strategies and justifications for those strategies in response to three communication situations. Each task situation was associated with a different age/status agent (mother, best friend, younger child). Additionally, each scenario presented to the subjects varied according to the type of compliance strategy used (simple request, incentive request, altruistic request). Results support a significant positive association between the three major independent variables (age of subjects, type of request used to gain compliance, and the agent to the compliance attempt) and the dependent variables (category of compliance-resisting strategy, structurally implied perspective-taking, and level of rationale for constructed strategy). This study is an initial step in describing how children develop compliance-resisting competence.

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I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, William and Gwendolyn McQuillen.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The present research was undertaken to explore the development of compliance-resisting behaviors. Compliance-resisting refers to an individuals' ability to select from their repertoire of communication strategies a means for avoiding the compliance-gaining appeals of others. The study focuses on the types of verbal strategies a recipient (target) of a compliance-gaining appeal uses to resist complying. It also investigates how certain situational factors may influence a target's selection of a particular strategy for resisting an appeal. The purpose of the investigation is to examine the ability of children of different ages to analyze social situations and use the contextual information gathered to inform their choice of the most appropriate and effective message for resisting a persuasive appeal.

Our ability to recognize the communicative needs of others, and to use this information in tailoring our communication strategies to our listener is, in part, dependent on our social cognitive abilities. As children develop social cognitive awareness they should develop the ability to be flexible and adaptive in their communication with others. According to this interactional perspective, communication development may be viewed as partially a function

of an individual's social cognitive development. This psychological development is evident in a movement away from an egocentric, nonadapted, centrated type of thinking and communicating toward a sociocentric flexible, decentered form of thought and message generation.

A substantial body of research has concentrated on describing the relationship between social cognitive development and a communicator's ability to construct listener-adapted persuasive messages (Wood, Weinstein, & Parker, 1967; Flavell, Botkin, Fry, Wright, & Jarvis, 1968; Menig-Peterson, 1975; Clark & Delia, 1976, 1977; Delia & Clark, 1977; Howie-Day, 1977; Piche, Rubin, & Michlin, 1978; Delia, Kline, & Burleson, 1979. Also see review by O'Keefe & Sypher, 1981). No research, however, has focused on the relationship between social cognitive development and a communicator's ability to construct messages for the purposes of resisting persuasive attempts. Communicative strategies designed to accomplish such a task are generally labelled compliance-resisting strategies (McLaughlin, Cody, and Robey, 1980).

To date, there is a paucity of research in the general area of compliance-resisting behaviors. The majority of the available research on compliance activities has examined only one side of the interactional process. Typically, these studies have been concerned with the persuader (agent) as the only active element. This approach neglects the two-way nature of communication transactions. It views compliance-gaining (persuasion) as a linear, unidirectional activity: the agent generates a message in an attempt to influence a passive target. This impoverished perspective overlooks the reciprocal nature of communication (Parsons, 1962). It is not only important to

examine the communicative tactics available to the agent, but also those options available to the target. As McLaughlin, Cody, and Robey (1980) argue: The target of a persuasive appeal may be unwilling to comply with an agent's request. The strategic method employed by that target to resist compliance can be construed as a compliance-gaining message directed from the target to the agent of the initial compliance appeal. Accordingly, compliance-resistance can be subsumed under the general rebric of compliance-gaining or the still broader concept of persuasion. As will be explained later in the review, persuasion may be too vague a concept to add clarity to this portion of the growing body of research concerned with interpersonal control. For the purposes of the present investigation, compliance-resisting is defined as a verbal attempt to avoid performing the activities requested by the agent of a compliance-gaining appeal (McLaughlin et al., 1980).

The focus of this investigation is limited exclusively to verbal communication. The nonverbal/paralinguistic aspects of compliance-resisting will not be examined in this study.

The limited amount of research reported on compliance-resisting behaviors has been concentrated solely on adult competence. Little is known about the development of compliance-resisting. This study will describe compliance resisting behaviors evident in selected communication by first, fourth, and ninth grade children. More specifically, it is the prupose of this investigation: (1) to examine the types of compliance-resisting strategies children employ in relation to certain situational variables, and (2) to assess the relationships between specific social cognitive abilities and children's

ability to construct listener-adapted compliance-resisting strategies. The study reported here focuses on answering three general research questions:

1) Do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of age?

2) Do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of the agent of the compliance-gaining attempt?

3) Do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of the type of compliance-gaining strategies employed by the agent of the attempt?

The present research project is divided as follows: Chapter II provides a rationale and review of the relevant literature which justifies and informs this study, Chapter III outlines the methodology and data collecting procedures employed, Chapter IV presents the analysis and explication of the results, and Chapter V offers discussion of the results and direction for future research.

CHAPTER II

Background and Rationale

In the past two decades cognitive development research has widened its focus from concentrating solely on children's developing knowledge of the physical world to include research concerning children's developing ability to think about the social world (Flavell, Botkin, Wright, Fry, & Jarvis, 1968; Glucksberg & Krauss, 1975; Higgins, 1981). These two domains of intelligence are rather different, but nonetheless interrelated. The knowledge a child acquires about the non-social world--i.e., reasoning, problem-solving, and causation, is referred to as general cognition. A child's growing knowledge of specifically human objects and social events has been labelled social cognition. In order to fully appreciate the child's development of communication behaviors, it is necessary to consider both domains.

The focus of this section is the mutual influence general and social cognition have on communication development. Principal attention is given to the social cognitive domain and the impact this cognitive component has on role-taking and the communicator's ability to generate listener-adapted verbal messages.

When considering communication development, one cannot ignore the contributions of the renowned developmental psychologist, Jean Piaget. Although Piaget was primarily interested in how children develop rational thought, his theory also refers to how children come to view themselves in relation to other people in their environment. The child's developing

knowledge of her/himself as a social being has particular relevance for speculation about the development of communication behavior.

General Cognition

Piaget viewed cognitive development as a continuous process of adaptation resulting in psychological structures which become increasingly more complex and elaborated. Cognitive development is not a rapid process. It is slow and gradual. As Piaget (1926) argues, cognitive progress is the result of actively organizing new knowledge with the old (assimilation) and using old knowledge to interpret the new (accommodation).

Piaget conceptualized the acquisition of knowledge according to an invariant sequence of stages. This sequence consists of four major periods. Each period represents a newly acquired conceptual landmark for the developing child. The major emphasis of this taxonomy is the child's developing knowledge of the physical world or, general cognition.

The first period, sensory-motor intelligence (0-2 years old), is characterized by the evolution of reflexive behaviors into goal-oriented, trial and error exploration. Interaction with the environment is highly perceptually bound, in infancy, and the infant relies heavily on sensory modalities rather than symbol manipulation. One of the major developments occurring during this period is the acquisition of the Piagetian concept of object permanence. The process of developing a mature conception of objects spans the range of the sensory-motor stage.

> During this important first period, the infant moves from a neonatal, reflex level of complete self-world undifferentiation to a relatively coherent organization of sensory-motor actions vis-a-vis his immediate environment. The organization is an entirely "practical" one, however, in

the sense that it involves simple perceptual and motor adjustments to things rather than symbolic manipulations of them (Flavell, 1963. p. 86).

The second period of Piaget's taxonomy is pre-operational thought (2-7 years old). Characteristic of this period is the child's unorganized and illogical attempts at using symbols. Thinking is dominated by immediate perceptions rather than reason. In addition, the child's perceptions are somewhat distorted. When confronted with a task requiring logical analysis, generally the child's attention will center on only one task-relevant feature. Due to this perceptual centration, the child is highly susceptable to reasoning errors.

In the third period, concrete-operational thought (7-11- years old), the child's environmental conceptualization displays a stable, rational, and well organized quality not present in the previous stages of development. The child is not tied to outer, perceptual characteristics, and is able to balance attention among all task-relevant perceptual data. Piaget called this perceptual flexibility, decentration. Thought at this stage has reached a rather sophisticated level; however, one limitation still remains. Logic is restricted to reasoning about the "real" world. The child is not yet able to cope with abstract or hypothetical analysis.

The final period is formal-operational thought (11-15 years old). At this level in the development of intelligence, the adolescent is capable of abstract thought. The individual can manipulate symbols in thinking about the real and the hypothetical. Flavell (1963) characterizes this stage as follows:

> During this period a new and final reorganization takes place, with new structures isomorphic to the groups and lattices of logical algebra. In brief, the adolescent can deal effectively not only with the reality before him (as does

> the child in the preceding subperiod) but also the world of pure possibility, the world of abstract, propositional statements, the world of "as if." (p. 86)

In the formulation of these periods, Piaget was concerned with describing how a child comes to understand the physical world. This nonsocial emphiasis does not negate the important role general cognition plays in the development of communication.

General cognition supplies the cognitive organization necessary to acquire language, and further provides the child with the conceptual substance and organizing principles that are required for communication. Although conceptual information and linguistic structures are crucial elements in any act of communication, they are not sufficient conditions for communication development. Children need to secure an understanding of social inference, social rules, and social relations in the human environment in order to inform adequately the appropriate use of their language for communicating. Social cognition is responsible, in part, for the acquisition and amplification of these communication-related skills.

Social Cognition

In general, social cognition is concerned with the individual's mode of organizing social experience and her/his method of generating and receiving social information (Damon, 1981, p. 156). Social cognition refers to two types of knowledge structures: knowledge about people, groups and social events; and knowledge that is colored by feelings, motives, attitudes and emotional states (Kosseyn & Kagan, 1981).

The first type of social knowledge serves as the basis for child's acquisition of a sufficient and necessary set of communication rules (Austin, 1962; Hymes, 1972; Bates, 1976; Nelson, 1981). These rules, it is argued, are

abstracted from the regularities individuals monitor in the social behaviors of others within their culture.

The second type of social world knowledge, knowledge related to one's own and other's emotional and psychological states, currently dominates the research in communication development. This approach emphasizes a communicator's ability to make social inferences about the convert psychological states of another, and to use these inferences to inform her/his strategic communication. The present investigation is concerned primarily with this second focus on social knowledge.

A number of authors view these two types of social cognitive knowledge as separate from general cognition (Gelman & Spelke, 1981; Higgins, 1981; Hoffman, 1981). For example, Gelman and Spelke argue that social cognition is organized according to psychological principles and social convention, and general cognition is organized according to physical laws.

In moderate support of this proposed difference between social and general cognition, Bell (1970) found that infants demonstrated an appreciation for the persisting existence of an absent person (person permanence) before they could demonstrate a similar ability with inanimate objects (object permanence). In contrast, Jackson, Campos, and Fisher (1978) contend Bell's results are due to the incompatible nature of the tasks' content. Jackson et al. argue that the difference between a person and a ball is what accounts for Bell's findings. According to Hoffman (1981), however, Bell's design is ecologically valid because the variations cited are, in fact, present in the "real world." In other words, person permanence, due to specific attributes related to social world elements (e.g., self-animation, large size), may develop prior to object permanence.

Another area of possible differences between social and general cognition is in the attribution of causality. In a study of young children's perceptions of causality, Fein (1972) had subjects judge picture sequences of physical or social events as being causally or non-causally related. Accuracy in the social domain was demonstrated by age seven; whereas, accurate discrimination between physical causality and physical non-causality was not established until age eleven. Fein believes the social task to be no easier than the physical task. He assumes social causality is understood before physical causality because the child continually receives first-hand experience about social causation and its violation. This view of the separate nature of the social and general cognitive domains is in line with Bell's (1970) thinking.

Finally, the distinction between general cognition and social cognition may be in the integration of an affective component into the social domain which is not necessary in the application of physical laws. Hoffman (1981) suggests that the addition of an affective component into the social cognitive domain permits the vicarious experiencing of another's display of affect. This vicarious arousal of self by another's expression of emotion is termed empathy. Empathy allows an individual to "emotionally identify" with others. This ability is not essential to the development of non-social world knowledge. In fact, it may be counterproductive in cases of problem-solving and causation; however, empathy can be considered necessary for smooth interpersonal, relational maintenance. Therefore, empathy may provide a distinguishing characteristic between the two cognitive domains.

In summary, general cognition and its development emphasizes the acquisition and organization of knowledge related to the physical world. Social cognition is concerned with the intuitive and logical representation of knowledge associated with the social world of humans. Social cognition may

be a separate cognitive system or a functional component of a larger cognitive structure. Although an interesting problem, the present research does not attempt to solve this dilemma.

Social Cognition: Role-Taking

In addition to the unique organizational properties associated with social world knowledge, the ability to use this knowledge to make social inferences is also a dimension of social cognition. One way of viewing an individual's ability to make social inferences about others has been called role-taking.[1] Role-taking, as defined by Higgins (1981), "involves taking into consideation another's viewpoint when making judgments or planning one's behavior" (p. 120). It is a process which is primarily inferential rather than directly perceivable. Role-taking emphasizes the reciprocal, perspective-sharing basis that occurs in social interaction (Mead, 1934). Sullivan (1953) referred to this phenomenon as "mutuality," the continuous attempts by communicative interactants to coordinate their thoughts, intentions, and actions. Damon (1981) suggests, "It is this mutuality of conduct and communication that distinguishes social from merely physical events and that engenders (and requires) a special sort of understanding" (p. 59).

The basic ingredient of role-taking, according to Flavell, Botkin, Fry, Wright, and Jarvis (1968), is one's ability to apprehend certain attributes of another. When perceiving an individual, the mature communicator may give fleeting attention to another's physical properties, but the major attention will be centered on the partner's perceived inner make-up. Because of the cognitive nature of this process, role-taking is not directly observable. Research must make an inferential leap from some observable behavior to its associated covert processes. The majority of the communication-related research in social cognition is aimed at investigating the individual's ability to

characterize or make inferences about another person, or to role-take.[2] Flavell et al. explain this connection between role-taking and communication:

> The level of role taking skill is inferred from behavior that it presumably helps to mediate, in particular the construction of messages to other people; communications that are finely tuned to the informational needs of the listener normally presuppose an accurate prior reading of these needs on the part of the sender, that is, these communications comprise an end or goal response for which role taking serves as an important means (1968, p. v.).

Flavell et al.s' description is representative of adult role-taking competence. How a children develop the ability to understand others and use this knowledge to tailor their verbal strategies to accommodate the specific requirements of the listener is not yet fully understood.

Development of Role-Taking

For some time a child's awareness of the separate existence of the inner psychological states of others is quite limited. Children can perceive people as physical entities but do not recognize them as thinker, and so, have not acquired the ability to use the perspectives of others as a means of enhancing their communication. The resulting lack of communicative competence is associated with the concept of egocentrism or a failure to "decenter" (Peaget, 1926).

A child's social perceptual abilities and the ability to adapt one's communication behavior to the specific needs of a listener can be seen as a move from an egocentric/centrated perspective toward a non-egocentric/ decentered way of conceptualizing one's environment. The socially immature child interprets her/his environment in a highly assimilative manner. The

impressions formed of others are dominated by a "self" perspective; the child is not able to accommodate to the unique features of the social context. In contrast, as the children develop the ability to free themselves from this perceptual prison and become more aware that others possess points-of-view differing from their own, they are theoretically able to accommodate more to these differing perspectives. This increase in flexibility should enable children to be more sensitive to the informational needs of the listener and so improve their ability to adapt their communication so that it is appropriate and effective.

Two possible sources of information regarding the needs of a listener are: (1) the environmental setting in which the communication takes place, and (2) the personal characteristics of the intended receiver. How role-taking development mediates effective verbal communication can be examined by considering the impact of these two informational sources.

Role-taking can be divided according to the basic sources of information used to make social inferences. First, the child's ability to make a judgment about a target person may be based on the child's own personal experiece. This skill requires the child to consider only the implications of the situation. Higgins (1981) suggests that a role-taking task of this type can be solved by asking, "What kind of information would I need if I were he?" The second type of role-taking requires the child to make judgments based on the assumed personal experience, knowledge, intentions,etc. of the target person. In this circumstance the child needs to consider both the personal characteristics of the target and the specifics of the situation. These types of role-taking are <u>situational</u> and <u>individual</u> respectively (Higgins, 1981, p. 128).

A large portion of the research on children's development of role-taking skills, and the functional relationship of these skills to listener-adapted

communication behaviors has been investigated according to two major research paradigms: referential communication tasks (Krauss & Glucksberg, 1965, 1969; Flavell et al., 1968; Shatz & Gelman, 1973) and story analysis tasks (Feffer, 1959; Feffer & Gourvitch, 1960; Flavell et al., 1969). These two paradigms can be distinguished according to the type of role-taking skill required to fulfill adequately the posed task; referential communication tasks may require only situational role-taking and story analysis tasks may rely heavily on the skills associated with individual role-taking.

Situational Role-Taking. Role-taking tasks such as referential communication generally require situational role-taking skills. Referential communication studies focus on an individual's ability to construct an unambiguous, descriptive message that, when delivered, will guarantee a listener's recognition of the referent the message represents. Referential tasks typically necessitate the selection and encoding of those critical attributes of a target object that will permit a listener to distinguish it from an array of non-target objects. The cognitive abilities required to perform a referential communication task may not include taking into account the listener's perspective as differing from the agent's perspective. This kind of inference may be viewed as the least social of the various types of inferential abilites categorized as social role-taking (Shantz, 1975).

Krauss and Glucksberg (1965) employed a referential communication technique and found children between five- and ten-years-old to be rather insensitive to their listeners' needs. In the task used, pairs of children were seated on opposite sides of a table separated by a screen. One child was assigned to the speaker (S) condition; the other was assigned as the listener (L). S was instructed to describe each stimulus in an array so that L could

identify it from a similar array. Inter-communication between S and L was permitted.

According to Krauss and Glucksberg's findings, three-year-old children could not understand the directions for the task. Children four-years-of-age understood the instructions but were unable to perform the task effectively. These children used idiosyncratic, non-descriptive messages (e.g., "looks like a sheet," or "Mommy's hat"). Those children eight-and-one-half-years-old to ten-years-old performed just as poorly as the other subjects on initial trials, but their proficiency improved after a number of trials. Similar improvement was not demonstrated by the younger subjects. These findings generally suggest substantial improvement in referential communication effectiveness from four- to ten-years-of-age, however, the authors note that adult levels of competent performance were not approached by even the oldest subjects.

Flavell, Botkin, Fry, Wright, and Jarvis (1968) employed a research approach similar in kind to that employed by Krauss and Glucksberg (1965), to explore how children cope with the problem of adapting their communication messages to the specific input needs of their listeners. In Flavell et al.s' (1968) task, children had to consider the physical characteristics of the listener (i.e., blindfolded vs. not blindfolded) in order to adapt their messages adequately.

Flavell et al. hypothesized that message sensitivity would increase with age. Their results showed evidence that the ability to tailor a message to the specific needs of a listener does increase with age; however, this ability does not appear to be a function of chronological age alone. Some of the youngest children were very sensitive to the listener's needs. Conversely, some of the oldest children were quite insensitive.

In a more recent study, Shatz and Gelman (1973) examined children's ability to modify their messages to different-age listeners in natural settings. In their task, four-year-old children were asked to explain the workings of a toy (e.g., ark with wooden animals, dumping station with truck and balls) to an adult or younger child. Evidence from a variety of measures illustrated that children do adjust their messages to different listeners. When subjects communicated with two-year-old children, their message units were shorter and relied more on "action-directing" units than when they were communicating with adults. A number of similar investigations have reported similar findings (Sacks & Devin, 1976; Martlew, Connally & McCleod, 1978; Bock & Hornsby, 1981).

Shatz and Gelman suggested that children performed poorly in previous communication adaptation studies because the employed tasks masked subjects' "true" communication skills. These authors further argue that Piagetian/referential tasks actually assess the children's cognitive capacities for complex syntax and elaborate vocabulary skills, and not their communication abilities.

It has been argued that the inflated performance ratings assigned to Shatz and Gelman's subjects was due to the method they used to measure communication adaptation (i.e., "changes in message structure"); whereas, Flavell et al. and Krauss and Glucksberg operationalized adaptation as "adequate message construction." Shatz and Gelman's adaptation criteria may be less discriminating than that utilized in the other two cited studies.

Individual Role-Taking. Individual role-taking requires the subject to consider the personal characteristics (e.g., knowledge, intentions, motivations) of the intended listener. A typical story analysis task requires individual rather than situational role-taking. Subjects must judge the perspective of

numerous characters, interrelate these divergent points-of-view, and avoid having their own perspective intrude upon the inference process (Higgins, 1981, p. 129). In the story analysis paradigm, a subject is called upon to construct a story about an ambiguous scene and a variety of characters. Upon completion of the story based on one character's perspective, the subject is asked to retell the story from a different character's point-of-view. Role-taking skill is measured according to the degree of coordination between continuity of the story line content and differential refocusing of alternative view points. Basically, the task requires balanced decentering (Feffer, 1959). According to Piaget (1967), the decentering concept entails the cognitive capacity to balance attention between and among multiple task-related data.

Feffer and Gourevitch (1960) measured three levels of role-taking skills. These authors used the prototype story telling task, "Role-Taking Task" (RTT), developed by Feffer (1959). An a priori, four category hierarchy was used by Feffer and Gourevitch to chart subjects' developmental trends. Their scheme described role-taking according to subjects' ability: (1) to refocus one telling perspective to another while maintaining continuity among initial and subsequent tellings, and (2) to maintain consistently the "inner orientation" of the narrator with the "external orientation" of the other characters. The findings of Feffer and Gourevitch's study offer support for the use of role-taking skills, specifically those measured by the RTT, as indices of cognitive maturity based on the developmental framework of Piaget. The ability to refocus telling perspectives was demonstrated by subjects as young as six, but there were obvious inconsistencies between story contents. The second major developmental shift was established by the eight-year-old subjects. At this level children could consistently sequence perspectives (e.g., father-character had a bad day at the office to which the child-character

responds, "he looks unhappy."). Simultanious changing of perspectives occurred at nine-years-of-age. S's who scored in this category were consistently able to elaborate the story form two different "inner oriented" perspectives.

In a second story analysis task, Flavell et al. (1968) analyzed children's ability to adapt their verbal messages to the differing input needs of multiple listeners. The subjects in Flavell et al.'s study were required to send a three-part message to three different listeners, each of whom had some portion of the information contained in S's message. S's task was to supply all listeners with a complete, but minimally redundant message.

The study's findings support the view that multi-listener adapted communication increases with age. A large portion of the developmental progress found occurred from eight- to ten-years-of-age.

Story analysis tasks rely heavily on the Piagetian concept of decentration. The principal requirement of decentration is the ability to interrelate multiple elements (i.e., characters' perspectives in the case of story-telling). Decentration should not be considered synonomous with role-taking; it is just one possible means of defining role-taking. A communicator capable of decentering is not automatically capable of making social inferences. Therefore, caution should be applied when interpreting the results of a story analysis task. Competent performance on the story analysis task may reflect judgments based on characterization rather than inference (Higgins, 1981). For example, in the initial stages of the story analysis task a subject may assign all the story characters to specific categories. When telling and retelling the story, all the subject needs to do then is maintain an interrelated consistency between the story character and what categorical information is associated with each character. This process requires a degree

of cognitive decentering, but it does not necessarily require the subject to assume another's psychological role.

It is also possible that story analysis tasks do not require a comparison between "self" and "others" perspectives, nor are the subjects required to inhibit their own perspective from intruding during the characterization process. The subject's attention is focused on the character and the relevant categorical information. Thus, there is no competition between the subject's perspective and the perspectives of the story characters. The judgments necessary to fulfill the criteria of a story analysis task competently may not obligate a subject to go beyond the information provided, and so, no social inference may be required (Higgins, 1981). The fundamental question presented in all of the studies reviewed is: What is the functional relationship between role-taking and communication effectiveness? The evidence supporting a functional relationship between these two cognitive abilities is sparse. Research reporting a relationship between role-taking skills and communication effectiveness note that the resulting correlation is not as strong as the theoretical conceptualization of these two variables would suggest. As argued by Glucksberg and Krauss (1969), all cognitive abilities including communication, role-taking, decentration, and lessening of egocentrism increase with age; therefore, any correlation between these abilities may be an artifact of simultaneous rather than interdependent development.

One plausible explanation for the lack of empirical support for the functional relation between role-taking and communication is the prevailing assumption that the ability to infer adequately another's perspective automatically results in message adaptation. In an attempt to dispell this misconception, Flavell et al. (1968) proposed a model which delineates the

necessary competencies for achieving any role-taking mediated end. The most recent version of the model (Flavell, 1974) consists of four hierarchically arranged competencies:

1) Existence--the awareness that others have perspectives that may or may not differ from one's own.
2) Need--the ability to recognize that analysis of another's perspective is requisite to attaining one's goal.
3) Prediction--the ability to infer the relevant role attributes of another.
4) Application--the integration of these inferences into some useable behavior.

Delia and O'Keefe explain the workings of this model in relation to communication development:

> For social understandings to affect communicative performance requires both the recognition that these understandings have implications for one's communicative tasks (existence, need, and prediction) and their integration within some set of behavioral mechanisms--syntactic forms, stragegies for message formulation, etc.--through which functional control over the communicative code is exercised (application) (Delia & O'Keefe, 1979, p. 167).[3]

Another major reason for the moderate empirical support for the functional relationship between role-taking and communication effectiveness may be a methodological limitation associated with using the referential communication task and the story analysis method for measuring role-taking and communication abilities. These methods rely on one set of data to measure both role-taking and communication effectiveness. For example,

successful communication is the conceptual ruler employed to measure role-taking skills in referential communication and story analysis tasks. Successful communication also serves as the measure of communication effectiveness for both tasks. This double-identity measurement points to the need to provide means of assessing role-taking and communication independently.

The studies reviewed thus far have concentrated on the developmental relationship between role-taking skills and an individual's ability to inform a listener adequately. A number of studies have found evidence of a developmental relationship between communicators' role-taking skills and their ability to persuade a listener. Flavell et al. (1968) characterize the relationship between persuasion and role-taking as follows:

> The ability to persuade another person effectively ought to presuppose the ability to identify those role attributes which are persuasion-relevant, that is, the particular needs in the listener to which he might be susceptible—in general, the "chinks" in his sales resistance which the persuasive message ought to seek out and enter (p. 135).

According to Flavell et al.s' characterization, strategic control over persugsive communication presupposes, at minimum, the ability to perceive the listener qualities and situational characteristics which are relevant to the desired outcome. The better able a communicator is to construct persuasive strategies that take into account these situational and listener features, theoretically, the more successful one's persuasive attempts will be.

The following section examines the relationship between developing social cognition from a role-taking perspective and the development of persuasive communication.

Compliance Behaviors

In its broadest sense, all behavior is directed at achieving some level of control over one's external environment. Persuasion may be viewed as the major form (typically verbal) of strategic social control. However, the term perusasion is accompanied by a great deal of "restrictive" philosophical/epistemological baggage. In a scholarly crusade against the traditional approach to persuasion research, Miller and Burgoon (1978) have criticized the prevailing research paradigm which has operationally defined persuasion as a "linear, unidirectional" activity. Following this line of thought, an acitive persuader exerts influence over a passive target (persuadee). This linear, unidirectional view of persuasion discounts the notion of participant reciprocity, or interdependence. Communication is not one-way; it is a transaction between interdependent participants exerting reciprocal influence within a social situation.

Because the traditional approach to persuasion has posed such an impoverished conceptual foundation for related research, an expanded view of this concept has been considered. An alternative approach to the study of persuasion which has received considerable attention in recent literature is termed "compliance-gaining."

Most of the compliance-gaining research has been concerned with strategy selection. It considers the strategy that communicators select from their repertoire of available strategies, and how certain situational and personality variables affect the choice of strategy. This approach to the study of social influence focuses on the process by which communicators learn to use language. The term use refers to a communicator's functional employment of communication strategies in attempts to control and structure his/her environment. This functional approach to the study of strategy selection

presupposes intentionality. A communicator constructs a message to bring about a specific goal. According to Schench-Hamlin, Wiseman, and Georgacarakos (1982), goal specificity is a crucial determinant of effectiveness:

> The likelihood of an actor being successful while not knowing what response he/she wants from the target can be no greater than chance (p. 93).

Accordingly, participants in a social interaction are oriented toward achieving preconceived goals. Clark and Delia (1979) argue that all communication transactions involve three dimensions of goal-related activities: (1) instrumental goals focus on the "specific, situation-bound objectives," (2) interpersonal goals are concerned with relational maintenance, and (3) identity management goals stress the need to sustain the desired self image of the interactants. In any communication situation the dominant dimension will be determined by the nature of the interaction. The dominant dimension may also be determined by the functional role one assumes in the interaction: agent or target.

If a participant's goal can only be achieved by soliciting the assistance of another, the necessity to induce compliance exists. This inclination to influence originates from humanity's dependency on others to mediate important outcomes for them (Kipnis, 1974, p. 84). According to Miller and Steinberg (1975):

> In a communication situation, compliance represents the level of environmental control at which the desired and obtained outcome of the communicator correspond exactly. Since our ability to control many features of our external environment depends largely on the willingness of others to

> comply with our message requests, compliance is an extremely important communication function (p. 68).

In Miller and Steinberg's explanation, three characteristics of compliance are outlined: (1) requests for compliance are initiated as a result of a desire for a presently non-existing state, (2) the ability to gain compliance reflects some degee of environmental control, and (3) successful compliance is dependent on others for fulfillment. Kipnis (1976) argues that compliance activities are triggered by an "aroused need state that can only be satisfied by inducing the appropriate behaviors in others" (p. 20). And, the need to exert "influential force" is initiated by the agent's apprehension of the target's possible unwillingness to perform the desired behaviors required to satisfy the agent's needs.

Persuasive messages aimed at shaping or regulating the behaviors of others have been termed "compliance-gaining strategies" (Marwell & Schmitt, 1969). As a corollary, compliance-resisting strategies are verbal attempts by a target to gain the agent's acceptance of the target's unwillingness to comply (McLaughlin, Cody, & Robey, 1981).

Unquestionably, the investigation of social influence according to this "new" focus is a welcome change. The emphasis of persuasion studies is no longer restricted to the examination of the impact of source, channel or receiver characteristics on persuasive outcomes. Current research has sought to develop comprehensive typologies of persuasive strategies. This line of research has shifted the experimental context from a one-to-many setting to a more interpersonal, dyadic focus, and has changed the dependent measure from message impact to message selection (Miller & Burgoon, 1978). Certainly, this change in the methodological and substantive quality of persuasive research is a step in the right direction. Yet, the majority of these, so called,

compliance-gaining studies have ignored the target (persuadee) of a persuasive appeal. If a detailed analysis of the social influence process is to be achieved, research efforts need to explore the power resources available to the target and how these tactics are used to resist compliance-gaining attempts (McLaughlin, et al, 1980).

This section reviews the relevant research related to the child's use of compliance behaviors. The research available pertaining to this area of children's communication development is extremely limited. In an attempt to overcome this limitation, this review focuses on elements of compliance behaviors that are most relevant to children's developing communication abilities. The review covers each of the following categories in turn: (1) adult compliance-gaining strategies, (2) children's development of compliance-gaining strategies, (3) the nature of compliance-resisting. The section concludes with a review of the proposed study.

Adult Compliance-Gaining Strategies

Two methodological approaches typically have been employed for the development of taxonomies of compliance-gaining strategies. One approach relies on various theories of social influence to provide the conceptual framework from which the taxonomy of strategies is derived. Specific categories of compliance-gaining strategies are deductively generated from a synthesis of the relevant theories of social influence. The second approach follows an inductive process of taxonomic formulation. In this method, subjects generate strategies in response to carefully designed persuasive situations. These strategies are then content analyzed to discern shared characteristics among the data. These categories then become the framework of the taxonomy (Wiseman & Schenck-Hamlin, 1981). The results reported from

studies employing these two different approaches have been inconsistent; therefore, relevant research from each of these approaches is reviewed.

Deductive Studies of Compliance-Gaining

Pioneers of the deductive approach to compliance-gaining, Marwell and Schmitt (1969) have examined how communicators go about influencing the actions of others. They developed a conceptualization of persuasion (compliance-gaining) based on the use of meaninful groups of behaviors or strategies. According to Marwell and Schmitt, a strategy is "a group of techniques toward which potential actors tend to respond similarly." Further, "strategies are distinguished from one another by the fact that they elicit some substantial and reliable differential response" (1969, p. 357). This approach is concerned with the repertoire of compliance-gaining strategies communicators have at their disposal, and also with the situational factors that influence the selection of a particular strategy from this set. Marwell and Schmitt's classification scheme was derived form related theories of social influence and conformity.[4] Their study yielded a typology of sixteen compliance-gaining strategies. These sixteen strategies were further analyzed into five dimension: (1) rewarding activities, (2) punishing activities, (3) expertise, (4) activation of impersonal commitment, and (5) activation of personal commitment. These five dimensions involve three properties related to compliance-gaining strategies: sanction, channel, and temporal sequence. The variables sanction and channel were adopted from previous research on the process of social influence by Parsons (1963). Marwell and Schmitt added the property of temporal sequencing to Parsons' two inducement variables.

In their study, Marwell and Schmitt had subjects rate the "likelihood-of-use" (i.e., ratings on a six-point scale) of each of the sixteen strategies for four different persuasive situations. The authors found that

their proposed taxonomy could be divided into two second-order factors: socially acceptable techniques of gaining compliance and socially unacceptable techniques. The results showed that all subjects displayed a tendency to rate those strategies categorized as socially acceptable much higher in all four situations than they did the socially unacceptable strategies.

Miller, Boster, Roloff, and Seibold (1977) extended the taxonomic work of Marwell and Schmitt. Miller et al.'s emphasis centered on attempts to condense the existing typology of compliance-gaining strategies. The findings of their investigation suggest that strategy use is "highly situationally bound." The researchers' approach included two contextual variables. The first variable, level of relationship, is based on the conceptual distinction between impersonal and interpersonal communication transactions proposed by Miller and Steinberg (1975). According to this conceptual distinction, strategy selection is, in part, the result of the kind of information that interactants employ to make predictions regarding the probable consequences of alternative strategic selection (Miller et al., 1977, p. 38). In an interpersonal relationship, interactants base their predictions of message outcomes on psychological data; whereas, in non-interpersonal relationships, predictions rely on sociological and cultural data.

Miller et al. speculated that the level of relationship would be influential in strategy selection for two reasons: (1) tailoring a message to the particular receiver should be more successful as the relationship moves toward a more interpersonal orientation;[5] (2) the use of pro-social or anti-social strategies should vary as a result of the level of the relationship. An agent will employ more punishment-oriented strategies when the level of relationship between the agent and the target is noninterpersonal.

The second contextual variable is relational consequence or the degree of relational impact resulting from a successful or unsuccessful compliance-gaining effort (Miller et al., 1977, p. 40). This variable was divided into long- and short-term consequences. The long-term consequence is represented by a situation that has the potential to produce serious long-lasting relational effect. An example of long-lasting effects would be requesting a woman/man with whom the agent has a close relationship to accept a job in the immediate vicinity rather than taking a job 1,000 miles away. The second level of consequence, short-term consequence, is exemplified by the agent attempting to break a date with a long standing friend, a situation which is assumed to produce only minor relational effects.

These two factors were cross matched, thereby creating four experimenatl conditions: interpersonal/short-term; interpersonal/long-term; noninterpersonal/short-term; and noninterpersonal/long-term. Subjects were asked to rate the "likelihood-of-use" of each of Marwell and Schmitt's sixteen strategies for each of the four conditions.

The independent variable of relationship showed that subjects rated more strategies as likely to be used for the noninterpersonal condition as compared to the interpersonal condition. This finding, according to the authors, is best explained by examining the perceived predictability of outcomes. The more target-specific information an agent has, the greater the probability that the agent will be able to eliminate competing strategies and limit her/his strategy selection to the most potentially effective message. If, on the other hand, the target is viewed as a generalized member of a social category, predictions of strategy effectiveness will be less confident.

In an attempt to compensate for this uncertainty, an agent may consider alternative strategies to insure that the most effective strategy is employed.

The results associated with the variable of consequence were not quite clear and rather inconsistent. In the interpersonal/short-term condition positive altercasting strategies (e.g., a person with "good" qualities would comply), and altruism (e.g., compliance due to empathy for other's circumstances) were rated "highly likely" to be used. The strategy liking (e.g., putting target in good frame of mind before requesting compliance) was employed with high frequency in all situations.

In general, strategy selection varied as a function of the level of relationship, and, specifically, subjects within the interpersonal/short-term consequence condition tended to display a strong pro-social attitude in their strategy ratings. These subjects accommodated their strategy ratings to the perspective of the intended target.

One of the major criticisms of the Marwell and Schmitt classification scheme is the methodological approach the authors employed in generating their taxonomy. The deductive method of developing a taxonomy of compliance-gaining strategies is somewhat problematic. It does not rely directly on actual communication behaviors to identify categories of strategies. Instead, specific categories of strategies are deduced from relevant theories. Other studies employing Marwell and Schmitt's (1969) taxonomy and a similar methodology have uncovered further limitations. Seibold (1977) and Falbo (1977) found that few of the strategies offered by Marwell and Schmitt are representative of those strategies used by low status and low assertive individuals. Also, Cody, McLaughlin and Jordan (1981) had subjects generate compliance-gaining appeals for three different communicative situations and found that between 77% and 44% of the generated strategies could not be accounted for by the Marwell and Schmitt categories.

In an attempt to develop a taxonomy that is especially sensitive to the degree of intimacy between communicative interactants and the impact of relational consequences, Cody, McLaughlin, and Schneider (1981), drawing on the areas of interpersonal conflict and conflict resolution, synthesized four previously developed message typologies into four broad categories of compliance-gaining activity. The typologies included in Cody et al.s' (1981) synthesis are: Clark's (1979) inductively derived taxonomy of compliance-gaining strategies related to communication objectives; Cody, McLaughlin and Jordan's inductively derived taxonomy; Fitzpatrick and Winke's (1979) strategies of interpersonal conflict; and McLaughlin, Cody, and Robey's (1980) deductively derived categories of compliance resistance. The categories proposed by Cody et al. (1981) are: personal rejection--denying compliance based on possible negative outcomes (Fitzpatrick & Winke, 1979), exchange--cooperation strategy (Fitzpatrick & Winke, 1979), justification--offer reasons and support (Clark, 1979), and manipulation--indirect attempts to manage target's and/or agent's image (Fitzpatrick & Winke, 1979).

Both situational variables employed in Cody's study (intimacy and relational consequences) significantly affected subjects' likelihood-of-use ratings. Justification strategies were rated as more likely to be used in intimate, short-term consequences. Ratings for manipulation and personal rejection strategies were preferred in nonintimate, short-term goal situations. This effect was nonsignificant for the category of personal rejection. The overall trend suggests subjects prefer low risk, pro-social strategies (i.e., justification) versus high risk, high pressure, anti-social strategies (i.e., personal rejection). The authors suggest this tendency may be due to the

subjects' desire to project a pro-social orientation to situational management resulting in an increased preference for negotiation strategies.

Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin (1981) offer three epistomologically based reasons to doubt the validity of deductively developed compliance-gaining taxonomies: first, the representative or exhaustive nature of the taxonomies to actual persuasive situations is suspect. Do sixteen strategies adequately represent those strategies available in an agent's compliance-gaining repertoire? Second, no attempts have been made to conceptualize the structural composition of the strategies; and finally, no attempts have been made to determine if the identified strategies are socially meaningful or representationally valid to the subjects.

Furthermore, there is a methodological concern that affects the acceptability of these deductively derived taxonomies and their empirical results. The likelihood-of-use data does not add clarity to the nature of compliance-gaining (Wiseman, Schenck-Hamlin & Georgacarakos, 1982). This technique focuses on a strategy's perceived effectiveness rather than on its actual propensity to be employed. Also, subjects not required to generate strategies but permitted to select from or rate an array of performulated strategies tended to select strategies that displayed greater adaptation to the recipients' perspectives (Clark, 1979; Hunter & Boster, 1981; McLaughlin, Cody, & Robey, 1980; Cody, O'Hair, & Schneider, 1982). The likelihood-of-use data may provide information on <u>how</u> people think about a strategy's effectiveness or perceived desirability, and not on which strategies an agent will actually employ in a given communication situation.

<u>Inductive Studied of Compliance-Gaining</u>

In an attempt to remedy the problems associated with deductively derived taxonomies and the likelihood-of-use data, Clark (1979) emphasized

the need for compliance-gaining strategy research to focus on the communication objectives a message was constructed to achieve. This inductively based approach provides a means for systematically developing criteria for selecting variables which are likely to influence message construction.

In her investigation, Clark chose two variables believed to be critical to communicative objectives: self interest (instrumental objective) and desired liking (interpersonal objective). These two variables were manipulated to determine how each influenced a communicator's selection of message strategies. The investigation took the form of a two study design. The procedures for both studies were identical with the exception of the method of message collection. The first study required subjects to compose messages in response to the experimental situations; the second study had the subjects select strategies from an array of messages provided by the experimenter.

The findings showed quite different results for the two methods. Subjects who chose from the list of strategies tended to select strategies demonstrating higher levels of accommodation to the perspective of the message recipient than subjects who composed their own strategies. Because of this difference, Clark suggests message composition studies may have two advantages over message selection studies: (1) message construction requires the subject to engage in communicative activities more closely approximating actual communication behaviors and (2) message construction permits a more clear understanding of the repertoire of compliance-gaining strategies available to the subject (1979, p. 273).

Clark further explains the advantage of message construction over the message selection appraoch:

> By way of analogy, if we wished to assess someone's grammatical behavior, we might do better to ask the person to produce a corpus of language than to ask him or her to identify correct grammatical rules. An individual might be quite capable of speaking perfectly grammatically but be unable to identify the operant rules (1979, p. 271).

In addition, Clark's research resulted in the development of a 41-item typology of compliance-gaining strategies. These strategies were divided into seven categories. Each category is an operationalization of one of the three major communicative objectives: instrumental, interpersoanal, and identity managment. The instrumental objective is characterized according to two expected influential categories: the degree of pressure contained in a given statement for action, and the amount of justification offered for the desired action. The strategies coded within these two categories are arranged in hierarchical fashion.

The second communicative objective, interpersonal, focused on relational maintenance. Two categories included were: strategies designed to have a positive relational impact, and those which will tend to have a negative relational impact. Finally, the identity management objective contained three categories which highlight general methods employed by communicators to manage image: management of positive image of target, management of negative image of target, and management of positive image of agent.

Cody, McLaughlin, and Jordan (1981) argue that previous taxonomic research had not exhausted the domain of compliance-gaining strategies available in interpersonal communication. Specifically, existing typologies did not include indirect (deceit, flattery) or rational (reasoning or simple

statement) strategies. These authors also criticized Clark's taxonomy on the basis that her categories of strategies were not mutually exclusive.

Unsatisfied with the existing taxonomies, Cody and colleagues (1981) developed a new inductively-generated typology of compliance-gaining strategies. Cody et al.'s study followed a similar procedure to that used by Clark (1979). Subjects were asked to construct appeals for each of three situations: (1) ask your roommate to return money he/she had borrowed, (2) ask an unfamiliar neighbor to put your dog in at night to keep it from barking, and (3) ask a store owner to lower the price of an antique rocking chair.

Four categories of compliance-gaining strategies were found across the three situations: (1) direct--simple request, a polite request, or offer justification for request; (2) threat--failure to comply will result in negative consequences to target or target-agent relationship; (3) manipulation--use of indirect strategies such as hinting; and (4) exchange--agent makes consessions or reminds target of past favors (Cody, McLaughlin, & Jordan, 1980). This new typology has the advantage of including indirect and rational strategies, and it also possesses a more manageable size in comparison to the typology proposed by Clark (1979).

Clark and Delia (1979) offer a different approach to the inductive generation of compliance-gaining taxonomies. These authors criticise previous compliance-gaining taxonomic work stating that:

> Most investigators have accepted other researchers' lists of strategies without questioning their completeness or properties (p. 93).

and,

> Most research has not attempted to throughly describe the structural composition of the strategies. As such, the strategies appear more like a series of elements on a shopping list, rather than elements growing out of an organic theory of compliance-gaining (p. 93).

As a means of remedying this problem, Schenck-Hamlin, Wiseman, and Georgacorakos (1982) developed a model based on the minimal properties of compliance-gaining strategies. The model is represented in a tree diagram which begins with the core concept, "strategy." From the core concept branches proceed through a series of nodes which represent the properties associated with inducements. Each branch terminates in one of fourteen specific message types.

According to the conceptual framework of their model, a strategy is the "conceptual route" agents follow from strategy to message type in an effort to make their intentions known. The compliance activity consists of two components: (1) the intended behavior which the agent desires the target to perform, and (2) the inducement, the motivational impetus or rationale, offered for performing the desired act.

Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin (1981) multidimensionally scaled subjects' perceptions of the inductively derived taxonomy of compliance-gaining strategies developed by Schenck-Hamlin et al. (1980). Subjects in the Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin study were asked to write an essay for each of three persuasive situations. The persuasive situations employed in the study were selected according to four student-rated criteria: (1) the believability of the situation, (2) the importance of the situation of the subject, (3) the degree to which an agent could reasonble perform the compliance-gaining task, and (4)

the level of social norm violation implied in the situation (Wiseman & Schenck-Hamlin, 1981).

Analysis of the persuasive protocols constructed by the subjects revealed three significant properties of compliance-gaining strategies. Explicitness of intent, the first property of compliance-gaining strategies captured by Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin's analysis, reflects the directness with which the compliance appeal is presented. A simple request is extremely direct; whereas, that which is requested by a "hint" is rather inexplicit and indirect.

The second property, manipulation of sanction, reflects the reward-punishment contingencies presented in a compliance-gaining strategy. A promise strategy, because of its overt offering of a positive sanction in exchange for compliance, is indicative of a reward-oriented sanction.

The final compliance-gaining property, locus of control, focuses on where the responsibility lies for administering inducements. Three possible agents are: the persuadee, the persuader, and the context. The strategy, guilt, is an example of a strategy in which contextual circumstances bring about a negative sanction aimed at decreasing the target's self worth contingent on a noncomplaint response. Contextual factors such as social, professional, and moral obligations are prime sources of this type of negative inducement.

Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin's (1981) and Schenck-Hamlin et al.s' (1982) findings provide a basic understanding of the structural properties underlying compliance-gaining strategies. These studies reinforce the necessity to establish a set of properties that will add to the explanatory power of a growing conceptualization of compliance-gaining strategies.

Although Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin's findings enhance our understanding of compliance-gaining, one limitation inhibits the total acceptance of their results. Because these authors' subjects were required to

write essays on "how to get others to do what I want them to do," rather than having to spontaneously construct a message to the demands of a persuasive situation, the cross-situational validity of their typology is questionable. Data derived in this fashion may be more representative of how communicators think about persuasion, instead of tapping the actual strategic communication a subject would use to persuade a target.

In recent years much of the research in the area of social influence has been devoted to the development of taxonomies of compliance-gaining strategies. Compliance research which has classified strategies according to deductive methodology has received a large amount of criticism. The deductive approach has been marred by both methodological and epistemological limitation. Epistemologically, the deductive paradigm may underestimate a subject's actual repertoire by limiting message selection to those strategies outlined in prior theoretical and empirical research. Thus, deductively derived taxonomies may not be exhaustive or representative of a communicator's "true" repertoire of compliance-gaining strategies.

Methodologically, a large portion of the deductively based compliance-gaining research has adopted the likelihood-of-use technique of data collection initiated by Marwell and Schmitt (1969). The data yielded by this form of strategy rating is markedly different from the results obtained from message composition studies. In comparison to message construction studies, likelihood-of-use research typically find subjects display greater preference for pro-social strategies. When subjects rate strategies, they show a greater accomadation to the target's perspective, use less forceful strategies, and avoid strategies which suggest potential damaging relational consequences (Clark, 1979).

When subjects were required to construct message in response to the persuasive task, their strategies reflected a less pro-social-orientation than those strategy ratings produced in the likelihood-of-use task. Also, message construction appears to replicate more closely actual communication than rating a given strategy or selecting a strategy from a preformulated array.

The inductive method of developing compliance-gaining taxonomies appears to provide one with a clearer understanding of those strategies available in an individual's communicative repertoire. Furthermore, Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin's (1981) inductively derived taxonomy offers a means of systematically relating compliance-gaining strategies instead of just haphazardly compiling different tactics like items entered on a grocery list (Clark & Delia, 1979).

The research reviewed on compliance-gaining is restricted to the explication of "full blown" adult competence. It excludes any examination of the developmental trends involved in obtaining this mature level of compliance-gaining competence. The following section turns to a review of the available literature on children's develpment on compliance-gaining behaviors.

Children's development of compliance-gaining

Strategies

It is obvious that early in life children develop the ability to make others aware of their needs, and are usually successful in getting those needs satisfied. The limited tactics for making one's needs apparent soon lose their effective impact, and the necessity for other techniques of interpersonal influence arise.

Modification and differentiation of personal tactics occur as a result of success and failure experiences. As a child's interpersonal experience

increases, theoretically, the child's repertoire of communication strategies should also increase. Older children have encountered diverse communication situations, and have had the opportunity to develop a variety of strategies in conjunction with this exposure. Furthermore, older children have acquired more sophisticated linguistic skills which equip them with a more complex grammar and a more comprehensive vocabulary. The amplification of linguistic skills arms the child with a wider range of semantic and syntactic resources from which to select the most appropriate response (Rodnick & Wood, 1973).

In addition to an expanded repertoire and an elaborated linguistic system, the child's ability to make psychologically based inferences about another's emotional states, attitudes, and intentions are crucial to the development of effective communication. Hale and Delia (1976) argue that role-taking is the primary social cognitive process in communication. This ability provides the basis for constructing, organizing, and maintaining listener-adapted communicative strategies. An individual's ability to persuade others is particularly dependent on maintaining a high degree of sensitivity to the listener's needs and viewpoint. The development of children's ability to construct listener-adapted compliance strategies as a function of their acquired level of role-taking skills is an area of research that has received considerable support.

Studies investigating the development of persuasive strategies have generally found that as the child's age increases, the size and sophistication of his/her available persuasive repertoire also increases (Wood, Weinstein, & Parker, 1967; Flavell, Botkin, Fry, Wright, & Jarvis, 1968; Alvy, 1973; Finley & Humphreys, 1974; Clark & Delia, 1976, 1977; Delia & Clark, 1977; Howie-Day, 1977; Piche, Rubin, & Michlin, 1978; Haslett, 1983). The majority

of these studies have focused on the development of persuasive strategies as related to the development of role-taking performance.

Development of an adequate repertoire is not the only criterion for effective persuasive communication. One must also show sensitivity to the specific situational variables that influence the strategy individuals will select from their persuasive repertoire.

Communication occurs in a social situation. Each situation consists of several variables including but not necessarily limited to: participant, setting, topic, task, and preceding events. Collectively, these interactional units constrain strategic communicative behavior. The differential combination of these units represents categories of social situations which a speaker must learn to recognize:

> Children learn to categorize situations into interactional units in which a particular strategy may be more advantagious than some other. In this way a child develops a repertoire of appropriate behaviors for particular communication situations (Wood, 1976, p. 255).

The characteristics of each situational element is a major source of information which can assist the child in making the appropriate message choice. In general, the child scans the communication situation and monitors relevant cues which are then used to guide strategy selection. The child then constructs a mental scheme which permits her/him to associate those salient situational characteristics with the appropriate strategy in her/his repertoire. In this way the children's selection of an appropriate strategy is constrained by the specific social situation with which they are confonted (Goffman, 1963; Hymes, 1971; Labov, 1970).

The situational element, participants, has been manipulated as an experimental variable in numerous investigations of children's development of persuasive skills. These studies, traditionally, have examined subjects' ability to vary their selection of persuasive appeals to different targets. As argued in this section, children's ability to adapt their communication to different listeners develops from a global recognition of observable, concrete characteristics to an appreciation of a listener's internal psychological make-up.

The listener-characteristics most frequently investigated in studies of target differentiation are: age, status/authority, and intimacy/familiarity. In one of the early research efforts directed at the investigation of the relationship between social cognitive abilities and interpersonal control, Wood, Weinstein, and Parker (1967) explored the development of persuasive strategies used by children (kindergarten through third grade) who were attempting to shape the responses of three different targets: mother, peer, and teacher.

According to Wood et al.s' design, subjects were asked to compose a persuasive message that would insure the target's compliance to a hypothetical communication situation. A second measure required subjects to give a rationale for their chosen persuasive tactics.

Wood et al.s' data were analyzed according to two a priori category schemes. According to predictions, the results supported an age related difference in persuasive tactic usage as a function of the intended target. The authors' argue that this target differentiation was the result of the subjects' increasing awareness of the targets' perspectives. However, no clear developmental hierarchy was evident in the five categories of tactics employed in scoring the data.

All groups employed different tactics as a function of the target they intended to manipulate. Simple requests were used most often with best friend and mother. All categories were used with about equal frequency with teacher, suggesting a lack of consensus as to the method most appropriate for dealing with her (Wood et al, 1967). The authors suggest this difference demonstrates that subjects expect mother and friend to comply on the basis of familial relations or social pressure. In contrast, the teacher (unfamiliar target) is not expected to conform to such expectations creating uncertainty as to which strategy would be the most effective.

The rationales provided by the subjects were coded according to a three category system: hedonism--reliance on personal needs or desires and their gratification, obligation to norm invocation--compliance based on role expectations, and no rationale. Subjects' ability to provide a rationale for their tactics did increase with age; but, due to the lack of sophistication of the categorization scheme for this variable, the results are not easily interpreted.

In light of recent research, Wood et al.s' coding schemes for both the interpersonal tactics and the subjects' rationales are somewhat naive, and obviously lack the conceptual clarity to adequately address the areas of concern: the development of the the reasoning about tactics of interpersonal control. This limitation, in part, may account for the questionable nature of the study's results. The design and impetus for the study, however, are still entirely valid. The use of both message protocols and subjects' rationales as indices of persuasion and role-taking development provides a cognitive and behavioral means for interpreting the concepts of communication and listener-adaptation.

In a similar study Finley and Humphreys (1971) investigated five-, seven-, and nine-year-old girls' differential use of persuasive appeals as a function of two different targets. In this study subjects were asked to perform the same persuasive task with two different targets: mother and best friend.

Finley and Humphreys' results indicate that older children tend to modify their messages to the different targets, but that younger children employ the same appeal with both targets. The authors interpret these findings as demonstrating the younger subjects' inability to appreciate the differing perspectives of their listeners.

The authors suggest their results may indicate a "carry over" effect created by the repetition of a identical task across two targets. The younger children, after responding to the first target, may employ the same message for use with the second target because of the strategy's prominence in their memory and/or its ease of access. Therefore, the results are possibly an artifact of the experimental design and not necessarily attributable to the "persuasive egocentrism" of the younger subjects. This criticism highlights the necessity to use suffeciently different persuasive tasks especially when younger children are used for subjects.

In a more sophisticated and ambitious study of the development of persuasion, Flavell et al. (1968) investigated the developmental relationship between role-taking skills and persuasive communication. In this exploratory study, children's (third-, seventh-, and eleventh-grade) ability to formulate and produce spontaneous persuasive messages was examined. Persuasive development was defined in terms of four different measurements: (1) the number of different arguments employed, (2) the different types of arguments constructed, (3) the level of persuasive effectiveness, and (4) the degree of persuasive pressure in a subject's message (i.e., soft versus hard sell).

Of the four measures listed above, number of arguments, persuasive effectiveness, and persuasive pressure were scored according to subjective criteria. No operationalized guidelines were provided for the coders. An inductively derived category system was employed to categorize the types of arguments. Flavell et al.s' categories were:

1) Personalization--an appeal which addresses the particular attributes of the target.
2) Prestige--an appeal which implies that a target's self esteem will increase as a result of compliance.
3) Advantage to others--an appeal which references the benefits that a target will receive upon compliance.
4) Economic objections--an appeal designed to anticipate the target's resistance and provide counterarguments.
5) Bandwagon--an appeal which informs the target that noncompliance will be inconsistent with some social norm.

Flavell and colleagues reported that sizes of children's persuasive repetoires were strongly age dependent. This relationship, however, was not statistically significant. That is, the number and variety of appeals used by subjects displayed a tendency to increase with age, but the observed trend was not strong enough to achieve statistical support. Persuasive effectiveness increased significantly with age. No interpretable findings were advanced for the soft/hard sell measure.

Even though Flavell et al.s' findings are rather weak in support of the expected relationship, the authors still interpret their findings as supporting the relationship between persuasive repertoire size and the growth of role-taking skills.

There are a number of potential weaknesses associated with the Flavell et al. study. First, the study relies heavily on quantitative measures as an index of role-taking develcpment. The authors argue that an extensive repertoire implies previously achieved role-taking behavior; a subject developed a "rich repertoire" as a result of encountering a variety of persuasive situations in which the persuader was required to imagine, in advance, the listener's responses and construct messages adequately adapted to the anticipated listener-objections. This conceptualization appears to be logical; however, it is not necessarily accurate. A subject may have acquired a large, rich repertoire as a result of imitation or trial and error experimentation. Role-taking skills are not essential for either of these two alternative means of elaborating one's persuasive repertoire.

A second limitation stems from the method used to score effectiveness and persuasive pressure. Operational definition were not provided for these variables, nor were systematic criteria developed to guide the coding of data relevant to these two variables. Each judge was responsible for generating his/her own definition and set of criteria. This subjective, impressionistic analysis clouds the interpretation and generalizability of Flavell et al.s' findings.

Finally, attempts to assess the relationship between subjects' role-taking skills and their persuasive performance was dependent on <u>one</u> source of data, the persuasive message strategies. No attempt was made to link communication behaviors to underlying social cognitive processes. The persuasive messages served as a measure of persuasive development <u>and</u> development of role-taking.

In these early investigations, the relationship between social role-taking and listener-adapted persuasive appeals was rather uncertain (Wood,

Weinstein, & Parker, 1967; Flavell, et al, 1968; Finley & Humphreys, 1971; Piche et al, 1975). Clark and Delia suggest that this relationship appeared tenuous due to the method used to code the functional persuasive strategies. In response to this criticism, Clark and Delia developed a system for coding persuasive strategies according to the underlying level of perspective-taking which various strategies reflect. This system indexed strategies along two dimensions: (1) the form of the request (simple statement of request through request statements which acknowledge the desires of the persuadee), and (2) support for request (nonsupport requests through request that reference advantage to the other). The dimensions were divided into four levels. Strategies coded at the lowest level reflect no awareness of the target's perspective. These messages are characterized by unelaborated, unsupported simple requests. Coded at the second level are those persuasive messages which demonstrate an awareness of the target's perspective, but offer no advantages to the target. A typical message at this level would stress or elaborate the agent's needs or desires, but would not show adaptation to the target's needs or desires. Messages at the third level are distinguished by the anticipation and refutation of counterarguments. At this level the messages show the agent's growing awareness of the target's perspective. The agent focuses on the apprehension of the possible objections a target may have and constructs a message designed to forestall these obstructions. The highest level designates messages that offer advantages to the target for compliance. In this way, the agent places primary emphasis on the other's perspective. Clark and Delia's system exhibits a strong similarity to the typology of persuasive arguments composed by Flavell et al. (1968).

FIGURE 1

Flavell et al.s' and Clark and Delia's Typologies of Persuasive Appeals

Flavell et al. (1968)	Clark and Delia (1976)
1. Unelaborated Appeal[6]	1. Statement of Desire or Need (Level 1)
2. Bandwagon	2. Matter of Right (Level 1)
3. Economic Objections	3. Acknowledging Counter-arguments (Level 2)
4. Advantage to Others	4. General Advantage (Level 3)
5. Personalization	5. Specific Advantage (Level 3)
6. Prestige	6. Articulation of Advantage (Level 3)

The results of Clark and Delia's study revealed that the use of persuasive strategies reflecting higher increments of perspective-taking skills increased as a function of age. The total number of arguments employed and the total number of different arguments produced also increased with age. The largest age-related increase in the development of persuasive strategy levels occurred between first-and second-grade subjects. The authors interpret this difference in performance as reflecting the shift from pre-operational to concrete-operational thought (Delia, Kline, & Burleson, 1979; Clark & Delia, 1976). Furthermore, a significant effect due to task was found. This unexpected result showed that in response to the "puppy task," subjects

employed higher order strategies than on either of the other tasks.

The critical difference between the "puppy task" and the other two persuasion situations presented in the research was the degree of familiarity of the persuader with the persuadee. The target in the puppy task was an "unfamiliar woman." The targets in the other two persuasion situations were mother and parent. The disproportionate familiarity of these two targets in comparison to an unfamiliar woman may have confounded the results.

Since the puppy task was always completed after the other two persuasive tasks, Clark and Delia acknowledge the possibility that differences in the levels of strategies employed as a function of the task-situation could be due to learning effects. However, Clark and Delia also offer an alternative interpretation for subjects' superior performance on the puppy task. Clark and Delia suggest that the degree of message elaboration may be determined by the predictability of the target's response. The necessity to elaborate a persuasive appeal, when used with an unfamiliar target, stems from the agent's inability to economically predict the target's possible objections to compliance; whereas, the persuader should be able to limit the range of effective strategies when appealing to a familiar persuadee (Delia, Kline, & Burleson, 1979).

One limitation to the Clark and Delia study warrants attention. The authors admit to a competence-performance problem in their coding system. Children may choose to employ a lower-level strategy, even though they are developmentally capable of producing a higher-level strategy. Clark and Delia explain:

> (I)f a child felt that his mother valued his welfare over her own, he might elect to use statement of his needs and desires rather than advantage to others (1976, p. 1010).

The authors also suggest that this false-negative effect is possible, but the opposite is not likely. It is hard to imagine how or why subjects would be able to use a strategy that they are developmentally incapable of producing.[7]

A number of studies have employed Clark and Delia's (1976) methodological approach (Delia, Kline, & Burleson, 1979; O'Keefe & Delia, 1979; Ritter, 1979; Applegate & Delia, 1980; Haslett, 1983). The majority of the findings from these studies further verify the developmental progression of individuals' persuasive repertoires.

One study in particular, Delia, Kline and Burleson (1979), extended the findings and refined the coding system posited by Clark and Delia (1976). Delia et al.'s (1979) system for analyzing persuasive strategies was composed of three major levels. Each level was divided into three sub-levels creating a nine-level heirarchy (Appendix A). Delia et al.s' modification of Clark and Delia's system maintained the general focus of the original shceme. Delia et als' later scheme, however, is capable of dealing with a wider age range. The revised system permits the coding of messages produced by kindergarten children through late adolescence.

The findings of Delia et al.s' study are complementary to the findings of Clark and Delia's (1976) research. Children were found to employ strategies reflecting progressively advanced levels of role-taking skill as a function of increasing age. Delia et al. (1979) further demonstrated that communicators employ significantly more developmentally advanced persuasive strategies with an unfamiliar target than with a familiar target (Delia et al, 1979).

The strength of Clark and Delia's study lies in their coding scheme. This hierarchical ordering of persuasive strategies according to the underlying role-taking skills implied in the strategies themselves permits the examination of both the cognitive and social-behavioral representation of the persuasive

appeals. It has been noted that Clark and Delia's (1976) stages of persuasive communication development are not specifically age related but reflect the sequential acquisition of cognitive abilities which develop, in part, independent of age (Higginbotham, 1982).

The reliance on one source of data to assess role-taking development and persuasive communication development is a potential weakness of Clark and Delia's methodology. A separate method should be employed to assess the development of role-taking skills. This measure should be communication-related, but not synonomous with the persuasive protocols. One alternative would be the use of a meta-cognitive measure; Howie-Day (1977) offers a means for analyzing how children reason about persuasive communication or metapersuasion .

Howie-Day (1977), in a study of the ontogenesis of metapersuasion, investigated the information processing that occurs when a communicator engages in compliance-gaining behaviors. In her study, Howie-Day assessed subjects' ability to judge the appropriateness of persuasive strategies for specific communication situations. The major communication-relevant characteristic in each situation was the target. Three different targets were employed: mother, peer and younger child. All subjects were found to modify their selection of listener-appropriate strategies as a function of the intended target. The selection of more sophisticated strategies for use with differeing targets increased with age.

Subjects in the Howie-Day research were asked to provide an explanation or rationale for their choice of strategy. The addition of subjects' rationale for strategy use tended to aleviate the "competence-performance" problem present in previous persuasive communication development research (Flavell et al, 1968; Clark & Delia, 1976; Delia, Kline, & Burleson, 1979). For instance,

the selection of a simpler, unelaborated appeal was often accompanied by a complex, role-taking mediated explanation justifying the selection of the less sophisticated strategy. In this manner, the subjects' covert processes (i.e., inferential abilities) were manifest for more clear analysis.

A coding scheme based on Flavell et al.s' (1968) theoretical conceptualization of role-taking development was employed by Howie-Day. This scheme was used to classify subjects' rationales according to the degree of social cognitive awareness present in their justifications. The categories range from the simple description of the objective situation, to complex social inferences of another's inner psychological make-up. Inherent in this meta-cognitive analysis is a focus on the underlying social cognitive processes that to a large degree direct persuasive communication behavior, and not solely content of the verbal messages.

Howie-Day's (1977) classification system consists of seven "global" classes. They are as follows:

1) No rationale offered
2) Description of obvious situational conditions governing the agent's strategic choice.
3) Reference to standards such as personal preference or citing the social desirability/undesirability of behaviors manifest in the strategy.
4) External inferences about past events or future consequences which lead the persuader to make a specific choice of stragegy.
5) Internal inferences about the affective or cognitive state of the intended target.
6) Interpersonal perceptual inferences in which the agent hypothesizes

about an interactant's perceptions of another interactant's internal states.

7) Residue statements which are unable to be classified in any other category (Howie-Day, 1977).

A thorough explication of Howie-Days coding system including examples and definitions is provided in Appendix B.

Two of the measures utilized by Howie-Day to analyze the rationale data were the number of reasons a subject offers and the level of social cognitive thought reflected in each reason.

As hypothesized, there was an age-related increase in the number of reasons subjects generated. The mean number of reasons generated by the oldest subjects (20-years-old) was under two per subject ($\bar{X}$ = 1.69); while, the mean number of reasons generated by the youngest subjects (7-years-old) was just over one reason per subject ($\bar{X}$ = 1.04). Even though the number of reasons advanced by subjects differed significantly ($p.<.001$) as a function of age, the magnitude of the difference does not suggest a strong argument, based on face validity, in favor of a quantitative measure as a means of assessing the development of meta-cognitive abilities.

The logic of a quantitative measure assumes that the construction of one reason is not as developmentally progressive as the construction of two reasons. Conceptually, however, one reason coded at level-seven of Howie-Day's scheme may be considered developmentally superior to seven reasons coded at level-one.

The results of the second meta-cognitive measure showed an increase with age in the use of higher level reason categories. Few of the seven-year-old subjects used reasons coded at the inference levels (4, 5, and

6) of Howie-Day's coding system. The modal categories used by the seven-year-old subjects were description and personal preference/social desirability. Both the thirteen-year-old and the twenty-year-old subjects tended to employ reasons coded at the inference levels.

The major problem with Howie-Day's investigation is its restricted focus. The metapersuasion emphasis concentrates solely on the cognitive aspects of role-taking and persuasive communication. The study does not address the behavioral elements involved in constructing listener-adapted persuasive messages.

An investigation that attempted to examine both the meta-cognitive and behavioral aspects of persuasive communication was conducted by Alvy (1977). Alvy (1977) looked at how children develop and use assumptions about their receiver's emotional characteristics in generating listener-adapted communication (i.e., persuasive strategies). Alvy hypothesized that subjects' ability to adapt their persuasive communication to the emotional needs of their receivers will increase with age.

The task employed consisted of six hypothetical situations. For each situation the subject was required to produce an oral, persuasive message. The hypothetical situations were accompanied by two 11 X 14 inch line-drawings. These drawings represented the listeners. The listeners for each situation differed in their emotional characteristics. The child was instructed to talk to each of the characters in the drawing. Subjects were alerted to the communication-relevant characteristics of the listeners in an attempt to trigger the subjects's communication adaptation.

The method of analyzing the data included: (1) describing the linguistic changes as a result of changing characteristics of the intended target, (2) examining how important the child perceived the differences in the listeners'

emotional states to be, and (3) evaluating how children explained their changes in communication as a result of changing targets (i.e., rationale for strategy adaptation).

The results showed a quantitative difference in listener-adapted communication as a function of age. The largest increase in listener adapted-communication occurred between the ages of six- and nine-years-old. There was also a significant effect due to sex of subject. Girls beyond the age of six showed more communication adaptation to the listeners' emotional characteristics than did boy of the same age.

In the qualitative measures, Alvy found that younger children's assumptions about the listeners' emotional characteristics tended to be less complex. The younger children's assumptions focused mainly on the behavioral reactions they believed would result from the emotional characteristics of the listener. For example, a child will expect an unpleasant man not to comply because of his overt disposition. Therefore, these subjects employ simple adaptations, such as including "please" in their message, as a means of gaining compliance.

Older children were more concerned with the potential reasons for the listeners' emotional characteristics. They utilized these assumptions in attempts to subtlely manipulate aspects of the communication situation.

In the meta-cognitive analysis, older children were better able to explain the reasons supporting their message adaptations. This suggests a greater degree of understanding of the adaptation process by the older children. Alvy suggests that the realization that assumptions about relevant listener characteristics are instrumental in achieving one's communicative intentions is a crucial step in the development of listener-adapted communication.

Delia and Clark (1979) criticise Alvy's research arguing that his design

does not assess the developmental relationship between role-taking and communication adaptation. The subjects in Alvy's study were not required to inferentially apprehend the communication-relevant characteristics of the intended target; they were explicitly alerted to them.

Delia and Clark (1979) replicated Alvy's multisituational-task research, and made some modifications in the method of administering Alvy's tasks. Subjects in Delia and Clark's study were asked to: (1) spontaneously describe each listener, (2) construct a message designed to fulfill the requirements of the interpersonal task, and (3) explain how differences between the listener's emotional characteristics affected their construction of persuasive messages. This procedure avoided alerting the subjects to the communication-relevant characteristics of the listeners, and required the subjects to recognize these attributes without prompting.

Based on their results, Delia and Clark (1979) argue that the ability to apprehend communication-relevant characteristics of an intended listener is a "necessary," but not "sufficient" condition for the production of adaptive communication. They conclude that as subjects' sensitivity to listeners' covert states increase the proclivity to produce listener-adapted communication also increases. In contrast, awareness of listener characteristics does not ensure this inferred information will result in message modification. In a more recent study of the development of the processes of social influence, Haslett (1983) examined preschoolers' ability to gain compliance from peers. Her investigation focused on the systematic analysis of children's use of compliance-gaining strategies in their attempts to handle conflict. Haslett employed the combination of two popular research perspectives; one which examines the development of the level of persuasiveness in children's compliance-gaining attempts (Clark & Delia, 1976; Delia et al, 1979; Delia &

Clark, 1979), and the second perspective, a sociolinguistic analysis, emphasizes the detection of discourse rules that organize and pattern speech into meaningful episodes (Garvey, 1975; Brenneis & Lein, 1977; Ervin-Tripp, 1977; Mitchell-Kernan & Kernan, 1977; Eisenberg & Garvey, 1981).

In Haslett's study, children (two-, three-, four-, and five-years-old) were video taped during free play time at a day care center. This data was transcribed and coded into communicative episodes. Only those episodes involving conflict were analyzed. Conflict episodes were defined as communicative situations which displayed an:

> expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties, who perceive incompatible goals, scarce rewards, and interference from the other party in achieving their goals (Frost & Wilmot, 1978, p. 9).

As noted by Haslett, this operationalization makes explicit reference to the incompatibility of interactants' aims and goals.

Bernneis and Lein's (1977) sociolinguistic model for settling disputes served as the coding scheme for Haslett's data. The unique element associated with Bernneis and Lein's system is the two major content areas into which their dispute strategies are categorized. The first category, active strategies, are strategies which do not rely on prior statements for their constructive impetus (e.g., threats, bribes, insults). They are adaptive and flexible in when and how they can be used. Reactive strategies, the second category of dispute strategies, are statements that relate to or are about prior strategies (e.g., denials, demands for information, supportive assertions). They are less adaptive than active strategies, and are restricted in their use.

Haslett's research resulted in three general findings. First, children use more different compliance-gaining strategies with increasing age.

Two-year-olds employed only four different types of strategies, whereas five-year-olds employed fourteen different types of strategies. Second, with increasing age, children's compliance-gaining strategies reflected increased adaptation to the target's perspective. Delia et al.'s (1979) hierarchical coding system and Eisenberg and Garvey's (1981) criteria for communicative adaptation were used to evaluate the level of adaptation represented in subjects' persuasive strategies. Eisenberg and Garvey's model is based on the amount and quality of "new information" revealed in an interactant's compliance-gaining strategy. As discussed earlier in this section, Delia's model reflects the underlying level of perspective-taking which a strategy discloses. However, a recent study by O'Keefe and Delia (1982) reconceptualized Delia's coding scheme. According to this reconceptualization, the message hierarchy represents a developmental proclivity to cope with communicative situations in a multi-dimensional fashion continually increasing the number of obstacles and aims recognized and reconciled in one's communicative strategies. O'Keefe and Delia suggest that an individual has three basic techniques for reconciling competing aims: (1) give one aim precedence over other aims (selection); (2) address each aim temporally or behaviorally separately; (3) advance multiple aims simultaneously in the same message (integration).

A recasting of Haslett's data according to O'Keefe's coding scheme results in the third general finding advanced by the Haslett study. Children show a developmental shift in their ability to deal with competing aims and obstacles in conflict situations. The youngest subjects tended to focus on only one aspect of the conflict (winning) and they generally employed a reactive strategy (physical force) in attempts to accomplish that end. Older subjects typically employed a series of active messages providing information and necessary support for their position. These subjects also integrated multiple

aims into their messages (e.g., winning, saving own face, damaging coponent's face).

Haslett's work represents an innovative contribution to the research that focuses on the development of compliance behaviors. Her investigation extends the communication context in which compliance-gaining behaviors are analyzed. Haslett examined compliance-gaining in the context of conflict episodes rather than the traditional one-way approach in which an active persuader constructs a persuasive message to be consummed by a passive receiver. Her investigative approach focuses on the transactional nature of the compliance process. It alludes to the "reciprocal influence" and "interdependence" of participants (e.g., active and reactive strategies). Haslett's research perspective explicitly recognized that subjects possessed goals and aims which were incompatible with the goals and aims of other subjects, and that these competing orientations needed to be reconciled through the use of more adaptive strategies.

Methodologically, Haslett uses two measures to evaluate a subject's communication adaptation: (1) Delia's heirarchial coding scheme, and (2) Eisenberg and Garvey's criteria for communication adaptiveness. The use of two measures not only provides a double check on adaptation, it also permits the integration of two complementary communication-relevant approaches.

The use of a naturalistic approach has its advantages and disadvantages. Naturalistic observations can provide data that complement and clarify experimental studies; however, naturalistic-exploratory studies can be significantly limited in their ability to test hypotheses. These observational studies may serve a more appropriate role in generating hypotheses to be tested by more controlled experimental research.

Due to its ethnographic approach, Haslett's study imposed little control

on the data collection process. Hence, the results can not be clearly attributed to any one specific influence. For example, the number of participants, the longevity of the conflict episode, the relative status of the conflict participants and the sequential influence of alternative compliance-gaining messages are just a few variables that were neither considered in the collection nor the analysis process. This lack of control forbids the answering of such research questions as: How did initial compliance-gaining attempts differ strategically from non-compliant responses? Were reactive strategies employed more by younger subjects because older subjects directed more requests to younger participants? Do competent compliance-gaining skills presuppose competent compliance-resisting skills?

In sum, the preceding review suggests a number of developmental trends that appear with some consistency in the acquiring of compliance-gaining behaviors. First, research consistently shows that the size of a child's repertoire of compliance-gaining strategies increases with age. These findings report two general age-related increases: the number of strategies a subject employs for a given persuasive task increases with age and the number of different types of strategies a subject employs also increases with age (Wood, Weinstein, & Parker, 1967; Alvy, 1973; Finley & Humphreys, 1974; Clark & Delia, 1976, 1977; Haslett, 1983).

An additional finding emphasizes an age-related increase in children's degree of strategy differentiation across targets. Children as young as six display the ability to differentiate strategy use across differing targets (Wood et al, 1967; Flavell et al, 1968; Alvy, 1973; Clark & Delia, 1976, 1977; Delia & Clark, 1977; Howie-Day, 1977).

children's ability to use more elaborated and sophisticated persuasive

strategies with increasing age is one of the most striking findings reported in the literature. It wasn't until Clark and Delia's (1976) study, however, that this developmental trend in persuasive communication was directly linked to the underlying development of a child's role-taking abilities. Later studies show that children's abilities to apprehend communication-relevant attributes in listeners correlates with increases in the child's ability to generate listener adapted persuasive messages (Alvy, 1977; Delia and Clark, 1979; O'Keefe and Delia, 1979).

Studies attempting to assess children's reasoning about their use of persuasive strategies suggests that with increasing age the rationales offered by subjects become more complex. Older children are also more concerned with the listeners' covert characteristics than with their physical attributes (Alvy, 1977; Delia & Clark, 1979; O'Keefe & Delia, 1979).

Finally, the preceding review suggests some methodological considerations that may be advantageous to subsequent research. First, when investigating the relationship between a subjects' role-taking abilities and their development of compliance behaviors, more than one source of data should be used. Measurement should include an assessment of the social-behavioral (messages) and the cognitive (reasoning about messages) aspects of the projected relationship. O'Keefe and Delia (1979) argue:

> (T)he degree of perspective-taking implied in participants' arguments and appeals can never be determined unequivocally by only examining the messages since similar verbal statements may relfect different strategic choices (p. 238).

The choice of strategy may also, according to Clark and Delia (1976), involve a false-negative effect in which the subjects employ a strategy that

underestimates their "true" level of development.

A number of authors recommend the use of a meta-cognitive measure that permits the analysis of the underlying social cognitive processes associated with compliance behaviors (Flavell et al, 1968; Alvy, 1971; Howie-Day, 1977; O'Keefe & Delia, 1979). This type of measure should not be used as a substitute for the social-behavioral measures, but as a supplement to them.

Second, investigations examining the development of compliance behaviors should avoid a linear, unidirectional approach to the process of social influence. Research needs to expand its focus to encompass the notion of interaction and the mutual interdependence of the agent-target roles.

In order to fully understand the process of social influence, research must examine the tactics and resources available to the target as well as the agent. The following section reviews the literature related to the compliance-resisting process.

The Nature of Compliance-Resisting

Most of the research efforts focusing on the explication of the social influence process have been limited to experimental analysis of the actions and resources available to the persuader. This one-way approach confines our understanding of persuasion to a cause--effect relationship; the persuader acts and the persuadee responds. The reciprocal, interdependence between the participants of this type of communicative interaction is not captured by this unidirectional approach. Berlo (1977) explains the benefits of adopting an interactional approach to the study of communication.

> If we look on the "source" as intentional and initiatory and the "receiver" as passive and a receptive container--e.g., if the message is stimulus and the effect is response--the

> relationship is directional. On the other hand, if the relationship is one in which both users approach the engagement with expectations, plans, and anticipation, the uncertainty reduction attributable to the contact may better be understood in terms of how one person uses the contact to direct the other (p. 20).

Previous sections of this chapter have concentrated on elucidating the major trends in the development of compliance-gaining behaviors. The following section is devoted to a review of research relevant to the other side of the compliance process, compliance-resisting behaviors.

Compliance-Resisting and Conflict

Compliance-resisting can be viewed as "reflexive persuasion." Resistance strategies are messages constructed by the persuadee as s/he assumes the role of the persuader in an attempt to secure the initial persuader's acceptance of her/his unvillingness to assent to the conditions of a compliance-gaining appeal. According to the foregoing conceptualization, compliance-resisting can be considered a "special type" of interpersonal conflict.

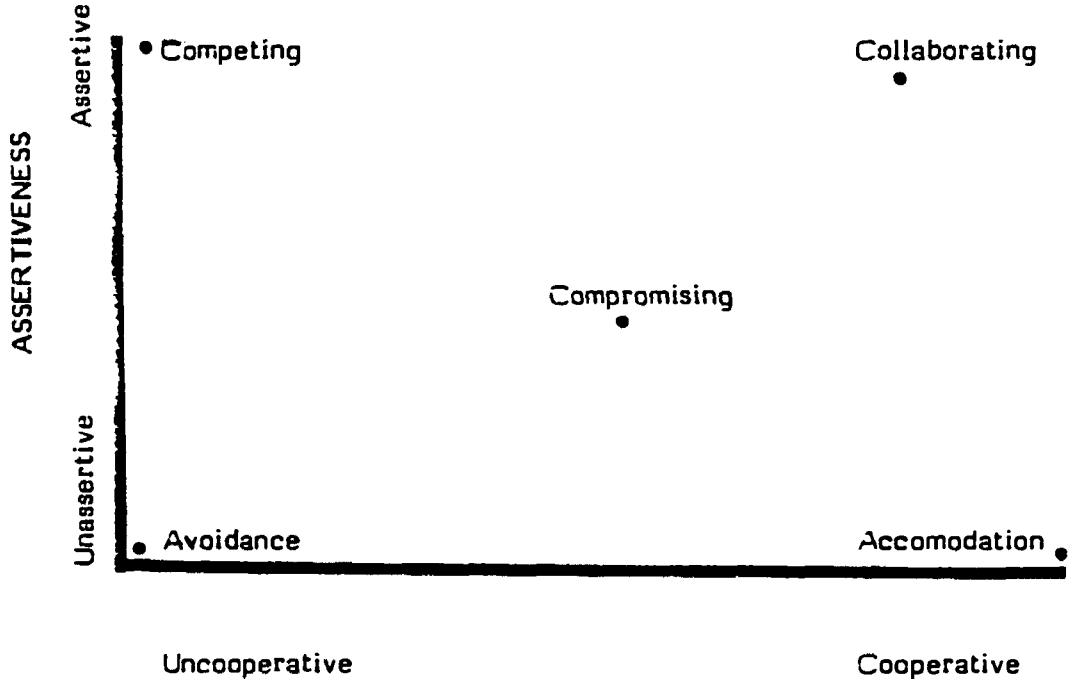
Compliance-resisting is not self-initiated; it results from the incompatibility between the agent's request and the target's unwillingness to fulfill the conditions requisite in the request. This view of compliance-resisting is harmonious with the basic tenets of conflict. Conflict has been defined as the "expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce rewards, and interference from the other party in achieving their goals" (Frost & Wilmot, 1978, p. 9). Therefore, findings from theoretical and empirical research on conflict behaviors may enhance our understanding of compliance-resisting activities.

Based on the work of Thomas (1976) and others (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Hall, 1969; Jamieson & Thomas, 1974), conflict behaviors have been categorized according to two goal-facilitating dimensions: concern for relationships or others and concern for self or personal goals. Ruble and Thomas (1976) proposed a two dimensional model of conflict behaviors: assertiveness, conceptualized as a predisposition to satisfy one's own objectives, and cooperativeness, characterized as a preference for accommodating to the concerns of other. This model provides the basis for five theoretically different modes of handling conflict: avoidance (unassertive, uncooperative), competition (assertive, uncooperative), accommodation (unassertive, cooperative), collaborative (assertive, cooperative), and compromise (intermediate assertiveness and cooperativeness) (Ruble and Thomas, 1976) (see Figure 2.). The five different modes identified by the model represent styles of managing conflict and not specific strategies that may reflect these styles.

Fitzpatrick and Winke (1979), in a study which examined how interactants gain control in a "significant interpersonal relationship," delineated five strategies of relational conflict resolution. The strategies identified were: non-negotiation (dogmaticly asserts own position and avoids any discussion of divergent points-of-view), emotional appeals (the use of indirect tactics such as, pouting, crying, sulking to petition the target's compliance), personal rejection (indirectly attacking the self-worth of the intended target by ignoring or withholding affection), manipulation (attempts to place the target in a "good frame of mind" before making request), and empathetic understanding (attempts to understand the other's perspective via mutual talks).

FIGURE 2

MODEL OF CONFLICT BEHAVIOR



In their study, Fitzpatrick and Winke found that same-sex and opposite-sex dyads employed significantly different tactics to manage conflict. The differences appeared to support the assumption that strategy selection is constrained by the relative risk involved in implementation (Tedeschi, 1972). For example, intimates were more likely to use high risk tactics such as emotional appeals and personal rejection as a consequence of reasoning that the high level of relational commitment would inhibit easy relational termination. Those subjects who were less relationally involved employed the less risky strategies of non-negotiation and manipulation.

Males favored control-oriented tactics (non-negotiation), whereas females

preferred strategies which stressed social acuity (personal rejection, empathetic understanding, and emotional appeals). The dimension underlying these female-preferred strategies was argued to result from social role-taking (Fitzpatrick & Winke, 1976). Each of the female-preferred strategies relies on the agent's ability to infer effectively the target's values, emotions, or perspective. The male favored tactic of non-negotiation, on the other hand, implies a lack of perspective-taking effort.

The major limitation associated with a conflict orientation to compliance-resisting is its preoccupation with the compliance-gaining aspect of the social influence process. The modes of conflict management (Ruble & Thomas, 1976) and the tactics of conflict resolution (Fitzpatrick & Winke, 1979) stress gaining a controlling influence in the compliance struggle. No attempts were made in either study to distinguish between those behaviors available to the agent and those behaviors available to the target.

Compliance-Resisting Strategies

To date, only two empirical studies have focused directly on those strategic alternatives available to the target of a compliance-gaining appeal (McLaughlin, Cody & Robey, 1980; Cody, O'Hair, & Schneider, 1982). McLaughlin, Cody and Robey (1980) proposed a four category typology of compliance-resisting strategies deductively derived by synthesizing the taxonomic work contained in three previous social influence studies (Fitzpatrick & Winke, 1976; Clark 1979; Cody, McLaughlin, Jordan & Schneider, 1979). The categories identified were:[8]

1) Non-negotiation--inflexible, unapologetic refusal to assent to the agent's request.

2) Identity management--the indirect manipulation of the image of the agent or the target or both, either positively or negatively.

3) Justifying--offering support, based on the projected outcomes of compliance or noncompliance, for one's unwillingness to comply.

4) Negotiation--proposal to engage in mutual talks that hopefully will result in maximized goals for both involved parties.

There is considerable overlap between the typology proposed by McLaughlin et al. (1980) and the taxonomic work of other social influence studies. The non-negotiation categories are identical to the non-negotiation category proposed by Fitzpatrick and Winke (1976). The identity management category obtained by McLaughlin reflects the integration of two strategies suggested by Fitzpatrick and Winke, manipulation and personal rejection. The category, negotiation, obtained by McLaughlin is extremely similar to Fitzpatrick and Winke's empathetic understanding strategy. The major advantage of McLaughlin's typology is the addition of the justification strategy adopted from Clark's (1979) classification variables. The addition of this category permits the analysis of strategies that cite reasons or logical support as the basis for resisting. Furthermore, the subcategories advanced in McLaughlin et al.s' typology are specifically directed at defining compliance-resisting strategies and not compliance-gaining strategies (see Appendix C for a complete listing of compliance-resisting strategies).

In an attempt to examine the influence of situational determinants on her proposed taxonomy, McLaughlin and colleagues had undergraduate subjects rate the likelihood-of-use of each of twenty-one strategies for each of eight communication situations. These situations varied according to the intimacy of the participants (intimate vs. nonintimate); the relational consequence (short- vs. long-term consequences); and the target's right to resist (high vs. low right-to-resist). Each situation concluded with a simple statement--i.e., "I

would like you to do 'X'." The selection of simple statement as the general mode of requesting is based on the empirical finding that first-attempt compliance-gaining efforts most commonly employed simple statements (Cody, McLaughlin, Jordan, & Schneider, 1979).

The findings for McLaughlin et al.s' study are highly complex and no overall patterns are easily discernable. The major trends for each resistance category are briefly explained. The least selected strategy was non-negotiation. Because this strategy poses such a threat to positive relational maintenance, it was rated higher in nonintimate than in intimate situations, and was preferred in short- versus long-term consequences.

In contrast, negotiation strategies were rated highly in all situations. These accommodating strategies received their lowest ratings in nonintimate, long-term, high right-to-resist situations in which the target perceived less costly strategies were available.

Justifying strategies illustrated a tendency to be rated higher in long-term than in short-term consequences conditions. Even when right-to-resist was high, intimates tended to avoid this strategy in short-term situations. The authors suggest this tendency is due to the perceived argumentative nature of the justifying strategy. Intimates preferred to employ a more accommodating strategy.

Finally, identity management strategies were preferred in high intimate, short-term, high right-to-resist situations. This condition provided the target the opportunity to exploit relational commitments by inducing guilt feelings in the agent. This type of strategy, however, was more cautiously employed in long-term consequence conditions due to the possibility of its backfiring and angering the agent. In support of Tedeschi's (1972) assumptions, McLaughlin et al.s' findings suggest that targets carefully consider the relevant situational

characteristics and then select a strategy from their repertoire based on the risk associated with its use.

Cody, O'Hair, and Schneider (1982) replicated and extended McLaughlin et al.s' (1980) research. In their study, Cody et al. compared two methods of investigating strategic communication use: (1) the stragegy preference ratings approach and (2) the message construction approach. The results of this comparison indicated that subjects tended to underrate the likelihood-of-use of anti-social strategies (strategies which have the potential for producing negative relational consequences) and generally overrated the likelihood-of-use of pro-social strategies (strategies that are directed at positive identity management). The authors further argue that these response effects are restricted to only two of five categories of strategies, positive and negative identity management. The two procedures produced similar effects as a result of the two situational variables in the other three types of strategies: justification, negotiation, and non-negotiation strategies. The findings related to the influence of the situational variables, intimacy and right-to-resist, were complementary to McLaughlin et al.s' results.

The most serious deficiencies in these initial studies of compliance-resisting behaviors are related to methodological limitations. First, the employment of the likelihood-of-use technique has been criticized by numerous authors (Clark, 1979; Clark & Delia, 1979; Wiseman & Schenck-Hamlin, 1981; Schenck-Hamlin, Wiseman, & Gorgacarakos, 1982; Cody et al., 1982). This method of examining communication behaviors unnecessarily restricts subjects' responses and may reflect a response bias in which increaes preference ratings are awarded those strategies accommodating more to the target's perspective.

Second, the methodological approach did not include an examination of

the interactive nature of compliance-gaining and compliance-resisting strategies. McLaughlin et al. (1980) suggest "additional research should examine the resistance process by varying the kinds of compliance-gaining strategies the agent initially uses" (p. 35). This expanded approach would more adequately resemble the interactive nature of the social influence process. Targets do not resist situations; they resist specific compliance-gaining appeals generated within the context of specific situations. Therefore, examination of the influential effects of different types of initial compliance-gaining strategies on the selection of compliance-resisting strategies is warranted.

Finally, previous compliance resistance research limited its focus to the study of adult competence. Research should systematically examine the development of compliance-resisting strategies. How do children of different ages change their use of compliance-resisting strategies?

Development of Compliance-Resisting Behaviors

Based on a sociolinguistic study of children's ability to use and react to requests for action, Garvey (1975) offers some insight into the development of compliance-resisting behaviors. To examine adequately the sequential behaviors involved in the compliance process, Garvey proposed a structural unit, the domain of a request. The request domain is defined as the "scope of discourse within which the attention of the speaker and the addressee is directed to the accomplishment of the request" (Garvey, 1975, p. 49). This domain maps-out the boundries of the request and related behaviors (acknowledgements). Requests and their acknowledgements (i.e., non-compliant responses) follow an optional and obligatory order that suggests the basis for conversational sequencing. According to this structural analysis, speaker and addressee assume complimentary roles that entail reciprocal responsibilities.

This interdependence between interactants and structural elements asserts that previous communicative behaviors within a given request domain will constrain the following behaviors within the same domain.

The request interaction is comprised of two basic complementary behaviors: the request and its acknowledgement. Garvey distinguishes two types of non-compliant acknowledgements: (1) temporizing responses, affirmation of intent to comply, but performance of the requested action(s) is/are postponed; and (2) out-right refusal, unconditional non-compliance. The agent of a request regularly responds differently to these types of resistance tactics. For example, a temporizing response results in the target forestalling any further request attempts and the waiting for the fulfillment of the requested act. In the second case, refusal, the agent either repeats the request or terminates the episode (Garvey, 1975, p. 53).

Garvey's data suggested seven bases for a non-compliant acknowledgement:

1) Target (T) questions the reason for the request (Why should I do "X"?).
2) T is unable to fulfill the conditions of the request (I can't do "X".).
3) T is not willing to perform the requested act (I don't want to do "X".).
4) T does not desire the outcomes that are associated with complying with the request (I don't need "X".).
5) T is not required to comply with the request (I don't have to do "X".).
6) T has rights that conflict with the performing of the requested act (I can't have to "X" because of "Y".).
7) T is not the appropriate recipient of the request (No, you do "X".).

Children as young as four-years-old are aware of these interpersonal meanings that underlie requests, and are able to use these varying reasons to acknowledge and refuse requests for action (Garvey, 1975, p. 61). According to her findings, Garvey suggests that the complementary role structure requires the speaker (S) and the addressee (A) to fulfill reciprocal responsibilities.

> S is responsible for producing an intelligible, reasonable, appropriate and effective request, while A must offer an intelligible, reasonable, appropriate and effective acknowledgement, regardless of whether he wishes to comply or not (1975, p. 63).

Competent requests and competent non-compliant responses require more than syntactic and semantic knowledge ("linguistic competence"). Cognitive operations of inference are necessary to represent mentally the production of an appropriate request of non-compliant response to a request ("social competence") (Garvey, 1975).

In her analysis, Garvey argues that both social-cognitive and linguistic knowledge are required to perform competently in both requests and non-compliant responses. Garvey offers no empirical evidence in support of the relationship between social cognitive abilities and competent compliance resisting behaviors. Her analysis was limited to the explanation of the acquisition of discourse rules. No attempts were made to assess directly the relationship between the development of social cognitive abilities, especially role-taking skills and the child's ability to resist compliance-gaining strategies.

A large body of research supports the contention that the ability to edit effectively and adapt one's message strategies to the needs of a particular

listener increases as a result of cognitive and social maturity (Wood, et al., 1967; Alvy, 1971; Clark & Delia, 1976; Delia, Kline, & Burleson, 1979; O'Keefe & Delia, 1979). No research is available, however, which experimentally examines the relationship between social role-taking and compliance-resisting behaviors. Does the use of compliance resisting strategies reflect progressively higher levels of role-taking abilities as a function of age? Will the growing awareness of an agent's psychological perspective affect the type or quality of compliance resisting strategy which a child selects to employ?

Little empirical research is available which focuses on compliance-resisting behavior. Our understanding of the development of this communicative skill is even more limited. Because of this paucity, research should focus on the investigation of the resistance process, specifically focusing on the relationship between compliance resisting skills and the development of social role-taking abilities.

The present investigation is an initial step in providing a systematic analysis of the development of verbal compliance-resisting strategies and the relationship of this communication behavior to the development of social role-taking abilities.

In sum, the preceding chapter reviewed a number of studies relevant to the development of compliance resisting competence. This research generally suggests that children develop from an egocentric, centrated, less differentiated way of thinking and communicating toward a more flexible, decentered, differentiated form of thought and message generation. The majority of the communication-related research argues that this development is due, in part, to the child's developing ability to assume another's perspective, or to role-take.

Although there is some inconsistency in the empirical evidence supporting a functional relationship between role-taking abilities and communication effectiveness, this lack of support may be due to a methodological limitation rather than a conceptual problem. Much of the available research on role-taking and communication effectiveness assumes that the ability to apprehend another's perspective inevitable results in appropriate message adaptation. Thus, traditional methods of measuring role-taking and communication (e.g., referential communication tasks and story analysis tasks) have relied on one set of data to measure both concepts.

Flavell et al.s' (1968) model, outlining the interpersonal competencies required for successful social inference, emphasizes the information processing or the underlying requirements of social cognitive role-taking, rather than examining only the message protocols found in subjects' responses to experimental tasks. This change of focus stresses the motivational and cognitive components of role-taking and not just the behavioral elements of the process.

Communication research has historically viewed the social influence process as a "linear, unidirectional" activity. This limited paradigm discounts the interdependent, reciprocal nature of the social influence process. The compliance-gaining approach has recently offered an alternative research paradigm. In contrast to previous persuasive research, the compliance-gaining approach focuses on message selection rather than message impact. The empirical efforts employing this approach have been concerned with the development of taxonomies of compliance-gaining strategies and the effect of relevant situational and personality variables on the selection of specific strategies.

Methodologically, compliance-gaining research has employed two

approaches for developing taxonomies of compliance-gaining strategies: deductive and inductive. Findings within these two approaches are rather well established.

The deductive approach is limited by methodological and epistomological problems. Epistomologically, the strategies deductively provided may not be exhaustive or representative of subjects' available repertoire of compliance-gaining strategies. In addition, methodologically, the likelihood-of-use technique focuses on the subjects' ability to evaluate strategic effectiveness and not their propensity to employ a given compliance-gaining strategy.

The inductive method, however, provides the subject with the opportunity to construct communication strategies. According to Clark (1979), this technique permits the subject to engage in communication activities more closely approximating actual communication behaviors, and may also provide a better understanding of the subject's available repertoire of communication strategies.

Furthermore, based on an inductive investigation of compliance-gaining behaviors, Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin (1982) offer four criteria for developing appropriate, student-relevant, task-situations: (1) the situation's believability, (2) the situation's importance to the subject, (3) the reasonableness of the required task, and (4) the degree to which the task-situation violates social norms. Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin (1982) in the analysis of subjects' compliance-gaining messages also derived three significant, structural properties of compliance-gaining strategies: (1) explicitness of intent, (2) manipulation of sanction, (3) locus of control. These properties offer a means of systematically relating compliance-gaining strategies.

Research concerned with the development of compliance-gaining behaviors has generally found an age-related increase in the size and sophistication of children's repertoires of persuasive strategies. Other research reports an increase in strategy differentiation across targets as a function of subjects' increasing age. The majority of these studies have argued that these results are attributable to the subjects' increasing awareness of the targets' perspectives. Clark and Delia's (1976) study provides the first direct link between the develoment of a children's persuasive repertoire and their ability to differentiate strategy use across targets. This "direct link" was made possible by a coding system developed by Clark and Delia (1976) which permits the analysis of persuasive strategies according to the degree of perspective taking reflected in various strategies.

One limitation, however, was associated with Clark and Delia's coding scheme. Children may employ a lower-level strategy even though they are cognitively capable of using a higher-level one. This possibility of reversion could result in the underestimation of a child's actual communicative/social perspective-taking competence.

This "false-negative" limitation suggests the need to examine more than one source of data when investigating the relationship between subjects' role-taking abilities and their development of compliance behaviors. The use of a meta-cognitive (thinking about thinking) measure has been suggested by numerous authors as a means of circumventing the "competence-performance" distinction noted in Clark and Delia's (1976) research.

Howie-Day's metapersuasion classification system provided a method of analyzing the social cognitive processes associated with perspective-taking. This system codes subjects' reasoning about their persuasive messages according to the degree of social-cognitive awareness present in their

justifications. In this fashion, role-taking abilities are not measured solely on the content of the verbal persuasive strategies, but are also evaluated in terms of the subjects' reasoning about their strategies.

Most of the research efforts examining the social influence process do not take into account the power tactics available to the persuadee. This cause-effect approach has limited our understanding of the compliance process to only the sender's side of the interaction.

McLaughlin et. al. (1980), in an attempt to remedy this deficiency, proposed a typology of compliance-resisting strategies. This typology differs from previous taxonomic work in that its categories focus explicitly on defining the tactics available to the resister and not the agent of the compliance-gaining appeal. Situational effects associated with this taxonomy are highly complex; this inhibits the positing of clear experimental trends. The major finding of compliance-resisting studies (McLaughlin et al., 1980; Cody et al., 1982) suggests that strategy selection is based on the relevant risk associated with its use (Tedeschi, 1972; McLaughlin et al., 1980).

Two methodological limitations are associated with the available research on compliance-resisting: first, the likelihood-of-use technique employed in the studies unnecessarily restricts subjects' responses and may encourage a preference bias for pro-social strategies; second, research has not examined how compliance-resisting strategy selection will vary as a result of the compliance-gaining strategy used to initiate the appeal. Theoretically, the manner in which an agent initiates requests should have strong implications for the strategic method a target employes to resist. Accordingly, the effects different compliance-gaining strategies have on the selection of specific compliance-resisting strategies should be examined.

Finally, the available literature on compliance resisting is restricted to

the analysis of adult competence. Because of this restricted focus, our understanding of the compliance-resistance process is rather limited. Because of this limitation, research should systematically investigate compliance-resisting from a developmental perspective.

The Present Research

The purpose of the present study is to determine how children of different ages (first-, fourth-, and tenth-grade) use their language to resist persuasion. In the study, the message construction approach was employed. Subjects were required to generate compliance-resisting strategies in response to three communication situations. These situations were developed following the criteria established by Wiseman and Schenck-Hamlin (1981). Each task-situation is associated with a different-age target (mother, best friend, younger sibling). These task-situations concluded with a compliance-gaining appeal which the subject was required to resist. The three strategies which serve as stimuli for the resistance tasks (i.e., simple request, incentive request, and altruistic request) were selected because each clearly illustrated one of the structural properties posited by Wiseman and Schnenck-Hamlin (1982)

Subjects were asked to generate a compliance-resisting strategy and a justification for each of the three task-situations. These compliance-resisting strategies were triggered by a specific compliance-gaining strategy. This procedure allows the communicative task to more closely approximate a naturalistic communicative interaction.

Clark and Delia's (1976) system for classification of persuasive messages in terms of their implied level of role-taking skill was employed in the analysis of the compliance-resisting strategies generated by the compliance-gaining probe.

Howie-Day's (1977) coding system was used to analyze subjects' rationales. Together, these two approaches should work to eliminate the weaknesses each individually possess.

McLaughlin et al's (1980) taxonomy of compliance-resisting strategies was employed to categorize the subjects' resistance behaviors. Even though this typology is deductively generated, there is sufficient inductive support to justify its use.

In attempting to determine whether children's use of compliance resisting behaviors displays developmental trends, the study seeks to answer the following general and specific research questions:

Research Questions

1. Do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of age?
   - 1a. Do subjects' categories of compliance-resisting strategies vary as a function of age?
   - 1b. Does the level of social perspective-taking as reflected in subjects' compliance-resisting strategies and justifications vary as a function of age?
2. Do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of the type of compliance-gaining strategy employed by the agent of the attempt?
   - 2a. Do subjects' categories of compliance-resisting strategies vary as a function of the type of compliance-gaining strategy employed by the agent?
   - 2b. Does the level of perspective-taking as evidenced in the subjects' compliance-resisting strategies and justifications vary as a function of the type of compliance-gaining strategy employed by the agent?

3. Do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of agent of the compliance-gaining attempt?

   3a. Do subjects' categories of compliance-resisting strategies vary as a function of the agent of the compliance-gaining attempt?

   3b. Does the level of social perspective-taking as reflected in subjects' compliance-resisting strategies and justifications vary as a function of the agent of the compliance-gaining attempt?

4. Do Communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of the interaction of subject's age, compliance-gaining agent, and type of compliance-gaining strategy employed?

   4a. Do subjects' categories of compliance-resisting strategies vary as a function of the three factor interaction (age x agent x compliance-gaining strategy)?

   4b. Does the level of social perspective-taking as reflected in subjects' compliance-resisting strategies and justifications vary as a function of the three factor interaction (age x agent x compliance-gaining strategy)?

CHAPTER III

Methods

This section outlines the methods and procedures that were employed to collect and analyze the data for this study. Attention focuses on the following: (1) selection of subjects, (2) explication of research materials, (3) presentation of study format, (4) description and explanation of variables, and (5) explication of data analysis.

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 118 children attending schools in the Oklahoma City Metropolitan area. Children were drawn from each of three age groups. The sample was limited to 36 first-grade, 41 fourth-grade, and 41 tenth-grade subjects. Because testing for the tenth-grade subjects was done during the summer months, the grade level reported represents the grade level the subjects were about to enter.

Materials

The stimulus materials consisted of line-drawings of three common environments (kitchen, TV room, living room). These environments comprised the settings for the compliance-gaining attempts. In addition, each of the task settings included an artists's representation of one of three potential compliance-gaining agents. These agents differed in terms of their age and status (mother, peer, younger child). For convenience, the line-drawings were identified by referencing the appropriate agent appearing in each.

Each drawing was accompanied by a brief scenario which posed a hypothetical communicative interaction that may occur in that setting. All three scenarios concluded with one of three types of compliance-gaining strategies: a simple request, "Will you let me watch my TV show?", an

incentive request, (promise), "If you help me clean up the kitchen, I'll let you stay up an hour later tonight.", or an altruistic requist (invocation of a normative behavior), "You should read a story for me because all the other people who watch me read me a story." For a complete description of each scenario and accompanying requests, see Appendix D.

Procedures

Each subject was brought individually to a quiet room and interviewed by one of three trained interviewers (see Table I). The interviewer first introduced her/himself and explained to the subject that the study was being conducted to see how people avoid doing those things that they do not want to do.

The subject was seated at a small table, informed that the session would be tape-recorded and made familiar with the portable machine. After starting the recorder, the subject was asked a number of demographic questions. The subject then was asked to designate: (1) a favorite TV show, (2) best friend, and (3) what the subjects believed would be a nice favor their best friend could do for them.[9] These questions provided specific stimuli for the scenarios and also served to establish rapport between the subject and the interviewer.

As a verbal pre-test alerting the subjects to the concept under consideration, compliance-resisting, subjects were asked if their best friend had ever requested them to do something they did not want to do. If an affirmative answer was given, the subject was asked to give an example of such a disagreement and how he/she handled it. If an example was not readily available (or if the subject's response was negative) subjects were asked if their mother had ever asked them to do something they did not want to do. All subjects were able to provide an example on this second trial.

Table I

Number of Subjects Tested by Each Interviewer

		Interviewers		
	n	1	2	3
First Grade				
Males	17	7	4	6
Females	19	5	7	7
Fourth Grade				
Males	22	6	7	9
Females	19	8	7	4
Tenth Grade				
Males	25	9	12	4
Females	16	8	3	5

All subjects were presented with a series of three 8 1/2 x 11 line-drawings, each depicting one of three agents (mother, best friend, or younger child) in a common communication environment (see Appendix E). Each drawing was presented separately. The subject was asked to imagine that the agent in the picture represented the appropriate "real person" counterpart. For example, the subject was told, "Imagine the figure in the picture is your mother." The order of presentation of these drawings was randomized across all subjects.

The interviewer read to the subjects a brief scenario designed to establish the specific communicative demands of the situation. This information was followed by the condition-matched compliance-gaining strategy. Then the subjects were asked what resistance strategy they would use to resist the actions requested by the agent, and why that particular strategy was employed.[10]

These procedures were repeated for each of the three pictorial contexts. All responses were tape-recorded for future analysis. At the conclusion of the interview, the subjects were thanked for their assistance. In the case of the elementary school groups, subjects were given a small reward for their participation.

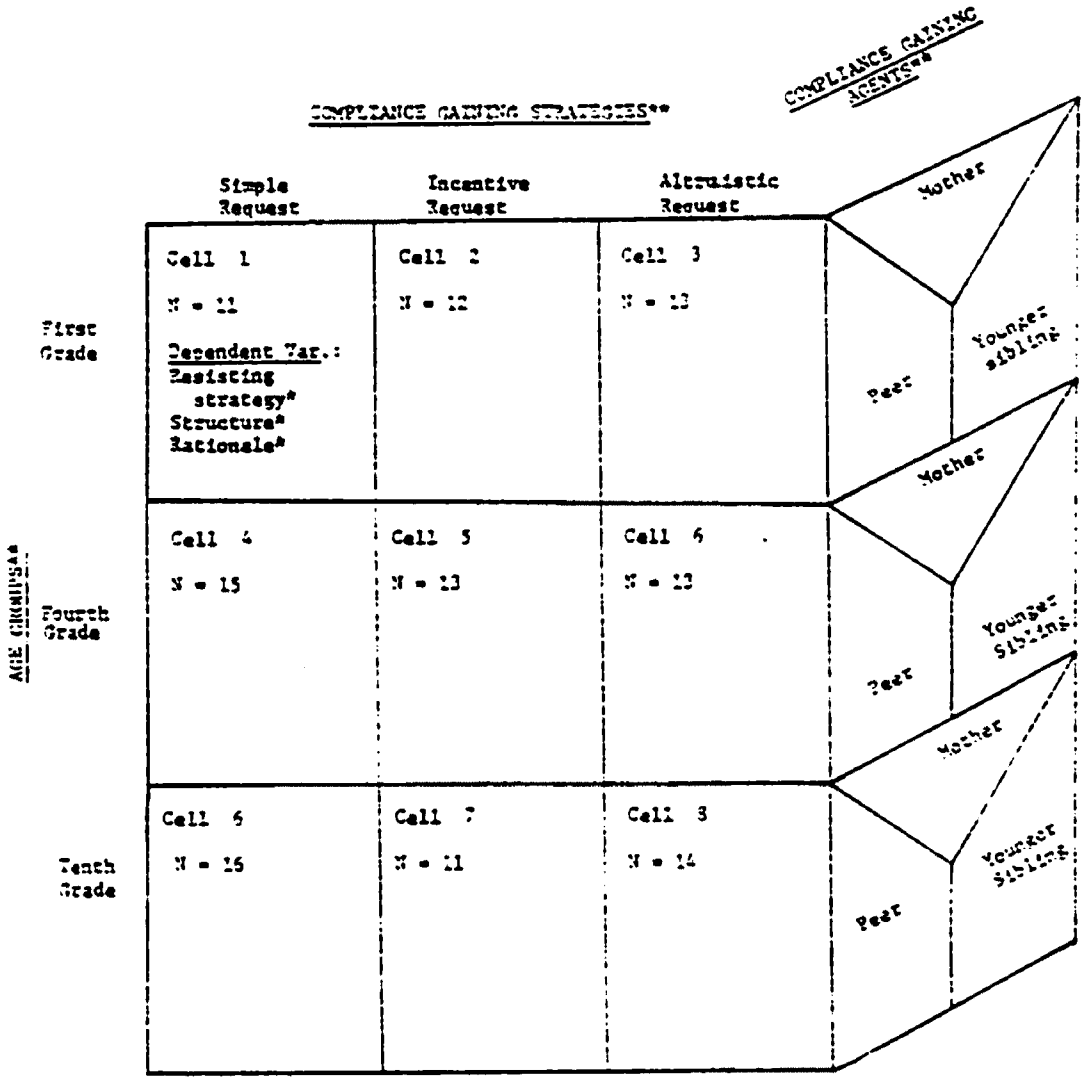
Variables

Figure 3 provides a pictorial synopsis of the variables analyzed in this study. The chart depicts the levels of the three independent variables and the three dependent variables.

Insert Figure 3 about here

Figure 3

Summary of Variables



** These Three measures represent the three independent variables as represented in the research questions.

*These four measures represent the four dependent variables, as represented in the research questions.

Independent Variables

Grade level. Three levels of the attribute variable, grade or age group, were employed. These levels by age were: first-grade (age: $\bar{X}$ = 7.01), fourth-grade (age: $\bar{X}$ = 10.00), and tenth-grade (age: $\bar{X}$ = 16.07). These age groups were selected because their age closely corresponds to Piaget's stages of cognitive development. Also, in previous literature these age groups have demonstrated the greatest developmental progression in comunication performance (Alvy, 1973; Clark & Delia, 1976; Howie-Day, 1977; Delia, Kline, & Burleson, 1979).

Compliance-Gaining Requests. Subjects within each age group were assigned randomly to one of three stimulus conditions: (1) simple request strategy, (2) incentive request strategy, (3) altruistic request strategy (see Table II). These conditions represent the type of compliance-gaining strategy the subjects were asked to resist. The strategy assigned to each subgroup was held constant across all three task-agents. For example, subjects assigned to Condition 1 were asked to resist a simple request from mother, best friend, and younger child. This design feature was employed so as to avoid confounding the effects of the independent variables of age and treatment (i.e., compliance-gaining strategies).

These strategies, which served as stimuli for the resistance task, were selected because each clearly illustrated one of the structural properties posited by Schenck-Hamlin (1982). For example, a simple request stresses message directness associated with the structural property, "explicitness of intent"; an incentive request is characteristic of "manipulation of sanction"; and an altruistic request emphasizes the power of the request as regulated by "other" (norm), and is illustrative of "locus of control."

Compliance-Gaining Agent. Three different age/status persons (mother,

Table II

Number of Subjects Participating in Each Experimental Condition

Groups	n	Interviewers		
		1	2	3
First Grade				
Simple Request	11	3	4	4
Incentive Request	12	5	2	5
Altrustic Request	13	4	5	4
Fourth Grade				
Simple Request	15	6	5	4
Incentive Request	13	4	5	4
Altrustic Request	13	4	4	5
Tenth Grade				
Simple Request	16	6	5	5
Incentive Request	11	4	5	2
Altrustic Request	14	7	5	2

best friend, younger child) were used as potential compliance-gaining agents. Each agent was represented as a shodow figure in a common communication environment. These agents were chosen because they maintain a similar degree of familiarity to the subject, and they also represent the major situational participants typically manipulated in previous investigations of communication development.

Dependent Variables

The present study employed three dependent measures: (1) the category of compliance-resisting strategy employed by the subject (item 1), (2) the level of perspective-taking reflected in the constructed strategy (item 2), and (3) the rationale offered for the employed strategy (item 3). Verbal transcriptions of subjects' responses were prepared and scored according to the following procedures.

Compliance-Resisting Strategies. The compliance resisting strategies constructed by the subjects (item 1) were coded according to McLaughlin et al.s'(1980) typology of compliance-resistance strategies. McLaughlin's typology consists of four general categories of compliance-resisting strategies. These major categor ies are further divided into two or three subclasses. This typology is presented:

I. Non-negotiation

II. Justification
- A. Self Justification
- B. Altruistic Justification

III. Negotiation
- A. Exchange
- B. Empathetic Understanding

IV. Identity Management
- A. Target's Positive Identity
- B. Agent's Positive Identity

V. Other [11]

A complete presentation of McLaughlin et al.s' categories including examples is provided in Appendix C.

Each subject-constructed resistance strategy was assigned to one of four major categories. Subcategories were employed only to assist in the coding of the compliance-resiting message into one of these major categories.

Structure of strategy. The second dependent measure (item 2) involved the classification of compliance-resisting strategies in terms of the level of perspective-taking implied in the strategy. Delia, Kline, and Burleson's (1979) system for the analysis of persuasive strategies was employed to code strategy structure. Delia et al's scheme is explained earlier in this study. For a complete description and outline of their categories see Appendix A. This system is briefly presented:

I. No recognition ofadaptation to target's perspective
    A. No statement of desire
    B. Unelaborated request
    C. Unelaborated statement of personal need
II. Implicit adaptation to target's perspective
    A. Elaboration of necessity of request
    B. Elaboration of necessity plus minimal dealing with anticipated countergumments
    C. Elaborated dealing with multiple anticipated counterarguments
III. Explicit adaptation to target's perspective
    A. Truncated efforts to demonstrate relevant consequences

to target for accepting the request

B. Elaboration of specific consequences of acceptance of request to one with characteristics of the target

C. Attempts to take the target's perspective in articulating advantages

IV. Other

One score was awarded to the highest level strategy employed in the intial compliance-gaining prompt.strategy employed under probing. This technique was employed because the present research was concern with subjects' maximum level of development and not their average level of performance.

The score a particular strategy is awarded reflects the number of the level of Delia et al.s' category scheme into which it is coded. Delia et al.s' coding scheme consists of nine possible levels of communicative adaptation. Each level is assigned a number ranging from 0 to 8. This coding scale reflects an interval relationship between the level into which a strategy is coded and the value of the score which that strategy receives. For example, a strategy coded at level three of Delia et al.s' hierarchy received a score of "3". The highest score possible for any one message is "8".

Rationale for Resistance strategies. The final dependent measure (item 3), analyzed the rationale offered by each subject for the compliance-resisting strategy constructed for each task-situation. These rationales were coded according to a coding scheme developed by Howie-Day (1977). Howie-Day's system is based on the theoretical conceptualization of role-taking development formulated by Flavell (1974) and colleagues (Flavell et al., 1968). This system permits the classification

of subjects' rationales into categories that reflect the underlying social-cognitive processes manifested in their reasoning. Howie-Day's coding system consists of seven global categories of reasons. A number of these categories are further divided into subcategories. An outline of the system is as follows:

I. No Rationale

II. Description

III. Reference to standards

  A. Personal preferences/Social desirability

  B. Norm invocation/Role expectations

IV. Inference: External conditions

  A. Past events

  B Future consequences

V. Inference: Internal states

  A. Affect

  B. Cognition

VI. Inference: Interpersonal perception

VII. Residue (other)

The coding system is presented in its entirety in Appendix B.

The subjects' rationales for each task-situation were analyzed according to two measures, the number of reasons employed and the category of each reason. First, rationales were divided into discrete reasons. Howie-Day offers a definition which provides the criteria for discerning "distinct classifiable reasons."

A distinct, classifiable reason is any statement or idea, presented in support of the subject's strategy choice, which provides some distinct

contribution to the subject's overall rationale, and which is not merely a repetition, restatement, or simple elaboration of a prior statement (1977, p. 61). For the purposes of establishing the boundaries of distinct reasons, the present research adopted Howie-Day's classification scheme.

Data Analysis

The present investigation consists of a 3 x 3 x 3 factorial design with the third measure being repeated. The factors include age group of subject (first-, fourth-, and tenth-grade subjects), compliance-gaining request (simple request, incentive request, altruistic request), and agent (mother, peer, younger child).

To test the possible effects that the independent variables have on the use of compliance-resisting strategies, a series of chi-square tests were employed. The results of these tests were used to examine the effects of age, compliance-gaining strategies, and compliance-gaining agent on the use of specific categories of compliance-resisting strategies and their rationales.

A four-way analysis of variance was performed with the three grade levels as one independent variable, the three compliance-gaining strategy types as the second independent variable, and the three agents as the third, and the control variable, sex of subject, as a fourth factor. This analysis examined the relationship between the independent variables and the level of role-taking reflected in the subject's resistance strategies and rationales.

CHAPTER IV

Results

Three major research questions were posed as the basis of this study. First, do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of age? Second, do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of the type of compliance-gaining strategy employed by the agent of the attempt? Third, do communicators vary their selection of compliance-resisting strategies as a function of the agent of the compliance gaining attempt? In this chapter the results of the data analysis related to these questions are presented. These analyses are presented as follows: (1) a description of the corpus of utterances produced by subjects, (2) reliability checks on the dependent measures, and (3) statistical tests related to each dependent measure.

Corpus of utterances

Subjects for this study produced 329 codeable resistance strategies. Table III presents the proportions of each type of resistance strategy used by subjects at each grade level (item 1). There were 137 responses coded as non-negotiation strategies, 52 responses coded as justification strategies, 114 strategies coded as negotiation strategies, and 26 responses coded as identity management strategies.

Insert Table III about here

Each of these responses were classified according to the underlying level of social perspective-taking implied in the strategy (Delia et al, 1979) (item

Table III
Proportional Use of Resistance Strategies
at Each Grade Level

Strategies	n	a	b
First Grade			
Non-negotiation	50	53.76	46.30
Justification	9	9.68	8.33
Negotiation	29	31.18	26.85
Identity Management	5	5.38	4.62
Other	15		13.89
Fourth Grade			
Non-negotiation	42	35.90	34.15
Justification	20	17.09	16.26
Negotiation	44	37.61	35.77
Identity Management	11	9.40	8.94
Other	6		4.88
Tenth Grade			
Non-negotiation	45	37.82	36.59
Justification	23	19.33	18.70
Negotiation	41	34.45	33.33
Identity Management	10	8.40	8.13
Other	4		3.25

a-- percentages calculated do not include missing values (Other)

b-- percentages calculated adjusted to include missing values (Other)

2). Of the 93 responses produced by the first-grade groups, the mean rating on Delia et al.s' nine-point hierarchy was 2.10. The coded range of these strategies was 0 to 5 (see Table IV). Fourth-grade subjects produced 117 classifiable responses ($\bar{X}$ = 2.56, range = 0 to 6). Finally, the tenth-grade subjects produced 119 responses with a mean rating of 2.85 and a range of 0 to 7.

Insert Table IV about here

In the analysis of subjects' meta-cognitive abilities, those rationales constructed by the children were subjected to a qualitative and a quantitative analysis (item 3). First, a quantitative count was made of the number of reasons provided by subjects at each grade level (item 3a).

First-grade subjects generated 92 reasons in their rationales. The mean number of reasons offered by first-grade subjects was less than one reason per rationale ($\bar{X}$ = .826). Fourth-grade subjects generated 114 reasons, equalling approximately one reason per rationale ($\bar{X}$ = 1.10). Tenth-grade subjects produced 117 reasons. This accounted for approximately one-and-a-half reasons employed in each rationale ($\bar{X}$ = 1.55) (summarized in Table V).

Insert Table V about here

Second, a qualitative measure was employed to examine subjects' metacognitive abilities associated with compliance-resisting. Each subject-generated reason was classified according to the degree and type of social influence that it reflected (Howie-Day, 1977) (item 3b). Each

Table IV
Mean Level of Structurally Implied Perspective-Taking (summed across three target situations) per Age Group

Group	n	$\bar{X}$	SD	Range	
				Min	Max
First Grade					
Response	9	2.0957	1.2706	0.0	5.0
Fourth Grade					
Response	117	2.5556	1.3483	0.0	6.0
Tenth Grade					
Response	120	2.8500	1.6174	0.0	7.0

Table V
Number of Reasons (summed across three target situations) Provided per Age Group

Group	n	$\bar{X}$	SD	Range	
				Min	Max
First Grade					
Response	92	.8261	.4595	0.0	2.0
Fourth Grade					
Response	114	1.0965	.7283	0.0	4.0
Tenth Grade					
Response	117	1.5470	.8252	0.0	4.0

rationale was awarded the number corresponding to the highest level category into which its supporting reasons had been coded. For example, if three reasons were offered in support of one strategy, and one reason was coded at level two, one at level three, and one at level six, the value assigned to the rationale was six.

Of the 92 rationales constructed by the first-grade subjects ($\bar{X}$ = 2.09), the average level of perspective-taking achieved was level two (description). Fourth-grade subjects produced 112 rationales. The rationales generated by the fourth-grade subjects ($\bar{X}$ = 2.90) reflected an attainment of level three of Howie-Day's perspective-taking coding scheme (norm invocation). Tenth-grade subjects constructed 117 rationales ($\bar{X}$ = 3.90), referencing perspective-taking level four (inference based on external conditions) (see Table VI).

Insert Table VI about here

Reliability Check

The present author (coder A) coded 100% of the data. Coder A trained one coder (B) during a series of sessions in which A's previously coded data served as examples.

After this training period, 20% of the data from each grade level was randomly selected[12]. Coder B independently coded this reliability sample. The obtained level of agreement on these reliability ratings were as follows: resistance strategy (item 1) 87.5%, structurally implied perspective-taking (item 2) 83.3%, number of arguments (item 3a) 95.8%, and level of rationale (item 3b) 87.5%. The overall percentage of agreement was 98.5%.

Intra-rater reliabilities were also obtained. In an attempt to ensure

Table VI
Mean Level of Rationale (summed across three target situations) Achieved by Subjects at Each Grade Level

Group		n	$\bar{X}$	SD	Range	
					Min	Max
First Grade						
	Response	92	2.0870	.8073	1.0	5.0
Fourth Grade						
	Response	112	2.8661	1.3456	1.0	6.0
Tenth Grade						
	Response	117	3.9145	1.3363	1.0	6.0

consistency of ratings over time, Coder A coded the above reliability sample. The results of this second coding were compared with Coder A's initial ratings of these data. The intra-rater reliability reached a 96% rate of agreement. An expanded presentation of these ratings is presented in Table VII.

Insert Table VII about here

Compliance-Resisting Strategies (item 1)

Age Effects. A 4x3 (categories of resistance strategies by subjects' grade level) contingency table analysis was employed to examine the impact of age on subjects' use of compliance-resisting strategies. Table VIII presents the results of this analysis. Based on a chi-square test of statistical independence, subjects' responses did not significantly differ as a function of age ($X^2 = 9.63448$, df = 6, $p > .05$). Even though the data suggests a tendency for subjects to employ different resistance strategies as a function of age, the chi-square test failed to reveal significant differences.[13]

Insert Table VIII about here

There were marked differences between the age of the subject and the use of three of the four major categories of resistance strategies. Subjects' use of non-negotiation strategies displayed a clear decrease with increasing age. Approximately 53% of the resistance strategies constructed by first-grade subjects were categorized as instances of non-negotiation. Only 36% and 38% of the strategies used by fourth- and tenth-grade subjects, respectively, were instances of this category.

Table VII
Percentage of Agreement between Coders A and B
for Reliability Sample Data

Source of Data	N	Number of Inconsistent Ratings	Percentage of Agreement
Inter-rater Reliability			
Resistance Strategies	24	3	87.50
Structural Measure	24	4	83.33
Level of Rationale	24	3	87.50
Number of Agruments	24	1	95.83
Intra-rater Reliability			
Resistance Strategies	24	1	95.83
Structural Measure	24	1	95.83
Level of Rationale	24	1	95.83
Number of Arguments	24	0	100.00

Table VIII
Proportional Use of Compliance-Resisting Strategies
(summed across three target situations) per Age Group

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	First Grade	Fourth Grade	Tenth Grade	Row Total
Non-negotiation	50 36.5 53.8	42 30.7 35.9	45 32.8 37.8	137 41.6
Justification	9 17.3 9.7	20 38.5 17.1	23 44.2 19.3	52 15.8
Negotiation	29 25.4 31.2	44 38.6 37.6	41 36.0 34.5	114 34.7
Identity Management	5 19.2 5.4	11 42.3 9.4	10 38.5 8.4	26 7.0
Compliance	14	6	4	24
No Response	1	Ø	Ø	1
Column Total	93 28.3	117 35.6	119 36.2	329 100.0

A second developmental trend is suggested by these data. The frequency of use of justification and identity management strategies increased as a function of age. Of the resistance strategies constructed by first-grade subjects, approximately 10% were instances of justification in contrast to a 17% frequency of use of justification strategies by the tenth-grade subjects and a 19% frequency of use by the fourth-grade subjects. A similar increase in the frequency of use of identity management strategies was also apparent (first-grade 5%, fourth-grade 9%, and tenth-grade 8%).

In an elaboration analysis of the main effect of age and resistance strategies, a first level control variable, sex of subject, was added to the initial contingency table (see Table IX). The results of this analysis suggests that female subjects are primarily responsible for a large portion of the differences displayed in the main effect (X^2= 15.21290, df = 6, $p < .01$). The effects for males was not significant (X^2= 8.46573, df =6, $p > .05$).

Insert Table IX about here

As may be observed from the above summary, the age trend in category usage of the four compliance-resisting strategies is quite consistent and provides support for a developmental progression in the use of compliance-resisting strategies. The use of the less socially sensitive category of resistance, non-negotiation, declines with subjects' increasing age. The other more socially sensitive strategies show an increase in use with age.

Effects of Types of Requests. For purposes of measuring the association between the type of strategy used to gain compliance and the category of strategies subjects used to resist those attempts, a chi-square test of

Table IX
Proportional Use of Compliance-Resisting Strategies
(summed across three target situations) by Sex

MALES

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	First Grade	Fourth Grade	Tenth Grade	Row Total
Non-negotiation	23 28.4 56.1	23 28.4 37.1	35 43.2 47.3	81 45.8
Justification	4 15.4 9.8	9 34.6 14.5	13 50.0 17.6	26 14.7
Negotiation	11 19.3 26.8	22 38.6 35.5	24 42.1 32.4	57 32.2
Identity Management	3 23.1 7.3	8 61.5 12.9	2 15.4 2.7	13 7.3
Compliance	9	4	1	14
No Response	1	0	0	1
Column Total	41 23.2	62 35.0	74 41.8	177 100.0

FEMALES

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	First Grade	Fourth Grade	Tenth Grade	Row Total
Non-negotiation	27 48.2 51.9	19 33.9 34.5	10 17.9 22.2	56 36.8
Justification	5 19.2 9.6	11 42.3 20.0	10 38.5 22.2	26 17.1
Negotiation	18 31.6 34.6	22 38.6 40.0	17 29.8 37.8	57 37.5
Identity Management	2 15.4 3.8	3 23.1 5.5	8 61.5 17.8	13 8.6
Compliance	5	2	3	10
No Response	0	0	0	0
Column Total	52 34.2	55 36.2	45 29.2	152 100.0

independence was performed on a 4 x 3 contingency table (types of resistance strategies by types of compliance-gaining strategies).

As is evident in Table X, there is a significant difference in the types of strategies subjects employed as a function of the type of strategy subjects were asked to resist (X^2= 12.19040, df = 6, p < .05). In response to the simple request condition approximately 81% of all strategies used were instances of non-negotation (38%) or negotiation (43%). Within the incentive request condition, non-negotiation strategies accounted for approximately 51% of all stategies employed. Finally, negotiation was the modal response used in response to an altruistic request. The frequency of use of identity management strategies was also highest in response to altruistic requests (50%) as compared to simple request (27%) and incentive request (23%).

Insert Table X about here

The control variable, sex of subject, was incorporated into the initial contingency table. No significant differences were found for males nor females (males: X^2= 6.92807, df = 6, p > .05; females: X^2 = 10.68311, df = 6, P > .05). There is however, an obvious tendency toward a female sex effect (P = .09) (results are summarized in Table XI).

Insert Table XI about here

Agent effects. A chi-square test was used to examine the effect different compliance-gaining agents have on the types of compliance-resisting strategies a target employs, target differentiation. A positive association was found between these two factors (X^2= 48.6236, df = 6, p < .0001) (see Table XII).

Table X
Proportional Use of Compliance-Resisting Strategies (summed across three target situations) by Compliance-Gaining Requests

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Simple Request	Incentive Request	Altruistic Request	Row Total
Non-negotiation	46 33.6 38.3	48 35.0 51.1	43 31.4 13.1	137 41.6
Justification	15 28.8 12.5	17 32.7 18.1	20 38.5 17.4	52 15.8
Negotiation	52 45.6 43.3	23 20.2 24.5	39 34.2 33.9	114 34.7
Identity Management	7 26.9 5.8	6 23.1 6.4	13 50.0 11.3	26 7.9
Compliance	6	13	5	24
No Response	∅	1	∅	
Column Total	120 36.5	94 28.6	115 35.0	329 100.0

Table XI
Proportional Use of Compliance-Resisting Strategies
(summed across three target situations) by Compliance-

FEMALES

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Simple Request	Incentive Request	Altruistic Request	Row Total
Non-negotiation	15 26.8 28.3	25 44.6 51.0	16 28.6 32.0	56 36.8
Justification	8 30.8 15.1	10 38.5 20.4	8 30.8 16.0	26 17.1
Negotiation	26 45.6 49.1	10 17.5 20.4	21 36.8 42.0	57 37.5
Identity Management	4 30.8 7.5	4 30.8 8.2	5 38.5 10.0	13 8.6
Compliance	4	5	1	10
No Response	0	0	0	0
Column Total	53 34.9	49 32.2	50 32.9	152 100.0

MALES

Row Pct / Col Pct	Simple Request	Incentive Request	Altruistic Request	Row Total
Non-negotiation	31 38.3 46.3	23 28.4 51.1	27 33.3 41.5	81 45.8
Justification	7 26.9 10.4	7 26.9 15.6	12 46.2 18.5	26 14.7
Negotiation	26 45.6 38.8	13 22.8 28.9	18 31.6 27.7	57 32.2
Identity Management	3 23.1 4.5	2 15.4 4.4	8 61.5 12.3	13 7.3
Compliance	2	8	4	14
No Response	0	1	0	1
Column Total	67 37.9	45 25.4	65 36.7	177 100.0

Insert Table XII about here

In the mother as agent condition, subjects employed more justification strategies (71%) and less non-negotiation (24%) than when responding to either of the other two agents. In response to the peer condition, 33% of subjects' responses were instances of negotiation and 41% were instances of non-negotiation. When the younger sibling was the agent of the request, approximately 35% of the resistance strategies employed were non-negotiation and 38% were negotiation. The greatest percentage of identity management strategies were used when the peer was the compliance-gaining agent.

The control variable, sex of subject was added to the original contingency table. The results of this analysis are presented in Table XIII. Both males and females were found to have a significant effect on strategy use (Male: $X^2 = 32.01218$, $df = 6$, $p < .00001$) (Female: $X^2 = 19.28201$, $df = 6$, $p < .003$).

Insert Tables XIII about here

Perspective-Taking Measures

Structurally Implied Perspective-Taking (item 2). In order to examine the possible changes in the structural level of perspective-taking implied in subjects' resistance strategies, a four-way analysis of variance, including the factors of age group, type of compliance-gaining request, compliance-gaining agent, and sex of subject was performed on the subject-constructed compliance-resisting strategies. Table XIV presents a summary of these data.

Table XII
Proportional Use of Compliance-Resisting Strategies by Compliance-Gaining Agents

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Mother	Best Friend	Younger Child	Row Total
Non-negotiation	33 24.1 30.6	56 40.9 49.6	48 35.0 44.4	137 41.6
Justification	37 71.2 34.3	5 9.6 4.4	10 19.2 9.3	52 15.8
Negotiation	34 29.8 31.5	37 32.5 32.7	43 37.7 39.8	114 34.7
Identity Management	4 15.4 3.7	15 57.7 13.3	7 26.9 6.5	26 7.9
Compliance	11	4	9	24
No Response	ø	ø	1	1
Column Total	108 32.8	113 34.3	108 32.8	329 100.0

Table XIII
Proportional Use of Compliance-Resisting Strategies by Compliance-Gaining Agents for both Sexes

MALES

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	MOTHER	BEST FRIEND	YOUNGER CHILD	Row Total
Non-negotiation	17 21.0 29.3	35 43.2 57.4	29 35.8 50.0	81 45.8
Justification	20 76.9 34.5	2 7.7 3.3	4 15.4 6.9	26 14.7
Negotiation	19 33.3 32.8	17 29.8 27.9	21 36.8 36.2	57 32.2
Identity Management	2 15.4 3.4	7 53.8 11.5	4 30.8 6.9	13 7.3
Compliance	7	2	5	14
No Response	0	0	1	1
Column Total	58 32.8	61 34.5	58 32.8	177 100.0

FEMALES

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	MOTHER	BEST FRIEND	YOUNGER CHILD	Row Total
Non-negotiation	16 28.6 32.0	21 37.5 40.4	19 33.9 38.0	56 36.8
Justification	17 65.4 34.0	3 11.5 5.8	6 23.1 12.0	26 17.1
Negotiation	15 26.3 30.0	20 35.1 38.5	22 38.6 44.0	57 37.5
Identity Management	2 15.4 4.0	8 61.5 15.4	3 23.1 6.0	13 8.6
Compliance	4	2	4	10
No Response	0	0	0	0
Column Total	50 32.9	52 34.2	50 32.9	152 100.0

Insert Table XIV about here

The results of the multivariable analysis revealed a significant main effect of age ($F = 7.874$, $df = 2/277$, $p < .001$). This result indicates a general increase in the level of structurally implied perspective-taking as a function of age.

A simple effects analysis of variance was performed on these data. The analysis, which is summarized in Table XV, shows a significant F Ratio ($F = 7.340$, $df = 2/328$, $p < .001$).

Post hoc analysis utilizing a Student's t-test, revealed that differences between the tenth- and fourth-grade groups were not significant. Both tenth- and fourth-grade groups, however, were found to differ significantly from the first-grade group (see Table XVI).

Insert Table XV and XVI about here

These analyses support the notion that children use significantly higher-level compliance-resisting strategies as a function of age. It should be noted that in both response conditions, the mean response for the fourth-grade group ($\bar{X} = 2.6$) was always higher than the mean response of first-grade subjects ($\bar{X} = 2.1$). The mean response for the tenth-grade group was consistently higher ($\bar{X} = 2.9$) than either of the younger groups.

A significant two-way interaction, age x agent was also revealed ($F = 2.297$, $df = 4/277$, $p < .05$). In an attempt to clarify this relationship, a simple effects analysis of variance, strategy x agent was used to examine the degree to which the level of subjects' compliance resisting strategies differed as a function of the agent of the compliance-gaining appeal.

Table XXV
Four-Way Analysis of Variance on the Level of Perspective-Taking Implied in Subject-Constructed Resistance Strategies

Source of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between	41.906	7	5.986	2.960	.005
Grade (G)	31.851	2	15.926	7.874	.000
Request (R)	4.223	2	2.112	1.044	.353
Agent (A)	5.745	2	2.873	1.420	.243
Sex (S)	2.047	1	2.047	1.012	.315
G x R	15.922	4	3.981	1.968	.100
G x A	18.586	4	4.647	2.297	.059
G x S	1.236	2	0.618	0.305	.737
R x A	4.587	4	1.647	0.814	.517
R x S	4.525	2	2.263	1.119	.328
A x S	3.059	2	1.529	0.756	.470
G x R x A	7.444	8	0.931	0.460	.883
G x R x S	20.090	4	5.022	2.483	.044
G x A x S	12.165	4	3.041	1.504	.201
R x A x S	5.448	4	1.362	0.673	.611
G x R x A x S	10.509	8	1.314	0.649	.736
Within	560.283	277	2.023		
Total	702.390	320	2.128		

Table XV
Analysis of Variance by Level of Structurally Implied Perspective-Taking in Subject-Constructed Compliance-Resisting Strategies for each Age Group

Source of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
		Response Condition			
Between	30.0902	2	15.0451	7.340	0.0008
Within	672.3210	328	2.0498		
Total	702.4111	330			

Table XVI
Oneway ANOVA and Multiple-Range Test on Structurally Implied Perspective-Taking (summed across three target situations)

Group	n	$\bar{X}$	F	P	Multiple-Range
		Response Condition			
First Grade	94	2.0957	7.340	0.0008	1.0124
Fourth Grade	117	2.5556*			
Tenth Grade	120	2.8500**			

(*) Denotes group is significantly different from first grade-group at the .05 level

(**) Denotes group is significantly different form first- and fourth-grade groups at the .05 level

The strategy level did not differ significantly as a function of the compliance-gaining agent ($F = 1.427$, $df = 2/328$, $p > .05$) (see Table XVII).

Insert Table XVII about here

However, a post hoc analysis, presented in Table XVIII, shows that subjects employed higher level strategies when resisting mother ($\bar{X} = 2.59$) and best friend ($\bar{X} = 2.56$) than when resisting a younger sibling ($\bar{X} = 2.01$).

Insert Table XVIII about here

The interaction of age and agent is diagramed in Figure 4.

Insert Figure 4 about here

Based on the inspection of the cell means some interesting tendencies were discovered. First-grade subjects used their highest level strategies in response to best friend ($\bar{X} = 2.23$) and their lowest level strategies in response to mother ($\bar{X} = 1.93$). The strategies used by fourth-grade subjects, although referencing a higher level of perspective-taking than the first-grade subjects, generally paralleled the function displayed by the first-grade groups.

In contrast, tenth-grade subjects employed their highest level strategies with mother ($\bar{X} = 3.45$) and addressed best friend with their lowest level strategies ($\bar{X} = 2.28$). It should also be noted that the mean strategy level used across all targets increased with age. These findings support the assumption that different compliance-gaining agents will engender the use of structurally different resistance strategies.

Table XVII
Analysis of Variance by Level of Structurally Implied Perspective-Taking in Subject-Constructed Compliance-Resisting Strategies for Three Different Compliance-Gaining Agents

Source of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
		Response Condition			
Between	6.0598	2	3.0299	1.427	.2415
Within	696.3533	328	2.1230		
Total	702.4131	330			

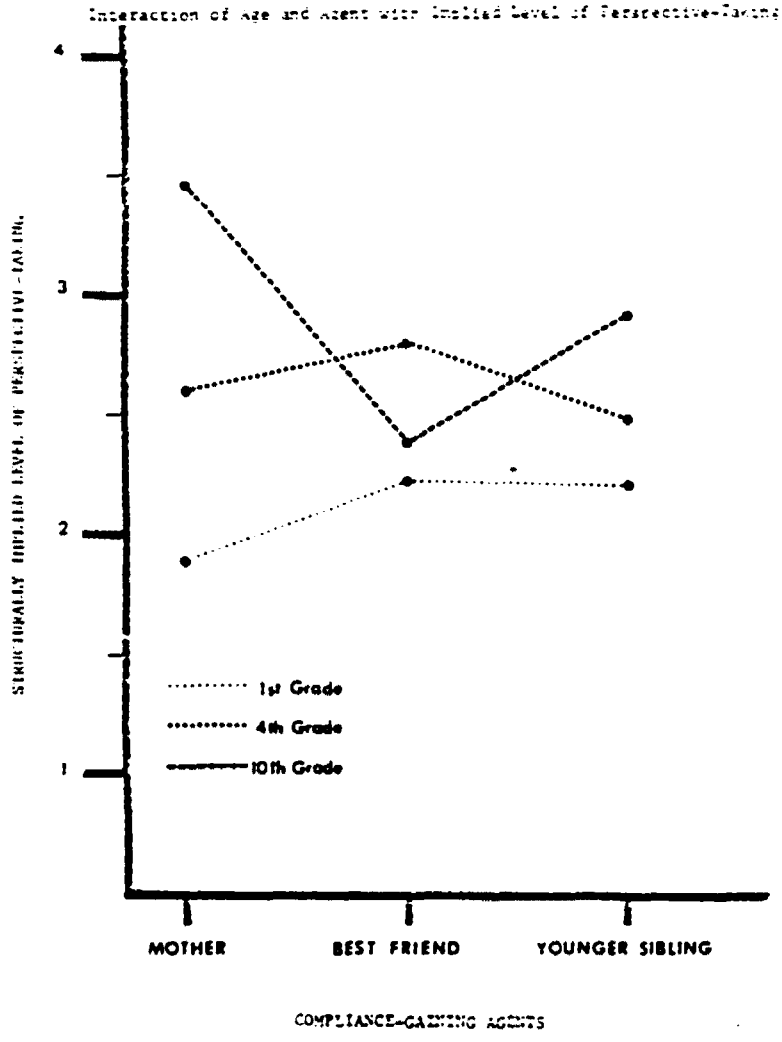
Table XVIII
Oneway ANOVA and Multiple-Range Test on Level of Structurally Implied Perspective-Taking by Three Different Compliance-Gaining Agents

Agent	n	$\bar{X}$	F	P	Multiple Range
Mother	88	2.5909*	4.537	.0115	1.0457
Best Friend	91	2.5604*			
Younger Sibling	95	2.0105			

(*) Denotes Agent is significantly different form younger sibling at the .05 level

Figure 4

Interaction of Age and Agent with Implied Level of Perspective-Taking



Finally, a three-way interaction, age x request x sex of subject, was also found ($F = 1.504$, $df = 4/277$, $p < .05$). Inspection of the individual cell means revealed that across all three types of requests (with the exception of the responses of fourth-grade males to altruistic requests) females always employed strategies reflecting more sophisticated levels of perspective-taking than males. This tendency may indicate a slightly higher degree of social sensitivity in girls than in boys (see Figure 5).

Insert Figure 5 about here

Rationale for Strategy Construction

The third dependent measure employed in this study, category of rationale (item 3), is comprised of a quantitative count of the number of reasons subjects provided in support of their rationales (3a) and a qualitative classification of these reasons according to Howie-Day's (1977) coding scheme (see p. 89) (3b). Each of these measures is reviewed separately.

Number of Reasons (3a). Table XIX present the results of a four-way analysis of variance computed with grade level, type of request, agent of request, and sex of respondant as the independent variables and the number of subject-generated reasons as the dependent variable. The multivariable analysis produced only one main effect, grade level ($F = 27.031$, $df = 2/269$, $p < .0001$).

Insert Tables XIX about here

The results of a posteriori contrasts show that the number of reasons subjects offer in support of constructed resistance strategies increase significantly as a

Figure 5

Interaction of Age, Type of Request, and Sex of Subject with Implied Level of Perspective-Taking

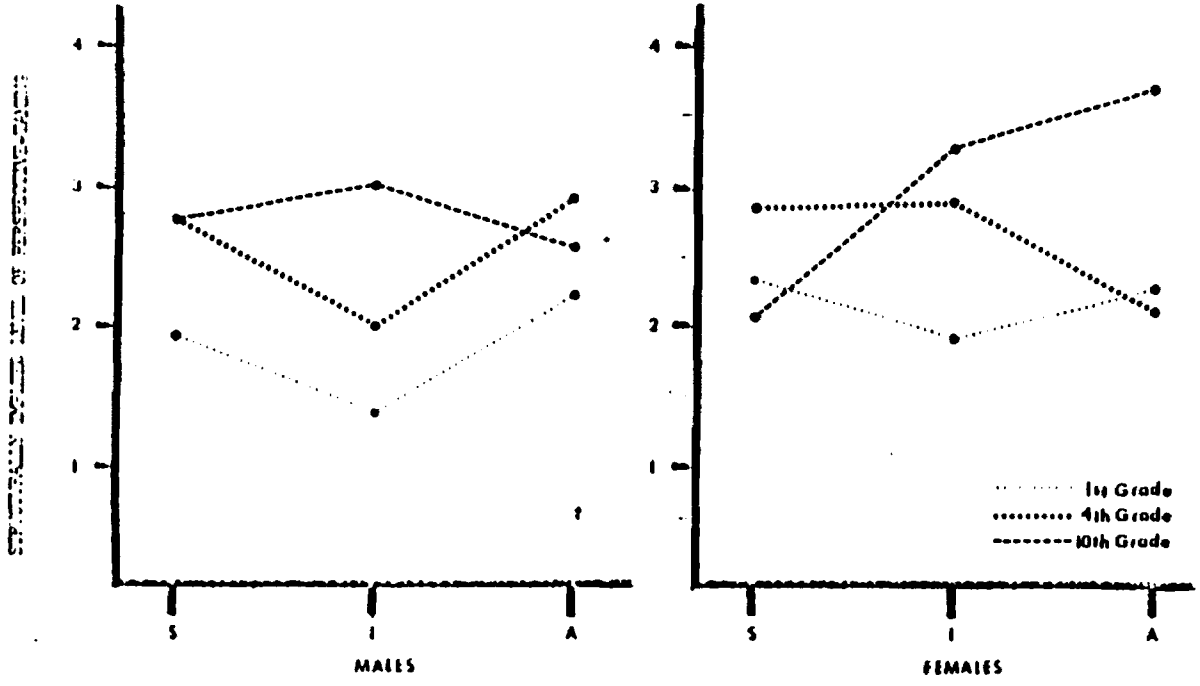


Table XXX
Four-Way Analysis of Variance on the Mean Number of Reasons Provided in Support of Constructed Resistance Strategies

Source of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between	30.131	7	4.304	8.650	0.000
Grade (G)	26.903	2	13.452	27.031	0.000
Request (R)	1.363	1	0.681	1.369	0.254
Agent (A)	0.171	2	0.086	0.172	0.842
Sex (S)	0.553	1	0.553	1.112	0.293
G x R	7.235	4	1.809	3.635	0.007
G x A	0.466	4	0.117	0.234	0.919
G x S	2.017	2	1.008	2.027	0.134
R x A	1.466	4	0.366	0.736	0.568
R x S	1.212	2	0.606	1.217	0.298
A x S	0.139	2	0.070	0.140	0.870
G x R x A	3.368	8	0.421	0.846	0.563
G x R x S	3.047	4	0.762	1.531	0.192
G x A x S	0.694	4	0.174	0.350	0.844
R x A x S	0.677	4	0.169	0.340	0.851
G x R x A x S	3.355	8	0.419	0.843	0.566
Within	133.842	269	0.498		
Total	196.221	322	0.573		

function of age (see Table XX). This finding can be interpreted, somewhat conservatively, as supporting an age related development of children's thinking about compliance-resisting (meta-resistance).

Insert Table XX about here

The multivariable analysis of subjects' metacognitive abilities also produced a two-way interaction between grade level and types of request. Reference to Figure 6 indicates that the significant two-way interaction of grade level and number of reasons is largely do to the tenth-grade groups' response to incentive requests. Tenth-grade subjects used significantly more reasons ($\bar{X}$ = 1.87) than first-grade ($\bar{X}$ = .82) and fourth-grade subjects ($\bar{X}$ = .88) when responding to incentive requests. Also, tenth-grade and fourth-grade subjects used significantly more reasons ($\bar{X}$ = 1.57; 1.31, respectively) than first-grade subjects ($\bar{X}$ = .83) when responding to altruistic requests. These findings support the contention that different types of compliance-gaining requests have differential impact on the intended target (Miller et al., 1977).

Insert Figure 6 about here

Categories of Reasons (3b). An analysis of the categories of reasons used by different-age subjects is central to research question 1b. This question focuses on how age impacts on subjects' ability to produce justifications for their constructed resistance strategies. A four-way analysis of variance was performed on the level of rationale subjects used. The factors included in this analysis were grade level, types of request used to gain compliance, agent of the request, and sex of subject.

Reference to Table XXI indicates that there was a significant main effect of

Table XX
Oneway ANOVA and Multiple-Range Test on Mean Number of Reasons
(summed across three target situations) provided per age group

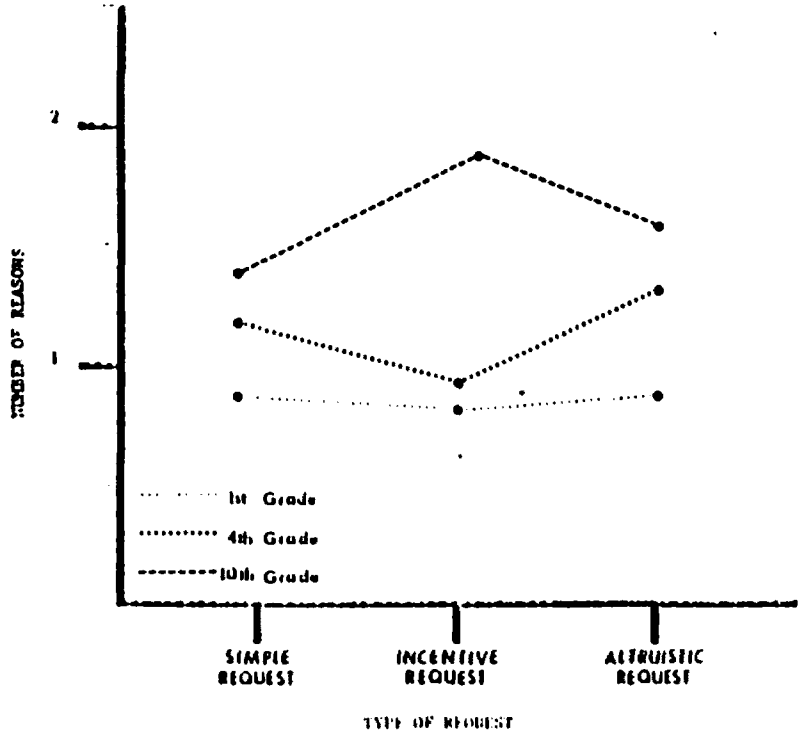
Group	n	$\bar{X}$	F	P	Multiple Range
		Response Condition			
First Grade	92	.8261	28.405	0.0000	0.4971
Fourth Grade	114	1.0965*			
Tenth Grade	117	1.5470**			

(*) Denotes group is significantly different from first-grade group at the .05 level

(**) Denotes group is significantly different from first- and fourth-grade groups at the .05 level

Figure 6

Interaction of Grade level for Number of Reasons and Type of Request



grade level ($F = 46.009$, $df = 2/271$, $p < .001$).

Insert Tables XXI about here

A simple effects analysis of variance indicated that the use of higher level rationales progress in a monotonic fashion. Fourth-grade subjects used significantly higher level rationales than first-grade subjects, and tenth-grade subjects used sighificantly higher level rationales than fourth-grade subjects ($F = 59.989$, $df = 2/318$, $p < .001$) (see Table XXII).

Insert Table XXII about here

A three-way interaction of age x request x sex further clarifies the results displayed in the previously reviewed, lower-level (age x request) interaction. The question answered by this analysis was: How do different age/sex subjects vary in their use of rationale supporting their resistance strategies designed in response to different compliance-gaining requests? Figure 7 presents a graphically illustrated comparison of males' and females' responses.

Insert Figure 7 about here

First-grade females tended to produce slightly higher-level rationales when justifying resistance of simple and incentive requests. First-grade males produced higher level rationales than same-age females when responding to altruistic requests.

Fourth-grade males provided significantly higher-level rationales for all request forms as compared to fourth-grade females. Specifically, fourth-grade males used significantly higher level rationales than fourth-grade females in response to an

Table XXX
Four-Way Analysis of Variance on the Level of Rationale
Provided in Support of Constructed Resistance Strategies

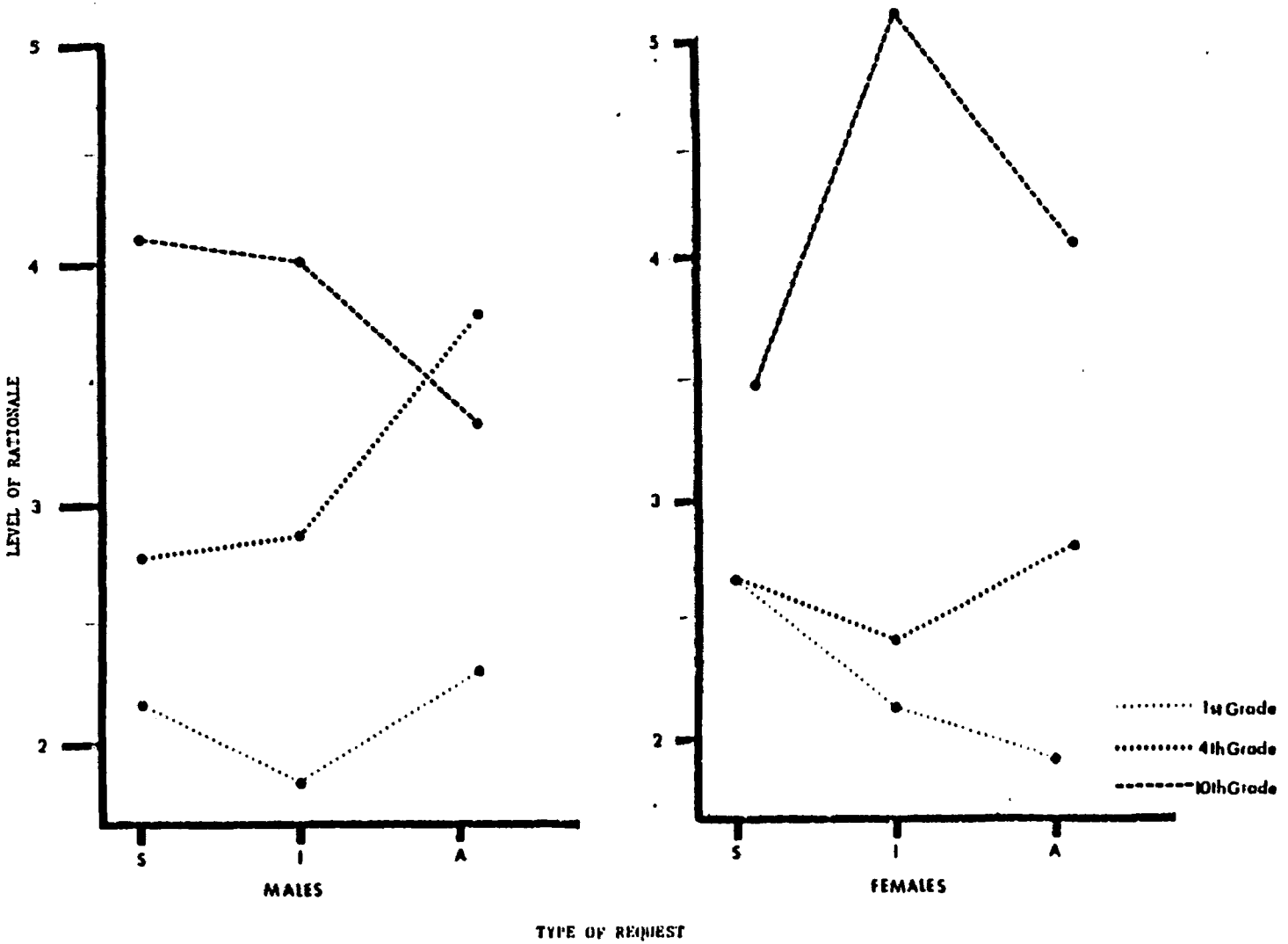
Source of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between	164.184	7	23.455	14.349	0.000
Grade (G)	150.413	2	75.206	46.009	0.000
Request (R)	0.691	2	0.345	0.211	0.810
Agent (A)	3.671	2	1.836	1.123	0.327
Sex (S)	1.795	1	1.795	1.098	0.296
G x R	23.998	4	5.974	3.655	0.006
G x A	3.288	4	0.822	0.503	0.734
G x S	10.752	2	5.376	3.289	0.039
R x A	12.377	4	3.094	1.893	0.111
R x S	4.412	2	2.206	1.350	0.261
A x S	4.361	2	2.181	1.334	0.265
G x R x A	11.980	8	1.497	0.916	0.503
G x R x S	17.718	4	4.430	2.710	0.031
G x A x S	1.684	4	0.421	0.258	0.905
R x A x S	2.329	4	0.582	0.356	0.840
G x R x A x S	10.804	8	1.351	0.826	0.590
Within	442.980	271	1.635		
Total	606.201	324	2.130		

Table XXII
One-Way ANOVA on Level of Rationale by Grade Level

Source of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
		Response Condition			
Between	176.3602	2	88.1801	59.989	0.0000
Within	467.4387	318	1.4699		
Total	643.7988	320			

Figure 7

Level of Rationale by Age, Sex, and Type of Request



altrustic request. The rationales generated by fourth-grade females did not differ significantly from those rationales generated by first-grade females.

Finally, tenth-grade males, in response to simple requests, used higher-level rationales than tenth-grade females. The tenth-grade females overall, however, employed the highest-level rationales of any other group. Special attention should be given to the disproportionately high-level rationales used by tenth-grade females in response to incentive requests.

The results of the analysis of subject-generated categories of rationales suggest three general conclusions: (1) first-grade males and females initially possess comparable levels of meta-resistance abilities; (2) developmentally, fourth-grade males display a slight advantage over fourth-grade females in their ability to reason about compliance-resistance; and (3) tenth-grade females evidence an acceleration of meta-resistance competence not paralleled by the tenth-grade males.

CHAPTER V

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter presents an interpretation of the findings reported in the previous chapter. There are three major areas considered: (1) A summary of the findings and their relation to previous research, (2) the limitation in this study, and (3) the implications for future research.

Summary of Findings

This study is an initial step in describing how children develop compliance-resisting competence. Taken together, the results of this research present strong support for the developmental nature of compliance-resistance behavior.

The findings of this investigation suggest that the type and quality of subjects' resistance behavior changes with age. First, the variety of strategies employed in resistance attempts increased with age. Second, the level of listener-adaptation reflected in the structural composition of subjects' strategies increased with age. Third, with increases in age, subjects offered significantly more reasons in suppport of their compliance-resisting strategies. Fourth, the level of rationales subjects used to justify strategy use became more sophisticated with age. A more detailed discussion of each of these developmental trends is presented separately below.

Strategy Construction

Age Effects

The non-negotiation strategy, according to McLaughlin et al. (1980) is a high risk strategy. The use of such a non-apolegetic, inflexible method of declining compliance can negatively affect relational maintenance. As children become more aware of the feelings and needs of others and the effects one's communication has on these receiver characteristics, a tendency to use more pro-social strategies should appear.

According to their research, McLaughlin et al. concluded that non-negotiation strategies were the least likely strategies to be used. The present investigation, however, found the frequency of use of non-negotiation strategies to be approximately 42% of all resistance attempts. This apparent inconsistency can be reconciled by considerating the sample populations used by the two studies. McLaughlin et al.(1980) analyzed the responses of undergraduate students. Data for the present investigation was collected from first-, fourth-, and tenth-grade children. The inconsistencies between McLaughlin et al.'s study and the present study may indicated the development of compliance-resisting competence. The higher ratings awarded the subjects in McLaughlin et al.s' sample can be interpreted as evidence of a diminishing dependency on less elaborated, anti-social tactics as a result of maturation and increased social acuity.

Evidence from the present study supports a decline in the use of non-negotiation strategies, but due to the immature population, dependency on this method of resistance is still pervasive. The frequency of use of non-negotiation strategies by first-grade children is quite high (54% of all resistance attempts). This reliance on non-negotiation strategies as the primary means of resisting decreases with age. First-grade children relied

heavily on the use of non-negotiation strategies to the exclusion of other major strategies, while fourth- and tenth- grade subjects used a wider range of compliance-resisting strategies.

The limited repertoire of resistance strategies employed by the first-grade subjects may be attributed to their inability to reconcile competing goals (O'Keefe and Delia, 1982). Younger children, lacking in social cognitive awareness and general communication abilities, may be unable to cope with more than one dimension of the communication situation. Accordingly, first-grade children, when attempting to resist, focus all their attention on the task (i.e., avoiding compliance) to the exclusion of other communicative objectives (e.g., relational maintenance, face saving). Therefore, the first-grade children appear to be dominated by the central goal of the immediate communication situation. They are communicatively centrated. This interpretation is consistent with Piaget's conceptualization of the characteristic behaviors associated with children in the pre-operational stage of general cognitive development.

The fact that the findings of the present study are not in concert with those reported by McLaughlin et al. may also be due to the different methods used to elicit responses. McLaughlin et al employed a likelihood-of-use technique in their data collection. The likelihood-of-use technique focuses on how people think about a strategy's effectiveness not its propensity for use. The data from likelihood-of-use research typically reports higher ratings for the pro-social strategies and greater accommodation to the target's perspective.

The technique employed in the present research required subjects to construct messages in response to compliance-resistance tasks. Findings associated with the strategy construction technique usually reflect a less

pro-social-orientation than those produced by likelihood-use tasks. The inconsistency between the results of McLaughlin et al.s' research and the findings of the present investigation may be due to the two differing methodologies employed in data collection.

Effects of Agent

The data revealed a second developmental trend. As the age of the subjects increased, the tendency to vary the type of resistance strategy as a function of the intended receiver also increased. This "target differentiation" is, theoretically, related to the child's growing awareness of the perspective of others (Flavell et al., 1968). The better able children are at adapting their resisting strategies to differing targets, the more developed their compliance-resisting skills appear.

First-grade subjects tended to use the same strategy across all three agents (i.e., non-negotiation). Two possible interpretations of this finding are considered. First, these results may indicate a "carry over" effect caused by the repetition of a similar task across three different agents. This author, however, argues that the employed tasks were sufficiently different to warrant dismissal of this explanation.

An alternative interpretation is offered. The observed failure to differentiate strategy construction across targets may reflect the younger subjects' inability to appreciate the necessity to adapt their messages to the specific characteristics of their listeners. As previously indicated, target differentiation is related to the development of role-taking skills. Therefore, a lack of differentiation may represent a lack of role-taking competence.

Fourth- and tenth-grade subjects displayed a strong tendency to employ significantly different strategies as a function of differing agents.

Generally, subjects used more justification and less non-negotiation strategies when addressing the mother agent. This finding can be explained by referencing the subjects' realization of the higher-level status possessed by "mother". The higher status awarded the mother (legitimate power) may make requisite the offering of some reason or excuse for noncompliance.

The preferred strategies for resisting peers were non-negotiation or negotiation. This preference is best explained by considering the concept "group identification". Ritter (1979) argued, based on conformity theory, that children, especially adolescents, need to be a part of "the group". Children, according to this conceptualization, may not differentiate between their own perspective and the perspective of an in-group member. This "new egocentrism" results in the expectation that the child's feelings are synonymous with the in-group member's feelings. Because of this egocentric perspective, children may not recognize the necessity to justify their noncompliant responses (non-negotiation), or this perceived oneness may trigger the need to maintain the participants' relational ties by generating a mutually satisfactory solution (negotiation).

Non-negotiation strategies were the favored strategies when addressing a younger child. This preference may be the result of the differential status of the participants. The target's realization that the younger child has little power to offer either positive or negative sanctions, may influence his/her selection of the most economical strategy. The target may also use the compliance episode to emphasize her/his perceived power.

It is also possible that the older subject are adjusting their performance to the level of understanding they believe the younger child to have achieved (Shatz and Gelman, 1973; Sacks and Devin, 1976). According to this interpretation, the use of non-negotiation strategies with younger

children does not reflect the lack of adaptation, but suggests that the older subjects may be editing their message to achieve a less complex, more action directing stance. These less sophisticated strategies may be viewed as more appropriate for consumption by younger children.

Effects of Types of Requests

In addition to the previously discussed developmental trends, all age groups varied their categories of resisting strategies as a function of the type of strategy they were asked to resist. This finding supports the argument that the selection of a specific strategy is not only influenced by what is being asked, but also how one is asked. These results support Garvey's (1975) argument that a request episode entails reciprocal influence. This interdependence between interactants places constraints in the form of reciprocal responsibilities on the communicative behaviors within a given request domain.

Specifically, simple requests were most frequently acknowledged by either non-negotiation or negotiation resistance strategies. Non-negotiation strategies were the most frequently employed resistance strategy in response to incentive requests. This suggests that offering a positive sanction within a request creates a situation contrary to expectations. Incentives caused the subjects in this study to react in an inflexible manner. This negative reaction may result from subjects' inability to appropriately deal with the social pressures created by the positive sanction referenced in incentive request.

Identity management strategies were used most frequently in response to the altruistic request. The distinguishing factor of altruistic requests is that the responsibility for administering an inducement resides in contextual factors such as moral obligation and guilt. The effectiveness of these

tactics depend upon their ability to invoke social norms. Identity management resistance strategies rely on a similar focus for their effectiveness. Both compliance and resistance strategies cite normative pressures as their basis for social control. In a reciprocal sense, a compliance request referencing normative obligation may predispose a target to employ a similarly based resistance strategy.

Effects of Sex

Finally, sex differnces were discovered in subjects' use of compliance-resisting strategies. Females tended to use more socially sensitive categories of resistance (e.g., negotiation and identity management) and males tended to use less socially sensitive strategies (non-negotiation and justification). According to Fitzpatrick and Winke (1979), the use of negotiation and identity management strategies requires greater social acuity. Devaluing a friend (identity management) or proposing a mutually acceptable solution (negotiation) necessitates perspective-taking competence.

In contrast, non-negotiation and justification strategies, exercised more frequently by males, are tactics that reference power and control. The use of these strategies suggests that males consider dominance as a highly salient goal of the resistance process.

In sum, the interpretation of the results related to strategy construction strongly support the acceptance of affirmative answers for research questions 1a, 2a, and 3a.

1a. Subjects' categories of compliance-resisting strategies do vary as a function of age. Specifically, strategy use becomes more socially sensitive with age.

2a. Subjects' categories of compliance-resisting strategies do vary as a

function of the agent of the attempt. Minimal target differentiation was observed in the responses provided by first-grade subjects, but fourth- and tenth-grade subjects clearly differentiated their strategies across the three different agents.

3a. Subjects' categories of compliance-resisting strategies do vary as a function of the agent of the compliance-gaining attempt. The findings related to this question support the reciprocal, interdependent nature of the compliance process. Each agent elicited significantly different compliance-resisting responses.

Perspective-Taking Measures

Structurally Implied Perspective Taking

Effects of Age. The structural level of perspective-taking implied in subjects' resistance strategies increased as a function of age. The use of more sophisticated strategies by the fourth- and tenth-grade groups indicates a higher level of perspective-taking than is implied by the less structurally complex strategies employed by the first-grade subjects.

These findings are surprisingly consistent with findings reported from studies focusing on the development of persuasive skills (Clark & Delia, 1976, Delia & Clark, 1977; Delia, Kline, & Burleson, 1979). For example, in the present study the mean level of adaptation reflected in the resistances strategies of first-grade subjects was 2.09. In Clark and Delia's (1976) study, second grade subjects (the youngest subjects tested in Clark & Delia's (1976) research) produced compliance-gaining strategies with a mean rating of 2.47. One should remember, however, that in Clark and Delia's study all subjects demonstrated inflated performance ratings due to the responses addressed to an unfamiliar target. Therefore, if Clark and Delia's results are adjusted to include only those responses generated for familiar

targets, the mean rating for second-grade subjects drops to 2.04. This adjusted mean rating is slightly lower than the rating achieved by the first-grade subjects in the present study.

The similarity between the finding of the present investigation and the results reported by Clark and Delia is also evident when comparing responses generated by fourth-grade subjects. On Clark and Delia's persuasion task fourth-grade subjects received an average rating of 2.54. The present study reported fourth-graders achieved an average rating of 2.56 on the resistance tasks. A major difference between these two studies becomes obvious upon inspection of the responses given by tenth-grade subjects. Subjects' performance on the persuasive task was more elaborate and sophisticated ($\bar{X}$ = 4.6) than those stategies ratings achieved by the tenth-grade subjects in response to the resistance task ($\bar{X}$ = 2.85). The reason for this large difference is unclear. Perhaps persuasive competence develops at a more accelerated rate than competence to adequately resist persuasive attempts. An alternative explanation is also possible. The nature of the tasks employed in the present study may not necessitate the use of high levels of adaptation. Tenth-grade subjects may have viewed washing the dishes, missing one's favorite TV show, or reading a story to a young child as situations not salient enough to engender the involvement necessary to encourage higher level strategy construction. The nondemanding nature of the task may account for the abbreviated structural make up of the tenth-grade subjects' resistance strategies.

Effect of Agent. The two way interaction of age x agent revealed that first-grade subjects did not adapt the level of perspective-taking in their resistance strategies as a function of differing agents. In general, fourth-grade subjects used more sophisticated strategies than first-grade

subjects; however, even though their strategies were more complex than those employed by first-grade subjects, fourth-grade children did not use significantly different level strategies as a function of the agent to whom the strategy was addressed. Tenth-grade subjects differentiated their strategy use across all three agents

Surprisingly, the tenth-grade group's least adaptive strategies were directed to best friend. In contrast, the first- and fourth-grade groups used their most adaptive strategies with best friend (even though there was little difference between the strategies each group used across targets).

The tenth-grade subjects' lack of adaptation with peers may be due to the strong feelings of affiliation and group membership experienced by adolescents (Landsbaum and Willis, 1971). These subjects may feel so "close" to their best friend that they see no need to adapt their message.

In contrast, first- and fourth-grade subjects may be in the process of becoming affiliated. During the initial stages of relationship development children may emphasize accommodating their behavior, especially their communication behavior, to the perceived desires of their "new found" friend. Younger children may feel the need to nurture their relationships, while older children may view the relationship as so stable that they may take it for granted.

Effects of Sex. Consistent with other studies of social cognitive development, the results of the present investigation yielded a sex differences in strategy selection. It is important to note that females displayed superior performance in this measure. This tendency for females to use more elaborate resistance strategies supports the notion that females are more socially sensitive. Specifically, tenth-grade females produced strategies reflecting more sophisticated levels of perspective-taking in

response to the incentive and the altruistic requests than all other groups.

Rationale for Strategy Construction

Findings from the structural analysis of subjects' resistance strategies provided a clear social-behavioral means of interpreting subjects' level of perspective-taking. The analysis of the rationale data provides a communication-relevant, cognitive measure of social perspective-taking. The strength of this measure lies in its ability to provide an assessment of a subjects' role taking skills that is not synonymous with the persuasive protocols. The analysis focuses on how children reason about compliance-resistance.

Number of Reasons

Effects of Age. The first measure involved a quantitative assessment of the effects of age on the number of reasons subjects provided in justification of their constructed resistance strategies. This assessment revealed a significant age related increase in the number of reasons subjects offered in support of their strategies. First-grade subjects used less than one reason per rationale to justify their strategies. Fourth-grade subjects used approximately one reason per rationale and tenth-grade subjects used approximately one-and-a-half reasons per rationale in attempts to justify their choice of resistance strategies.

Interaction Effects. A significant interaction was found between age, type of strategies, and number of subject-generated reasons. One interpretation of these findings is that different compliance-strategies impose different pressures on the target. If these pressures are sufficiently different, they should produce "substantial and reliable differential response(s) (Marwell & Schmitt, 1969). One way of assessing the variance in compliance pressure is through subjects' perceived need to justify or

rationalize their noncompliant responses. As the pressure induced by the compliance-gaining strategy increases, the number of reasons offered in justification of one's unwillingness to comply should also increase.

Interpretation of the reasoning data, according to this conceptualization, suggests that altruistic and, specifically, incentive requests promote more pressure to comply than simple requests. However, as noted by Howie-Day, quantitative analysis based on the number of reasons used by subjects may introduce a conceptual confound. For example, what is classified as reasoning competence (i.e., increased number of reasons offer justifying an employed strategy) may be, in fact, verbal fluency (p. 125).

In an attempt to overcome this potential limitation, subjects' reasons were classified according to the level of social cognitive thought which they reflected.

Category of Reasons

Effects of Age. The analysis of the categories of reasons indicated that subjects' rationales became more complex with age. The first-grade subjects tended to focus on superficial, perceptual features of the communicative situation when generating support for their rationales (e.g., "'Cause if I said that she'd stop asking."). Fourth-grade subjects referenced social norms and personal preferences (e.g., "'Cause that would be fair, it would be cooperating."). Tenth-grade subjects demonstrated more social maturity than the other two groups by employing rationales based on social inference (e.g., "He'd stop because He'd know I could do what I wanted to 'cause it's my house.").

Interaction Effects. In addition to the age-related differences in the use of more sophisticated and complex rationales, a three-way interaction revealed significant differences in subjects' use of rationales as a function

of age, type of request and sex of subject. A number of interesting trends are associated with this interaction.

First, there was little difference between the level of rationales offered by the first-grade males and females. The general level of rationale employed by these two subgroups was description. The reasoning in these rationales focused on the literal description of the obvious situational conditions present in the social context. This type of reasoning does not permit the younger subjects to consider relevant listener characteristics, and so, they are unable to appropriately modify their strategies to meet the needs of the intended receiver. This interpretation is supported by the performance levels evidenced by the first-grade subjects on the two previously discussed measures.

The results of the fourth-grade groups presented an unexpected sex difference. Surprisingly, fourth-grade males produced more developmentally advanced rationales than fourth-grade females. A large number of the rationales employed by these males indicated inferential reasoning (e.g., "If it were the other way around he wouldn't want to watch a show he's already seen.. Very few of the rationales used by the fourth-grade females reached this social inference level. The majority of the rationales used by females were instances of description.

The fact that fourth-grade males used more sophisticated rationales than did fourth-grade females is inconsistent with previous social cognitive research (Finley & Humphrey, 1971; Alvy, 1977) and the results of the first two measures of the present investigation. In other words, one possible interpretation of this finding is that males are able to apprehend the relevant needs of a listener, but they either fail to see the necessity to use this information to adequately tailor their strategies, or they choose to

ignore these needs when they construct their strategies.

Delia and Clark (1979) argue that the apprehension of relevant listener characteristics is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for the production of listener-adapted communication. Furthermore, Flavell (1974) in his model of social inference, stresses that not only is the prediction of communication relevant information necessary for adequate role-taking, but also the use of this information in the implementation of an appropriately adapted message. Finally, as discussed previously, males perceive control and power as salient issues in the compliance act.

Perhaps fourth-grade males (or males in general) are able to take the perspective of their listeners, but are either unable to convert this information into adapted communication strategies, or perhaps, in an attempt to maintain the stereotyped image of "maleness," they choose not to make use of this information. Either interpretation would serve to explain why males are able to produce social inference level rationales, but fail to produce structurally adapted resistance strategies.

The majority of the rationales offered by tenth-grade subjects were examples of reasoning at the social inference level. There were, however, differences between the rationales offered by males and those offered by females. Males used their highest level rationales when justifying resistance of a simple request and their lowest level rationales in support of resistance of altruistic requests. Females used their highest level rationales in response to an incentive request and their least complex rationales were used in response to simple requests.

Taken collectively, the above findings provide substantive support for a strong positive association between perspective-taking development and the development of compliance-resisting competence. The specific research

questions related to perspective-taking (1b, 2b, 3b,) can all be answered in the affirmative.

1b. The perspective-taking reflected in subjects' compliance-resisting strategies and justifications increases as a function of age. First, the level of perspective-taking implied in the structural composition of subjects' resistance strategies increased with age. The findings associated with this measure of listener-adapted communication is consistent with the reported findings from studies of the development of persuasion. The metacognitive measures revealed an increase with age both in the number of reasons subjects offered in support of their resistance strategies and in the use of more complex, sophisticated rationales.

2b. The level of perspective-taking evidenced in subjects' compliance-resisting strategies and justification does vary as a function of the type of compliance-gaining strategy employed by the agent. As children become more sensitive to the different communicative/social pressures imposed by different requests and the potential consequences of resisting each type, they become more cognizant of the necesity to choose a resistance strategy appropriately addressing the pressures referenced by the request. This selection process, theoretically, requires more consideration of the implications of the communicative situation. This enhanced consideration is manifest in increased reasoning. Therefore, the more a child reasons, the more likely he/she is to produce these reasons upon requests. Surprisingly, males' metacognitive performance as measured by the quality of the rationale was superior in general to females. This finding may indicate a competence-performance distinction in males' resistance competence. Males are capable of inferring listener-relevant characteristics, as evidenced in the sophisticate level of rationales offered

in support of their resistance strategies. They appear to fail to use this information, however, when generating compliance-resisting strategies as displayed by the structural adaptation implied in their strategies.

3b. The level of perspective-taking as reflected in subjects' compliance-resisting strategies and justifications does vary as a function of the agent of the compliance-gaining attempt. The degree of target differentiation displayed in subjects' strategy construction and metacognitive data increased with age. As age increased, subjects became more aware of the need to use different strategies with different agents, and they were also more capable of explaining the reasons for this change.

The findings reported in this study support the development of compliance-resisting competence. Measures included in this investigation provide behavioral, social, and cognitive evidence of this development. First, subject-constructed resistance strategies demonstrated that subjects employ different strategies as a function of age. Second, subjects produced more listener-adapted resistance strategies with age. Finally, subjects displayed increased competence in explaining the reasons for message modifications as a function of age.

Limitations of the Study

Although the majority of the findings of this study were consistent with the proposed rationale, there are some limitations which must be kept in mind. The study was designed to more closely approximate the interdependent, reciprocal nature of the social influence proces. However, the experimental condition used still maintains a high degree of linearity. Because the data were collected in a hypothetical, artificial communication situation, the findings are to be accepted somewhat conservatively. The

lack of the "rich" natural environment may have caused the children to perform at lower levels than they might when confronted with a request that they actually wanted to resist.

A second methodological consideration is the use of the three specific compliance-gaining strategies selected as stimuli for this study. Miller et al. (1977) and others have found that communicators develop their own "style" of gaining compliance. Each person has her/his own special repertoire of compliance gaining strategies and she/he uses these strategies in a predictable fashion. As targets become familiar with any agent's compliance-gaining style, her/his ability to accurately predict the specific type of strategy the person (agent) will employ in a given situation also increases. Therefore, the results of this investigation may be influenced by requiring subjects to resist strategies that may not represent the types of strategies that they have experienced from a similar agent in "real life".

As previously mentioned, this investigation may not have tapped the full compliance-resisting competence of the subjects due to the possible lack of importance and/or challenging nature of the task-situation. The tasked subjects were required to resist were rather trivial; assent did not involve a high emotional, physical, or temporal cost the the subject. This may have been particularly true of the older subjects.

Finally, due to the complex design used and the categorical nature of subject-constructed compliance-resisting strategies (item 1), a larger sample size should have been used. The small sample size prohibited multi-factor examination of the categories of resistance strategies employed by subjects.

Implications for Future Research

Keeping in mind the limitations outlined above, several suggestions for research in the development of compliance competence are offered.

First, this study should be replicated, extending the analysis to include the full range of development of subjects' social-cognitive skills and compliance-resistance competence. Testing should include subjects from childhood through the adult years.

Second, previous compliance-gaining research (Marwell & Schmitt, 1969; Clark, 1979; Cody et al., 1981; Wiseman & Schenk-Hamlin, 1981) has classified as many as forty-one types of compliance-gaining strategies. Future studies should systematically investigate how these additional strategies affect resistance. These types of studies would provide a classification of the interrelationships between compliance-gaining and compliance-resisting strategies

Third, the agents employed in this investigation assumed a high degree of familiarity with the target. Future research should vary the degree of familiarity between compliance episode participants. These changes would assist in providing a more complete understanding of the compliance-resistance process.

Finally, the tasks subjects were require to resist may have lacked importance and/or difficulty. Tasks used in future research should be designed so as to emphasize their salience to the intended subjects. These tasks should not only be relevant but also rigorous. They should require subjects to marshall all their competence in order to adequately address them.

END NOTES

1. This is not to say role-taking is the only label associated with this set of behaviors. Other studies, depending on their interest, label this process: person perception, impersonal knowledge, empathy, non-egocentrism, decentration, or social perspective-taking. For the purposes of this thesis the labels social perspective-taking and role-taking will be used interchangeably.
2. Role-playing is a term often confused with role-taking. These are distinct concepts. The critical ability underlying role-taking is social inference. What is critical for role-playing is the ability to symbolically represent other's overt behaviors in one's own behaviors.
3. Parentheses and their contents were added by the present author.
4. The theories of social influence that serve as the bases for Marwell and Schmitt's deductive typology are: Jones (1964) study of ingratiation, Christie (1965) Machiavellian manipulative techniques, Schneider (1964) tactics of persuasion, Parsons (1963) concept of influence, and French and Raven (1960) bases of social power.
5. Miller et al.'s concept of "interpersonal orientation" is extremely similar, if not identical, to the social cognitive concept, perspective-taking. Both rely on the communicatior's ability to apprehend the psychological make-up of the intended receiver. Therefore, findings related to each individual concept should be considered relevant to both.
6. The category "unelaborated" was not a strategy recognized in Flavell et. al.s' coding scheme. In the instructions for coding persuasive arguments, however, Flavell stresses that such unsupported, enelaborated statements should not be credited as arguments.

7. Ervin-Tripp (1973) and Bates (1977) argue that children can produce false-positives. A child may generate a verbal strategy that will display a higher level of competence than the child actually possesses. According to the authors, this is possible because of the "rich" social-interactional environment in which the subject responds.

8. McLaughlin et al. origninally suggested a fifth category of compliance-resisting strategy, emotional appeal. Based on a factor analysis of student's preference ratings of these five categories, the authors found only four discrete factors. The categories of emotional appeal and identity management loaded together. The authors argue, based on their analysis, that the strategies originally classified as emotional appeals were misclassified. Therefore, McLaughlin et. al. reclassified the emotional appeal strategies along with the identity management strategies. This combination created a four category typology rather than a five.

9. When a subject did not have a younger brother or sister, the subject was asked to give the name of a "familiar" young child.

10. After this initial presentation (I), the interviewer explained that in most instances the first attempt at refusing an agent's appeal for compliance is not usually effective. The scenario and appeal were read a second time, and subjects were asked to provide a second resistance strategy and a rationale for the strategy they employed (P). Results based on this probe condition are not included in the body of this thesis. These findings, however, are available upon request.

11. The category "other" does not appear in McLaughlin's taxonomy. This category was added to the McLaughlin system by the present author. The "other" category provides a classification option for those strategies that

do not sufficiently match the strategy alternatives offered by McLaughlin's system.

12. The sample used to calculate reliabililty did not include any data that had been used for training purposes.

13. In an idential analysis of subjects' responses to probes, the chi-square test revealed a significant difference in strategy use as a function of ge (X^2= 15.24152, df = 6, $p < .01$).

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A

Coding Scheme for Resistance Messages

RESISTANCE CODING SYSTEM

I. No Discernible Recognition of and Adaptation to the Target's Perspective

0. No statement of desire or resistance; no response given.

1. Unelaborated resistance

   a. "No!

   b. "I won't read you a story.

2. Unelaborated resistance based on personal desire or need. This level also includes pleas, begging, or a personal need.

   a. Simple statement of desire to resist: "I don't want to read you a story."

   b. Pleas: "Please, don't ask me to help you clean up the kitchen."

II. Implicit recognition of and Adaption to the Agent's Perspective

3. Elaboration of the necessity, desirability, or usefulness of resisting the request.

   a. Elaboration of Target's need: "I can't read a story to you because I have to study for a test"

   b. Elaboration of need from the perspective of an involved party other than the agent or target: "I can't help you clean up the kitchen because I have to help Tom with his homework".

4. Elaboration of Target's needs while focusing on a single perspectives.

   a. Refusal addressing the negative consequences of compliance: "If I don't study (instead of complying with requested actions) I'll fail my test.

b. Refusal addressing the positive consequences of noncompliance: I have to practice (instead of reading a story to you) so I can make the team.

c. Refusal referencing an appeal to norms: "I promised someone else I'd help them" (so I can't help you). Why do I always have to clean up? There are other people that eat around here."

5. Elaborated acknowledgement of and dealing with multiple perspectives.

a. Refusal referencing multiple perspectives: "I can't read you a story because I have to go to the game. I'm the star, and if I don't go they may lose."

b. Postpone compliance: "If you wait until I finish watching TV I'll tell you a story."

III. Explicit Recognition of and Adaptation to the Target's perspective

6. Target attempts to coordinate multiple perspectives.

a. Exchange: "If you let me go to the party (instead of cleaning the kitchen) I'll clean up the kitchen twice next week."

b. Compromise: "You can watch half of your show and I'll watch half of mine."

c. Mediate the effects of non compliance by considering a third party solution: "Let's ask Dad to do the dishes so I can go out with my friends and you won't have to do them by yourself."

7. Elaboration of specific consequences of rejecting the persuasive request to one with charasteristics of the agent.

a. "You need your sleep to be bright and chipper in school tomorrow. So, I shouldn't tell you a story tonight."

b. "I have to do my homework (instead of cleaning the kitchen). You

always said you want me to get good grades.

8. Demonstrable attempts by the target to take the agent's perspective in articulating an advantage or attempts to lead the agent to assume the perspective of the target.
   a. Demonstrable attempts to take the agent's perspective in articulating an advantage or attempts to lead the agent to assume the perspective of the agent.
   b. Leading the agent to take the target's perspective: "If you were waiting for your favorite show you wouldn't want to miss it for some show you really didn't want to see".

APPENDIX B

Reasoning Coding Scheme

Rationale Coding Scheme

Reason Category	Definition	Examples
I. No rationale	The subject provides no justification for his/her response	"'cause."; "I don't know why."
II. Description	The subject provides a descriptive statement of some aspect of the strategy. This may include descriptions of the objective situation, behaviors, verbal communication, or obvious internal states	"'cause if I didn't he would yell and scream." "If I said that, then she'd stop askin'"
III. Reference to standards	The subject compares the strategy, or some aspect of the strategy, to a set of standards.	
1. Personal preferences/ Social desirability	References to personal preferences or attitudes regarding the nature of the strategy; references to the social desirability/undesirability of behaviors manifested by the strategy, including evaluative terms such as "good," "nice," "bad," "likes."	"I don't want to hurt his feelings." "I don't have to do it just 'cause her other friends do."
2. Norm invocation Role expectations	References to social norms or rules; references to the obligations, duties, or expected behavior patterns associated with specified social/occupational roles or with specified age groups.	"cause that'd be cooperating." "It would be unfair." "Because she always tells me homework comes first."

IV. Inferences: External Conditions	The subject formulates a statement, judgment, or hypothesis about the (nonobvious) external conditions guiding his choice of strategy.	
1. Past events	Inferences about the past events leading to the subject's choice of strategy.	"'Cause she always cries when you say no." "He probably wouldn't do me a favor cause he never does."
2. Future consequences	Inferences about the future consequences of a strategy in relation to the subject's choice of strategy.	"Then we'd both be satisfied because we would be watching the right show." "If I give him a suggestion for something to do it will help."
V. Inferences: Internal States	The subject formulates a statement, judgment, or hypothesis about internal states that are not obviously manifested by the dialogue or action of the strategy	
1. Affect	Inferences about affective (or other non-cognitive) internal states, including feelings, intentions, preferences, attitudes, etc.	"If she wants to hear a story bad enough, she'll listen to what I say." "I don't want him to pout; so I'll give him something to play with."
2. Cognition	Inferences about cognitive internal states, including thoughts, expectations, tactical reasoning processes, cognitive capabilities, etc.	"Cause she might think that's a good idea." "I think my mom would understand that what I need to do is important to me." "Because he'd know I could do what I wanted to 'cause it's my house."

VI. Inference: Interpersonal perceptions	The subject formulates a statement, judgment, or hypothesis about one actor's perception of another actor's internal states (feelings, preferences, thoughts, expectations, etc.)	"She would think I had to do something else, and let me do it." "Karen, she likes the top bunk and, well, if I'd let her have it she'd think since I'm nice to her she'd be nice and let me watch my show."
VII. Residue (Other)	Irrelevant information; statements which cannot be placed in any other category.	"I have a truck and sometimes I play with it." "I work and I don't talk to my mother very much." "I'd probably do what she wanted."

APPENDIX C

Typology of Compliance-Resisting Strategies

Typology of Compliance-Resisting strategies

NON-NEGOTIATION

Dogmatic assertion: "No.", "Then we just won't watch TV!"

Ultimatum: "Watch my show, or go home."

Threat: "You better stop asking or you'll get a whupin'."

Dismiss: I'm too tired to do that."

Disclaimer: "I'd like to do this, but I don't have the time right now."

Simple refusal: "I don't want to read a story."

Target asserts agent has no rights: "This is not your house. We'll watch what I want to."

Target asserts (s/he) has no obligation: This is my time to have fun and do what I want to do."

Challenge: You can't make me watch that show."

Refuse to discuss: I don't want to talk about it."

IDENTITY MANAGEMENT

Target's Positive Identity

Act nice: Please, I really can't do the dishes right now; okay?"

Claim expertise: "My show is better. I watch it all the time. You'll like it."

Agent's Positive Identity

Flattery: "It would be very nice of you if you let me skip the dishes tonight.

Implied positive peer pressure: "Big boys like you don't like sissy stories."

Agent's Negative Identity

Profess indignation: "I can't believe you'd ask me that."

Compare negatively to self: "I'd never ask you to give-up your show."

Compare negatively to others: "You need to learn your feelings aren't the only one's that matter."

JUSTIFYING

Denial of own responsibility: "I can't. I have to clean-up my room."

Assert other's responsibility: "It's my brother's turn to clean up the kitchen."

Self-interest justification

Positive consequences of noncompliance: "I have to go practice so I can make the team."

Negative consequences of compliance: "If I don't do my homework, I'll fail the test."

Altruistic justification

Negative consequences of compliance: "I'm the star of the team. If I don't go we may lose the game."

Positive consequences of noncompliance: "If I read you a story I won't be able to study and I'll get a bad grade."

Invoke norms

Social norms: "I promised someone else I'd do something with them first."

Appeal to established standards: "Why do I always have to clean up? There are other people that eat around here."

NEGOTIATION

Exchange

Target offers to make concessions: "I'll read you a story, but only a short one."

Target suggests agent make concessions: "If you let me go I'll clean the kitchen tomorrow."

Target seeks compromise: "Let's watch half of my show and half of your show."

Target suggests mediated/third party solution: "Let's ask Tom to do the dishes tonignt."

Target trades compliance for some good or service: "If I watch your show you'll have to help me with my homework."

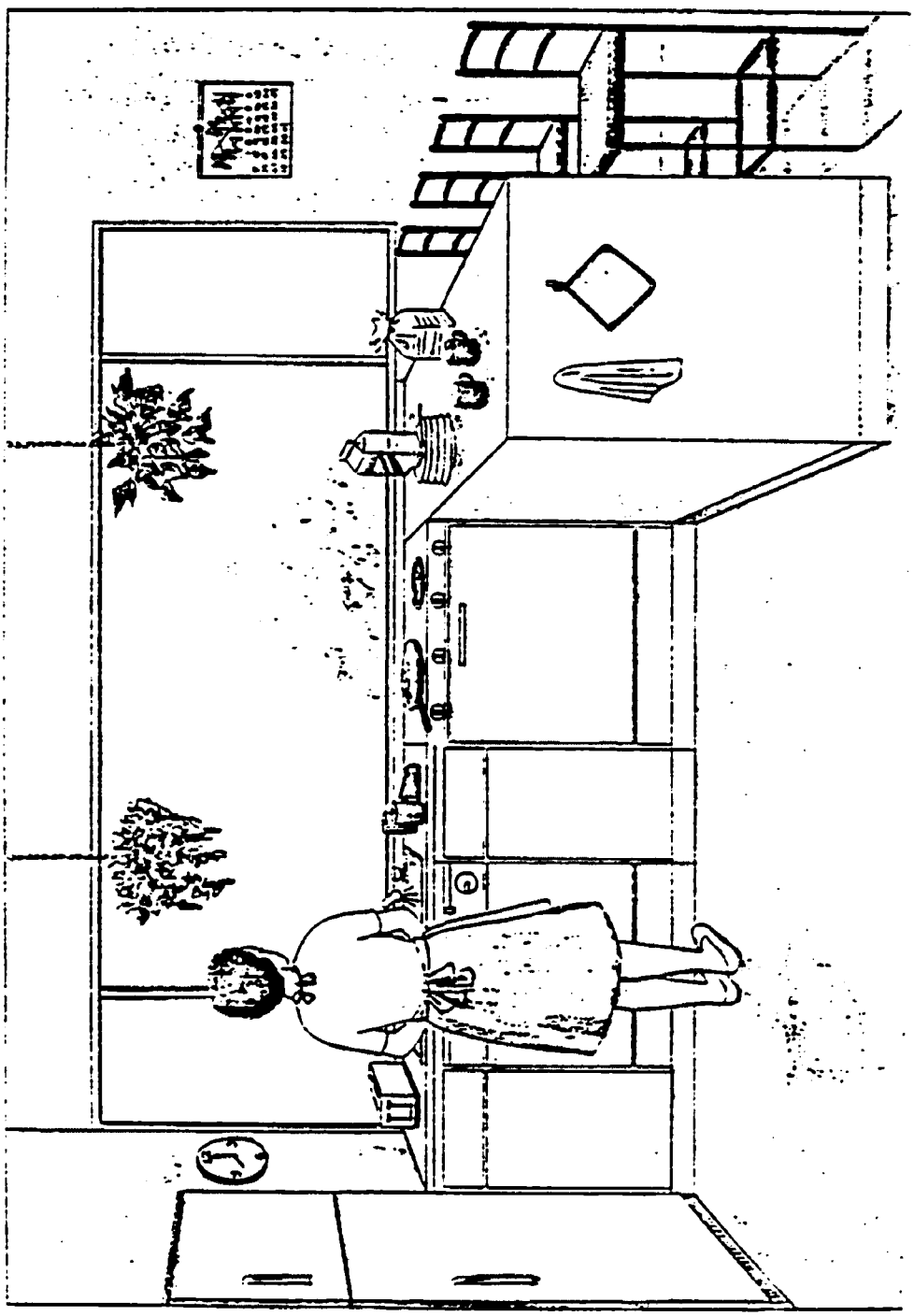
Empathetic Understanding

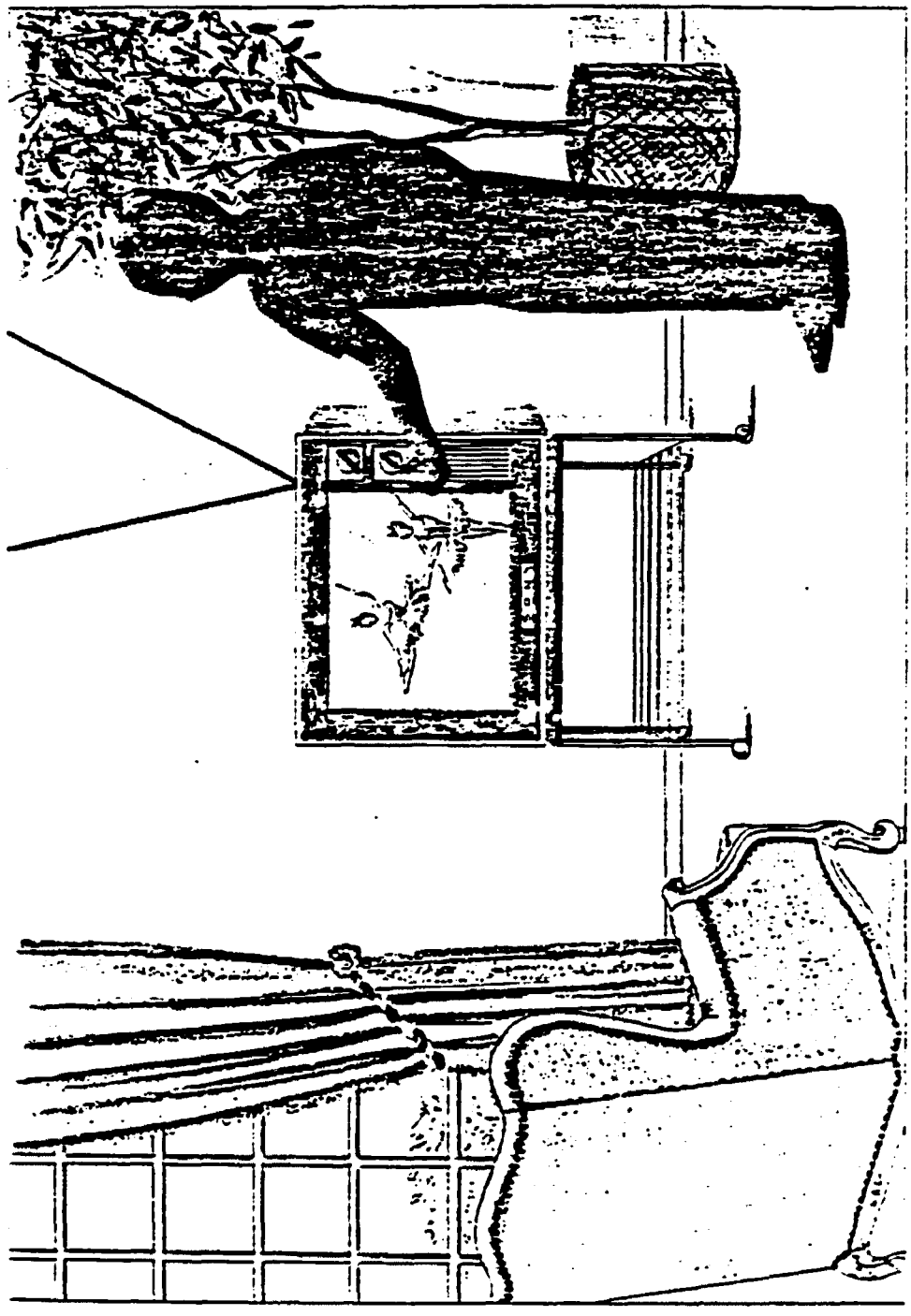
Suggests mutual talks: "Is there anything else I could do instead of cleaning-up the kitchen?"

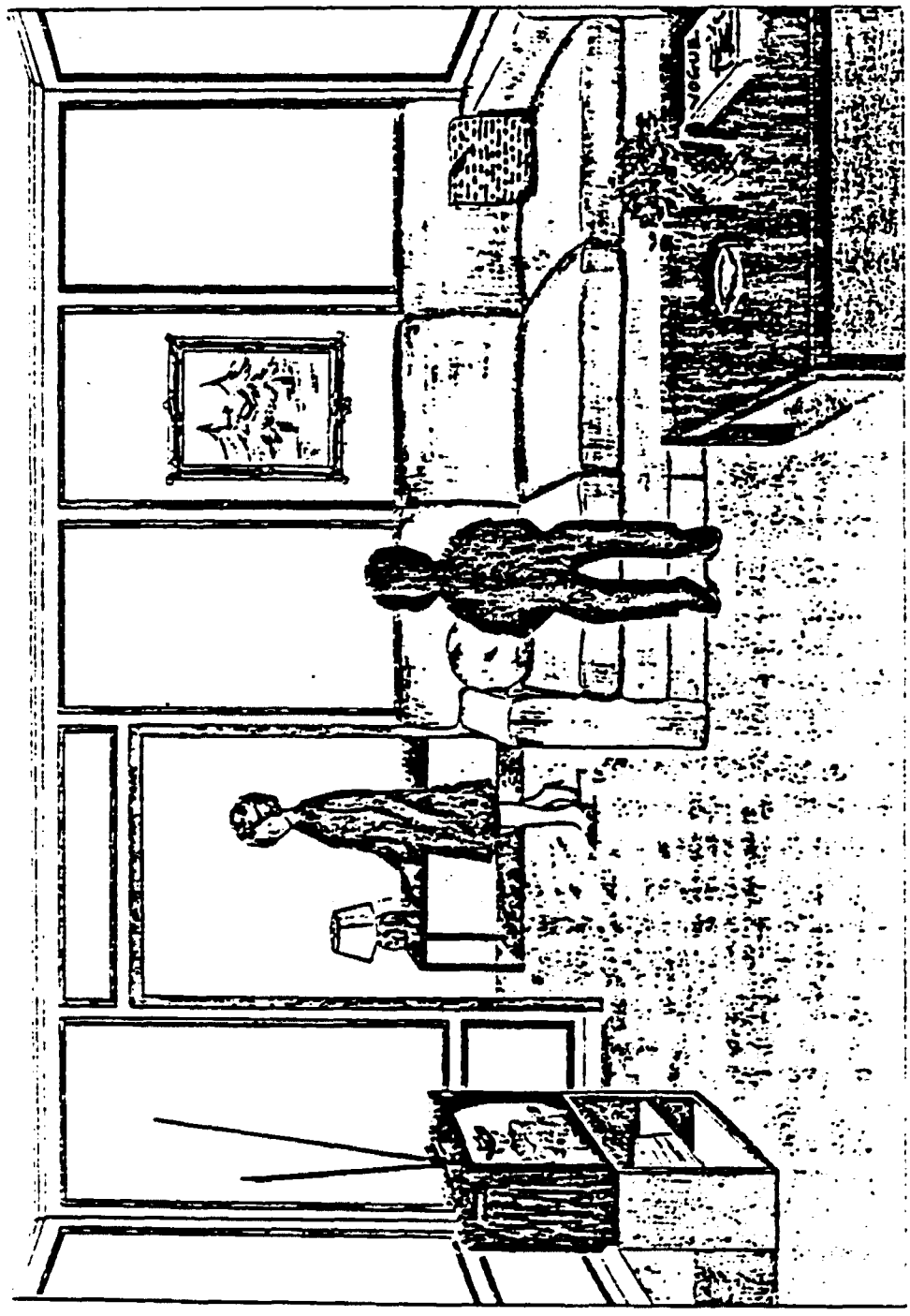
Asks for explanation/reasons: "Why can't we watch my show and watch your show some other time?"

APPENDIX D

Stimulus Materials: Line-drawings of Communication environments







APPENDIX E

Stimulus Material: Scenarios and Requests

Younger Sibling Scenario

I would like you to imagine/pretend that you have been asked to watch_____ (the sibling) while his/her mother is doing other work. _____(the sibling) wants you to tell her/him a stroy. You would rather do something else, you don't want to tell him/her a story.

The child says:

Compliance-gaining strategies

Simple request -- I'd like you to tell me a story, would you tell me a story?

Incentive request -- If you tell me a story, I'll let you play with my toys.

Altruistic request -- Will you tell me a story? Everybody else tells me stories when they watch me.

Best friend condition scenario

I would like you to imagine/pretend that you and your friend,_____, are watching TV. It is time for your favorite show,_____. Your friend asks to watch a different show. You don't want to watch the different show.

Your friend says:

Compliance-gaining strategies

Simple request -- I'd like to watch a different TV show. Will you let me watch that other TV show?

Incentive request-- If you let me watch my show/program, I'll do a favor for you.

Altruistic request-- My other friends would let me watch the TV show I want to watch.

Mother condition scenario

I would like you to pretend/imagine you have just finished dinner. Your mother asks you to help her clean-up the kitchen. There are other things you REALLY want to do, and you don't want to help her clean-up the kitchen.

Your mother says:

Compliance-gaining strategies

Simple request -- I'd like you to help me clean-up the kitchen. Will you help me clean-up the kitchen?

Incentive request -- If you help me clean-up the kitchen, I'll let you stay up/out an hour later tonight.

Altruistic request -- You should help me clean-up the kitchen because it's your turn to help around the house.