1974

Altruism in Elementary School Children.

Hubert Bonnette

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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ALTRUISM IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN.
The Louisiana State University and Agricultural
and Mechanical College, Ph.D., 1974
Psychology, general

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ALTRUISM IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Psychology

by

Brother Hubert Bonnette, S.C.
B.A., Spring Hill College, 1953
M.S., University of Notre Dame, 1960
August, 1974
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author expresses his appreciation to Mrs. Brenda Straw for her invaluable assistance in obtaining the initial data for this study.

For their advice and aid in the statistical analysis of the data, appreciation is expressed to Dr. Prentiss Schilling and Dr. Penny Hale Fuselier.

A special note of thanks is extended to Dr. Laurence Siegel, Dr. Robert Coon, and Dr. Virginia Glad for their constructive criticism and suggestions, given in an objective but kind and considerate manner.

The author expresses his great appreciation to Dr. Perry Prestholdt not only for his assistance in this study but for his many kindnesses and patience throughout the past years and especially for his outstanding example as to what a professional psychologist is and stands for.

Deep gratitude is expressed to Dr. Irving Lane without whose insight, guidance, and help this and past research would have been impossible. Particular appreciation is expressed for his patience and understanding in teaching the art of scientific writing and conveying to a somewhat stubborn individual what it means to do basic research that is meaningful, contributes to a better understanding of man and his behavior, and advances the science of psychology.
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ABSTRACT

The present research investigated the effects of grade, sex, and liking on the altruistic behavior of elementary school children. Kindergarten, second, and fourth grade children were over-paid to test a toy. They were then allowed to engage in the altruistic act of sharing some of their pay with a child of the same sex who was not able to earn any money. Results indicated that altruistic behavior increases with age and that females tend to be more altruistic than males. Although the liking variable had no effect on altruistic behavior, the results supported Staub's (1968) hypothesis that children learn a "norm of deservedness." These results indicate that elementary school children accumulate and put into practice the cultural norm of altruism.
INTRODUCTION

A considerable amount of recent social and developmental theorizing and research have been concerned with considerations of deserving and justice (e.g., Lane and Coon, 1972; Long and Lerner, 1974; Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1973). This theorizing and research (e.g., Lerner, in press) have identified five forms of justice that an individual may employ:

(a) **Justice of Equity**: Equity exists when each person receives a reward (outcome) that is proportional to his inputs (Adams, 1965). According to equity theory, persons should be satisfied with a situation as a function of the degree to which they perceive that the distribution of rewards is equitable. Moreover, persons should be dissatisfied whenever they perceive that either (1) they are receiving less reward than they should or (2) they are receiving more than they should. Moreover, (3) a person should feel more dissatisfied with the first distribution than with the second (Lane and Messe, 1971).

(b) **Justice of Parity or Equality**: Equality exists when each group member receives the same rewards. Those who invest a great deal and those who invest little are presumed to deserve the same outcome (Sampson, 1969). The justice of equality tends to prevail where there is a perception of "similarity" or where positive relationships predominate (Lerner, in press).

(c) **Marxian Justice of Need**: Marxian justice exists when the
resources are distributed to meet the most pressing needs of all the members without regard to their inputs. According to Lerner (in press) where there is perceived "Identity"—seeing others as an extension of one's self—the Marxian justice of need tends to take precedence over equity or parity considerations.

(d) **Justice of Law**: Justice of law exists when the letter of the law is followed regardless of the needs and contributions of those involved. The justice of law is exercised when close interdependence for goal attainment is accompanied by negative feelings (Lerner, in press).

(e) **Justice of Altruism**: Altruism exists when behaviors intended to benefit another but which appear to have high cost to the actor with little possibility of material or social reward are performed (Bryan and London, 1970). Several studies have supported Leeds' (1963) assumptions that an altruistic act (a) is an end in itself; it is not directed at gain, (b) is emitted voluntarily, and (c) does good. There are data which indicate that people hold a norm of social responsibility and perceive altruistic behavior as desirable and just (Bryan and London, 1970; Krebs, 1970).

Most of the justice research has been concerned with the norm of equity (Adams, 1965). Equity research employing adult subjects has demonstrated that, in both the reward distribution and work performance research paradigms, individuals generally strive to create and maintain equitable situations (e.g., Leventhal and Michaels, 1969; Pritchard, Dunnette, and Jorgenson, 1972). Equity research with children has demonstrated: (a) equitable behavior increases with age (Lerner, 1974);
There is no clear cut relationship between sex and equitable behavior (Lane and Coon, 1972); and (c) variables exist, such as discrepancy in performance and sufficiency of reward that influence whether the norm of equity or some other form of justice is employed (Coon, Lane, and Lichtman, in press; Leventhal and Michaels, 1969).

Unfortunately, very little, if any, research has been concerned with the parity, Marxian, or legal forms of justice. As Bryan and London (1970), and Walster, Berscheid, and Walster (1973) indicate, there are still substantial gaps in our knowledge concerning the different forms of justice.

However, there has been a substantial amount of research on the norm of altruism. These studies have recently been reviewed by Krebs (1970) and Bryan and London (1970). Although the study of altruism is important to the understanding of socialization practices, person-perception, and self-theory, it has been particularly important because it has stimulated examination of and change in several important theoretical positions, such as reinforcement theory, psychoanalysis, and the theory of evolution (Krebs, 1970).

The typical altruistic situation involves someone who gives (a benefactor), and someone who receives. In altruism research, independent variables have been classified as follows (Krebs, 1970): (a) temporary psychological states, such as positive affective states associated with success; (b) personality traits; (c) social norms (e.g., the norms of social responsibility and reciprocity); and (d) social roles and demographic variables (e.g., age, sex, and friendship). The altruism literature is summarized below in terms of these
independent variable classifications. Those studies investigating the effect of temporary psychological states on altruism and the correlation between personality traits and altruism have been done, for the most part, with college-age subjects. Social norms together with the effect of social roles and demographic variables have been investigated at both the college and elementary school levels.

(a) **Temporary psychological states:** There are indications that altruistic responses of college-age subjects on behalf of dependent others are more probable after success than after failure (e.g., Berkowitz and Connor, 1966; Isen, 1970) and that public transgression leads to reparative altruism (Freedman, Wallington, and Bless, 1967).

(b) **Personality Traits:** Although, considered as a whole, no general conclusions can be drawn about personality traits of benefactors, college-age male and female altruists tend to be socially oriented (Krebs, 1970). The characteristics of recipients that have been found to influence altruism most are those which relate to the legitimacy of their need for help (Berkowitz, 1967; Schopler and Matthews, 1965).

(c) **Social Norms:** Staub (1968) hypothesizes that while children learn the value of sharing, they also learn a "norm of deservedness." He found that fourth-grade subjects shared more after having failed on a bowling task than after having performed well. Long and Lerner (1974) found that "over-paid" fourth grade children donated more money to an unknown orphan than children who received "proper-pay," and this donation did not vary as a function of audience. Neither Long and Lerner's (1974) "over-paid" fourth graders nor Staub's (1968) fourth
graders who failed had justifiable claims on the rewards received. Like Staub (1968), Long and Lerner (1974) interpreted their results as indicating that children are affected by considerations of deserving—just as are adults hired to do a marketing interview (Adams and Jacobsen, 1964). Unfortunately, no additional evidence is available concerning the hypothesis that children learn a "norm of deservedness" (Bryan and London, 1970).

(d) Social roles and demographic variables:

(i) **Sex:** Most studies with both adults and children have failed to find sex differences in altruism (Berkowitz, Klanderman, and Harris, 1964; Fischer, 1963). Of the 17 studies reported by Krebs (1970) that examined children of both sexes, 11 found no sex differences. Only two reported main effects that approached significance while the remaining studies reported only interaction effects. No studies have found sex differences in altruism for nursery school children (Fischer, 1963; Gerwitz, 1948; Hartup and Keller, 1960; Murphy, 1937).

(ii) **Age:** Relatively few studies have compared the incidence of altruism in children of different ages on the same task (Krebs, 1970). A few studies (Midlarsky and Bryan, 1967; Ugurel-Semin, 1952; Wright, 1942) have found a positive relationship between age and generosity. In their research with nursery, kindergarten, fourth, fifth, and sixth grade children, Handlon and Gross (1959) failed to confirm Ugurel-Semin's findings that generosity was not a smoothly increasing function of age. Their study indicated that age was a significant variable in sharing behavior; that is, giving the partner the greater share increased with age.
(iii) **Friendship:** In her study of 8-year-old children of middle class families, Wright (1942) found that the children were more willing to donate the preferred toy to a stranger than to a friend. Those children who were secure in their relationships to friends, and who felt social responsibilities towards the needy, were most likely to sacrifice for unknown others (Bryan and London, 1970).

In her two experiments with nursery school children and first- to third-grade children, Floyd (1964) found that her subjects tended to give more trinkets to friends than non-friends on the first block of trials. On the second block of trials, her results indicated that a large amount of reward from a friend tended to lead to a decrease in giving while a small amount of reward tended to lead to an increase in giving. However, a large reward received from a non-friend tended to lead to a significant increase in giving while a small amount of reward from a non-friend tended to result in a decrease in giving.

Because Floyd's (1964) non-friends consisted of neutral and disliked peers, and Wright's (1942) non-friends consisted of strangers, their experiments are not strictly comparable. However both can be interpreted as support for a gain-loss model: people act in ways that increase gains and minimize losses of interpersonal reward. Floyd (1964) interpreted her findings as support for this model and some of the children in Wright’s (1942) study who gave to strangers explained their behavior by saying that they wanted to gain a friend.

In his research with five year olds, Lerner (1974) found that his subjects tended to employ the norm of equality even when the difference between the better and the worse performer was large. Since
his subjects were defined as a "team," Lerner (1974) interpreted his results as support for a hypothesis derived from his model (Lerner, in press): friendship leads people to prefer equal (parity) outcomes rather than equity considerations of each person's considerations.

Although research has been conducted and theoretical positions amended in order to accommodate altruistic behavior, the justice of altruism has not been adequately examined in the light of those attributes that help elicit altruistic behavior. The present research attempted to increase the understanding of justice by investigating the effects of liking, age, and sex on altruistic behavior. It attempted to clarify past research findings by using four levels of the liking variable: most liked (ML), colleague (C), least liked (LL) and stranger (St).

The procedure employed, developed recently by Long and Lerner (1974) combined elements of both equity and altruism methodologies. In the present research, children earned rewards—they were paid for testing a game. They were then able to donate part of their earned reward to another child who did not have the opportunity to earn any reward himself. In most previous altruism research (e.g., Floyd, 1964; Ugurel-Semin, 1952), unlike equity research, the allocator did not earn the amount of reward he distributed. However, in most real-life situations, altruistic behavior is the result of the donation of earned rewards. Therefore, it was felt that employing Long and Lerner's (1974) procedure would further enhance our understanding of altruism.

Some studies suggest that potential recipients are sometimes more likely to elicit benefits when they are friends (e.g., Floyd,
1964) while other studies suggest that non-friends elicit more altruism (e.g., Wright, 1942). However, because of the basic procedural differences among those few studies which investigated altruistic behavior of children toward known and unknown others (Floyd, 1964; Long and Lerner, 1974; Wright, 1942) they were not comparable. Past research and theorizing (e.g., Lerner, in press) seem to indicate that the liking variable is relevant to altruistic behavior. Therefore, hypothesis 1 states: Liking affects altruistic behavior.

Although previous findings are not entirely consistent, they seem to indicate that altruism tends to increase with age (e.g., Handlon and Gross, 1959; Midlarsky and Bryan, 1967). Therefore hypothesis 2 states: Altruistic behavior increases with age.

The majority of the studies investigating both equity theory and altruism which used elementary school children failed to find sex differences (e.g., Lane and Coon, 1972; Shure, 1958; Staub, 1968). However, some found a greater incidence of altruism in boys than girls (e.g., Bryan and Walbek, 1969; Rosenhan and White, 1967) and some found the reverse (e.g., White, 1967). Since it seemed apparent that there are no clear trends, no hypothesis was made concerning the sex variable.
METHOD

Subjects

The Ss were 72 boys and 72 girls from middle-income families in the kindergarten, second, and fourth grades of Catholic schools in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana. Twenty-four boys and 24 girls from each grade were randomly assigned to one of the four liking conditions. The mean age for the kindergarten children was 5.76 (SD, .30); the mean age for the second grade children was 7.75 (SD, .33); and the mean age for the fourth graders was 9.82 (SD, .36). The experimenter was a male in his late forties.

Operationalization of the Liking Variable

Secord and Backman (1964) point out that in the instruction to choose the most-preferred persons almost any criterion for choice may be specified. Individuals may indicate which persons they prefer as friends, or simply which they like or dislike.

Four levels of the liking variable were employed: most liked (ML), colleague (C), least liked (LL), and stranger (St). The number of ML, C, and LL determined for each child in the class was one-third of the total number of children of the same sex as the S in the class.

Several days prior to conducting the experiment, the ML, C, and LL of each child in the class were determined by a female in her late twenties who was a stranger to all the classes, in the following manner:
With a dittoed random list of the names of all the boys in the class before her, she asked each boy in private to name (the number given was the number determined as stated above, e.g., 5) the 5 boys in the class whom he liked the most. She explained that everyone liked some people better than others and that part of growing up was the ability to know whom you liked best and to try to figure out why.

I am going to schools in Baton Rouge to get this information so that I can write a paper about liking. I want to see if I can learn why some people are liked and others are not. What you tell me is just between me and you. I am not going to use names in my paper. And I don't want you to tell anyone what you are telling me. It may hurt their feelings and we don't want to do that.

I want you to tell me the names of the 5 boys in the class whom you like the most: the ones with whom you play the most; those whose houses you enjoy visiting the most; the boys you invite to your house to play.

Now let me read the names to you. You can look at this list as I am reading them.

After she had finished reading the list she stated:

Now tell me the names of the 5 boys in the class you like the most.

She wrote down the names as the child called them out. After the required number of names had been listed, the child was asked if he wanted to change any.

He was then asked to pick the one whom he liked the best from among the 5:

Whom do you like the best of these 5 boys? Whom do you play with the most?

After the child had made the selection, she continued:

Whom do you like the second-best? And the third-best?
She continued in this manner until all the ML had been listed in order. Then she went through the names as they had been ordered and asked the child if he wanted to change any.

The same procedure was followed for determining the LL. The interviewer explained:

Now I need to know the names of the boys in the class whom you do not like. It can help you to grow up by making you think about whom you do not play with. Maybe you have not grown up enough to see the good points in these boys. This is not really bad. And it can help us by thinking about it. The important thing is that you do not do anything to hurt them.

Now tell me the (the number given was the same as the number of the ML, e.g., 5) names of the 5 boys in the class whom you like the least: those you do not play with; those boys in the class whom you do not invite to your house to play; those boys who do not play with you.

As with the ML, after going through the procedure once, the child was asked to reconsider. They were ordered according to:

The last boy you choose to play with; the last boy in the class whom you invite to your house; the second-to-last boy you choose to play with, etc.

The interviewer ended by explaining that it was also very important to be able to keep a secret:

A sign of being a grown person is that you do not tell people everything you hear about another person. Since some little boys may be hurt if you told them what you told me, I don't want you to tell anyone whose names you gave me. OK?

The remaining third of the boys in the class, after the ML and LL had been listed, were classified as C. The name used for the St variable was that of a child in another school in a different area of the city.
The name of the stimulus person chosen as the ML or LL was either the first or second choice designated by each S. The name of the stimulus person chosen as the C was randomly selected from the names of the Cs. The name of each stimulus person, except for the St condition was used only once.

The ML, C, LL, and St of the girls were determined in the same manner as had been done for the boys. A random list of the names of the girls in the class was used and the same questions were asked of the girls that had been asked of the boys.

Procedure

When S entered the room, E was sitting at a desk facing the door. As S entered, E told him:

Would you sit on that chair (E pointed to the chair across the desk from him.) Now, let's see your name is (E stated S's name and wrote it on a formal mimeographed information blank entitled "The Fun Toy Company.")

I am Mr. Bonnette and I work for "The Fun Toy Company." My company makes toys for children 5 years old to 10 years old. In order to get new ideas for toys, we hire children to play games. And we pay them for playing the game and for telling us what they think about it.

I am going to schools in Baton Rouge and I wanted to hire all the children in your class. But I don't have enough time and I cannot hire all the children in your class. Usually my company pays children $.20 for playing a new game and telling us what they think about it. Since I do not have time to hire everybody in your class, I have a little extra money. Therefore, I will pay you $.30 for your help. Now, do you want to play this game and let me pay you for your ideas about it?

1 The children were over-paid because past research (Long and Lerner,
This is a new toy we have in stores right now and we want to know what children think about it and to see if we can make it better. I will show you how to play the game. (E demonstrated how to play the game.)

Now you play with the game for a few minutes. (E took the information blank entitled "The Fun Toy Company" and put it in front of him while S played the game.)

Let me ask you some questions because this is really what we are paying you for. We want your ideas. How old are you? (E wrote all the answers S gave him on the information blank.) When is your birthday? What grade are you in? Would the game be more fun if someone else had been playing with you? Do you think each player should have more than one marble? Do you think the color of the marbles make any difference? Do you think it would be more fun if it were larger? About how large do you think it would be? Do you think that a boy would buy a game like this? Do you think that a girl would buy a game like this? Do you have any suggestions or ideas on how to make the game more fun?

That's fine. As I told you before, usually my company pays children $.20 when we hire them. However, since I do not have enough time to hire everyone from your class, I have some extra money. Therefore, I am going to pay you $.30.

For the ML, C, or LL stimulus person, E stated:

One of the children in your class whom I was going to hire but can't now because of time is (E used the name of either a ML, C, or LL, e.g., Bobby Smith.)

When the stimulus person was a stranger, E said:

One of the children whom I was going to hire does not go to your school. He goes to a school on the other side of town. His name is Bobby Smith. You do not know him.

Therefore Bobby Smith will not be able to earn any money. If you would like to, you will be able to share some of your pay with Bobby. If you don't want to share any of your pay, that is fine too. It is up to you.

---

1974) had demonstrated that over-sufficiency of reward tends to increase the probability of altruistic behavior.

2 The game was "Whiplash" manufactured by Lakeside Toys.
You can do anything you want to. Anything you do is fine with me. Nobody, not even your teacher or Bobby Smith will ever know if you keep all the pay for yourself.

Please put the money you want to keep for yourself in this envelope which has your name on it and the money you want to give to Bobby Smith in this envelope which has his name on it. (E gave the two envelopes and 30 pennies.) This (E pointed) is your envelope and this is Bobby Smith's envelope (E pointed to the other envelope with Bobby Smith's name on it.)

Now put the money you are going to keep for yourself in your envelope (E pointed it out) and if you want to give Bobby Smith any money put it in his envelope (E pointed it out.) Anything you do is fine with me. (S distributed the money.)

Thank you very much. I will keep your envelope and give back all the envelopes to the children that I hired before the class goes home today. Now let's go back to your classroom together.

Before leaving the school, E went into the classroom from which Ss had been chosen. He thanked the teacher and the children for their help. He explained that in appreciation for what they had done, he was going to give every child something since he had wanted to hire everyone but was not able to do so. The Ss were given their pay envelopes with the amounts they had kept for themselves. The children designated as ML, C, and LL were given their pay envelopes with the amount inserted by the Ss unless it was less than $.10. These together with all the other children in the class were given pay envelopes each of which contained $.10.
RESULTS

The effects of three variables on altruistic behavior were investigated, using a 2 (sex of the subject—male or female) X 3 (grade of the subject—kindergarten, second, or fourth) X 4 (liking of the stimulus person—most liked, colleague, least liked or stranger) factorial design.

The number of pennies in the other child's envelope was determined. These data are contained in the Appendix. They were used to determine the percent of the total reward that each subject donated. Table 1 presents the mean of these percentages classified by experimental conditions. An analysis of variance performed on these data and summarized in Table 2 revealed significant main effects for grade level \( (F = 8.34; \ df = 2, 120; \ p < .001) \) and sex \( (F = 11.50; \ df = 1, 120; \ p < .001) \). No other main effect or interaction approached significance.

The highly significant main effect for sex indicates that girls tended to donate a greater amount of the pay to others than did boys. The mean percent donated by the girls was 30.09 while the boys donated 18.94 percent of their pay.

The highly significant main effect for grade level indicates that, as predicted, altruism tends to increase with age. Kindergarten, second, and fourth grade children donated a mean of 4.92 (16.40%), 7.29 (24.30%) and 9.85 (32.83%) pennies respectively to the other child.
To explore further the effect of grade level on altruistic behavior, Duncan's new multiple-range test (Steel and Torrie, 1960, p. 107) was performed. This test revealed that fourth graders tended to be more altruistic than both kindergarten children (p < .01) and second graders (p < .05). The more altruistic behavior of second graders as compared to kindergarten children approached significance (p < .06). Orthogonal regression comparisons for equally spaced treatments (Steel and Torrie, 1960, p. 222) revealed a highly significant linear progression for grades (F = 16.68, df = 1, 120, p < .001).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>ML</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>LL</th>
<th>St</th>
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<td>33.90</td>
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### TABLE 2

**SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR AMOUNT OR REWARD DONATED TO THE OTHER CHILD**

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<tr>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>120</td>
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DISCUSSION

As hypothesized, the results of this study, like the findings of Handlon and Gross (1959), indicate that age is a significant variable in sharing behavior. Fourth grade children, in the present research, donated almost twice as much of their pay as did kindergarten children. The highly significant linear progression for grade tends to support Staub's (1968) hypothesis that children learn a social responsibility norm. It seems that for elementary school children, altruistic behavior is a smoothly increasing function of age. Apparently children accumulate and put into practice cultural norms regarding the appropriateness of altruistic acts.

As Berkowitz (1972) points out, many people in our society are influenced by the operation of social rules and internalized standards of conduct. They presumably act unselfishly for the good feeling they anticipate and in order to avoid the guilt that would arise if they violated the moral standards they were taught verbally ("It's nice to share") and by the example of their elders.

The greater incidence of altruism in girls than in boys revealed by this study supports the findings of a number of other studies (e.g., Berkowitz, 1967; Bryan and Walbek, 1969; and Rosenhan and White, 1967). However a number of studies have found a greater incidence of altruism in boys than in girls (e.g., Berkowitz, 1967; Schopler, 1967). The majority of the studies investigating both equity
theory and altruism which used elementary school children failed to find sex differences (e.g., Lane and Coon, 1972; Shure, 1968; Staub, 1958). If one were to speculate about the highly significant difference with respect to the sex variable in this study, it seems that it could be attributed to the fact that the children earned the reward and that they were overpaid. Maybe in our culture, females are expected to be more sensitive and concerned about others and whether or not they deserve the pay received. Since the children were over-paid, they did not have justifiable claims on the rewards received. It could be that the girls were affected more by considerations of deserving than were the boys.

The results of this study indicate that the liking or friendship variable had no effect on the altruistic behavior of children. This is in opposition to Lerner's (in press) theorizing that emphasizes the importance of friendship in acts of justice. However, Lerner's (in press) theorizing is supported primarily by his own research (Lerner, 1974). Therefore, it should be noted that in Lerner's (1974) research he did not use friends in the real world as was done in this study. His "friendship" condition was operationalized by telling his Ss that they were team members. The liking variable per se of the team members was not considered. In fact, teams were composed of dyads who did not see each other, much less know who their partners were. The present research, therefore, seems to be a more adequate test of the importance of the friendship variable.

However it should be noted that systematic attention to the subject of liking and disliking is comparatively recent. Attitudes toward issues and events are traditional areas of social psychological
concern, but theories and research focusing specifically on the attitudes people have toward one another are relatively new to the field. Most of the ongoing work on interpersonal attitudes is concerned with delineating the determinants of positive attraction; few researchers have directly explored the more difficult problem of the acquisition of dislike (Lott and Lott, 1972). It could be that the liking variable used in this study was not a sufficiently powerful manipulation. This would account for the similarity of results for the ML, C and LL but would not seem to be an adequate explanation for the lack of differences between the St condition and the other three conditions.

The school setting also could have influenced the behavior of the Ss to a considerable degree. It is in the elementary school that fundamental and long-lasting attitudes are learned. Schools are precisely where educators currently introduce various conditions and techniques designed to increase the academic and social skills of children, not the least of which is reduction of interpersonal hostility.

Havighurst (1970) has theorized that the effective human reward-punishment system changes with age and that different subcultures "carry their children along this evolutionary path at different rates and in different ways (p. 279)." Possibly, different results would be obtained if this study were conducted outside of a school setting, e.g., on a public play-ground, or even in a different type of school, e.g., one in a ghetto where $.30 would mean more to the children than it does to those of a white middle-class socio-economic culture.

Floyd (1964) found that potential recipients are sometimes more likely to elicit benefits from friends than from non-friends because of
prompted expectations of reciprocation. Expectations of reciprocity were not relevant in the present study with regard to the stranger condition. With strangers the S had no anticipation or expectation of ever meeting the stimulus person. Therefore, the present research seems to indicate that children learn to behave altruistically for other than mercenary reasons.

The results indicate that as the children got older, they donated more of their excess pay to others. Kindergarten, second, and fourth grade children donated 49.16, 72.91, and 98.54 percent of the excess reward to the other child. This supports Staub's (1968) hypothesis that children learn a "norm of deservedness." Not having justifiable claims on part of the pay received, the children apparently did not consider themselves completely deserving of it and were more willing to share it with others.

That the Ss gave almost as much to strangers (24.92%) as they did to the most-liked individuals (25.46%) tends to support Berkowitz's (1972) notion of a social responsibility norm: persons in our society think that they are expected to help others. Assuming the existence of such a norm, one would have to say that the present study indicates that this norm had an over-powering effect on the effects of the friendship variable as hypothesized by Lerner (in press).

However, other processes may also operate in addition to or instead of these moral norms. Social scientists have long assumed that people want to look at themselves as "kind" and "helpful" and act accordingly. Similarly situational conditions play an important role in altruistic behavior. Whether or not a stimulus constitutes a
reward for a particular child will depend upon his or her past experience with that stimulus, the social setting in which it is presented (which may provide it with some additional meaning), and his or her level of drive to attain it. That is, an individual's previously acquired predispositions, together with the external factors present, involve a complex interplay and it is these interactional conceptions to which more studies appear to have to be directed.
REFERENCES


Berkowitz, L., Klanderman, S. and Harris, R. Effects of experimenter awareness and sex of subject and experimenter on reactions to dependency relationship. Sociometry, 1964, 27, 327-337.


**TABLE 3**

**NUMBER OF PENNIES DONATED BY EACH SUBJECT**

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<th>Grade</th>
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<th>Liking Variable</th>
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<th>C</th>
<th>LL</th>
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Note: The largest number that a S could donate was 30 pennies.
TABLE 3 (continued)

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Note: The largest number that a $ could donate was 30 pennies.
Table 3 (continued)

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Note: The largest number that a S could donate was 30 pennies.
VITA

Edwin Paul Bonnette, Jr., in religion Brother Hubert Bonnette, was born May 23, 1924, in Alexandria, Louisiana. After graduating from Menard Memorial High School in Alexandria, he entered the New Orleans Province of the Congregation of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart, a Congregation of the Roman Catholic Church devoted to teaching. He pronounced his first vows August 15, 1943, and his final vows August 15, 1949.

He served as a teacher in Metuchen, N.J.; Montreal, P.Q., Canada; New York City; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Mobile, Alabama; and Bay St. Louis, Mississippi until 1961 when he was made Principal of Thibodaux High School, Thibodaux, Louisiana. In 1964 he was elected delegate to the General Chapter of the Congregation of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart in Rome and was appointed Provincial of the New Orleans Province at the close of the Chapter. He was elected to serve a second and final three-year term in 1967. Upon the completion of this term, September, 1970, he entered LSU to do undergraduate work in psychology and was accepted into the Graduate School the second semester of that year.
Candidate:       Brother Hubert Bonnette, S.C.

Major Field:   Psychology

Title of Thesis:   Altruism in Elementary School Children

Approved:

[Signatures of Major Professor and Chairman, Dean of the Graduate School, and other committee members]

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Date of Examination:

May 16, 1974