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TUNE IN AND HELP OUT?:

EMPATHY, MODELING, DEPENDENCY, PERSPECTIVE TAKING, AND TELEVISION AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ALTRUISM IN CHILDREN

bу

William Edward Van Ornum

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

May

1978

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Loyola University of Chicago

TUNE IN AND HELP OUT?:

EMPATHY, MODELING, DEPENDENCY, PERSPECTIVE TAKING, AND
TELEVISION AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO

ALTRUISM IN CHILDREN

The present study investigated the relationship of television and a number of other variables to children's altruism. The helper-beneficiary relationship chosen for the study was that between normal children and retarded children, the latter being portrayed in three videotape television programs which were shown to normal fourth- and fifth-grade youngsters. Relevant research suggested four variables needing further investigation in relation to altruism: modeling, dependency, and perspective taking. The television programs were designed to induce different levels of empathy in the normal children, and one of the shows included segments of "helping models" in order to create a modeling effect. The dependency variable was tested through experimenter instructions, and scores on the Feffer Role Taking Task were correlated with altruism to assess the relationship between perspective taking and altruism. The measure of altruism was the number of language-lesson flashcards that each subject assembled for donation to the retarded children.

A 4 X 2 X 2 analysis of variance for the four empathy, two modeling, high and low dependency, and two sex variables

was used to test these hypotheses: (1) Inducing empathy in helpers towards recipients increases altruism; (2) Viewing a helping model increases altruism; and (3) High dependency of the recipients increases the altruism shown by the helpers. An additional hypothesis was that perspective taking ability, as measured by the Feffer Role Taking Task, correlates positively with altruism.

Children across all conditions showed considerable altruism. However, none of the \underline{F} ratios for the analysis of variance was significant and the Feffer scores did not significantly correlate with altruism.

The discussion of these results focused on reconciling the high level of altruism displayed by the subjects with the nonsupport of the hypotheses. Some possible reasons included:

(1) demand characteristics in the school environment and the teachers' attitudes where the study was run; (2) the relatively short length of the television programs; (3) the as yet ambiguous relationship between social cognition and interpersonal behavior; and (4) the possible lack of a proper control group in the study. Some extensions of the study were discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks and appreciation are expressed toward Dr. Jeanne Foley, chairman, and Dr. Ann Heilman, and Dr. Deborah Holmes, members of the thesis committee. Their support and insights into this area helped make the project most worthwhile and it was a pleasure to work with them.

Special gratitude is offered to Carol Kaufman, Colleen Walsh, Bernard Brady, and Sandy Rapoport, who received undergraduate independent study credit while working on the project. Their contributions were substantial and working with them was enjoyable.

Sr. Rosemary Connelly, the teachers, staff, and children of Misericordia Home, are to be thanked for granting
permission and working with us on developing the videotape
shows. Sr. Patricia Mahoney was invaluable in providing
narration for the shows and for her role as participant in
each program.

The technical expertise of Mr. Robert Rehn was most significant, as was the availability of equipment permitted us through his department. Thanks also to Media Services, Dr. Bickman, Dr. Homer Johnson, and the Psychology Department, Loyola University, for equipment support.

Mr. Joel LoCashio, the teachers, parents, and children

of Our Lady of Mercy School, Chicago, Illinois, are thanked for participating in this research. Also, the principals, teachers, and students at: Immaculate Conception, Saint Gertrude's, and Saint Ignatius' schools. The children of these schools cut out the cardboard letters that were used in the altruism task. The Salvation Army is thanked for providing magazines.

Thanks is offered to my family and friends for their support throughout this project. Thanks to Mary Wicker for pitching in at the right time and for her friendship, which made the last phases of this project seem like less work than they really were.

Thanks is offered to my mother, Mrs. Shirley Van Ornum, for her typing, which was truly a project of considerable time and effort. It was immensely helpful and is most appreciated.

ATIV

The author, William Edward Van Ornum, is the son of Wesley Van Ornum and Shirley (Phillips) Van Ornum. He was born May 18, 1953, in Evanston, Illinois.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTTON

"No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main," wrote John Donne in the 17th century. He was a poet who recognized the kinship of all peoples and the cooperation that this kinship implies. Three centuries later Marshall McLuhan noted that the closeness of all peoples was being enhanced by the medium of television. McLuhan submitted that TV enwrapped its viewers, as suggested by the title of his work The Medium is the Massage (1967). He asserted that television was quickly making the world into a "global village."

These thoughts of the poet and the media specialist can be translated into the vocabulary of the research psychologist: What effects does television have in general, and on altruism in particular? This is a relatively new area of research. An important early work on altruism was May's (1929) Studies in the Nature of Character. However, studies in this area only began to gain impetus about 15 years ago, when Berkowitz and Daniels (1963) commented that:

Most modern psychologists seem to regard man as being entirely wrapped up within himself. If we are to judge from the theoretical formulations currently guiding most of the research and social psychology, human beings-or at least those living in Western society--have practically no concerns but themselves. (p. 427)

In this decade, altruism has grown to be an important area of study, and many variables have been studied which are related to altruism, as discussed in several review articles (Bryan, 1972; Bryan & London, 1970; Krebs, 1970; Rushton, 1976).

"Altruism" has been defined in numerous ways in studies with children, with two major categories summarizing the research (Bryan, 1972). The first category is rescue activity, where the child is first exposed to an "emergency" situation in which a peer is in some sort of distress, and then is given the option of aiding the peer. The second category is donation activity, where the child is provided with an opportunity to sacrifice anonymously a prized object such as money to some charitable organization.

One variable pertinent to altruism is television. Much of the research on television and behavior has focused on television and aggression. A number of reviews on this topic have supported the view that TV violence is a significant cause of aggressive behavior (Bandura, 1973; Comstock, 1975; Liebert, Neale, & Davidson, 1973; Murray, 1973). But, in summarizing all of the research, Kaplan and Singer (1976) suggest that the role of television in aggression is still debatable.

Contrasting the immense amount of research into television and aggression is the relatively small number of studies on television and altruism with Singer and Kaplan (1976) recognizing this as an important area of study:

Behaviors such as helping, sharing, cooperating,

avoiding violence, reducing conflict, and responding empathically are viewed favorably...Interest in the effects of TV on prosocial behaviors has been on the increase. Prosocial behaviors are depicted on television, and it would be of value to ascertain whether their occurrence tends to increase helping among various classes of the viewing public in everyday life. (p. 4)

The present study investigated the relationship of a number of variables to altruism using television as an independent variable. The helper-beneficiary relationship chosen for the study was that between normal children and retarded children, the latter being portrayed in three videotape television programs which were shown to normal youngsters. These programs were designed to induce different levels of empathy in the normal youngsters, and one of the shows included segments of "helping models" in order to create a modeling effect. The measure of altruism was the number of language-lesson flashcards that each subject assembled for donation to the retarded children.

Relevant research suggested four variables needing further investigation in relation to altruism. Prosocial modeling has been shown to lead to altruism. Dependency as a variable has been investigated in adult studies but relatively neglected in child studies. There has been an overall lack of empirical data on the effects of different levels of empathy on altruism. Finally, theoretical notions about perspective taking suggested that increased perspective taking ability would promote altruism.

In this study, the modeling and empathy variables were presented through the television programs, the dependency

variable was tested through experimenter instructions, and scores on the Feffer Role Taking Task were correlated with altruism to assess the relationship between perspective taking and altruism.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Modeling

"It is evident from informal observation that human behavior is transmitted, whether deliberately or involuntarily, largely through exposure to social models" (Bandura, 1971, p. 1). Bandura has analyzed the many ways that modeling influences learning across a wide variety of situations.

Bryan (1970) stated that a modeling effect was often but not always found in experiments on children's altruism. In a number of studies he attempted to clarify this by separating the modeling effect from exhortation to behave altru-In his studies, the child subject played a bowling istically. game on two occasions which were separated by the introduction of the experimental treatment. First, the child won a predetermined number of gift certificates. This part of the experiment was designed to give the child something of value which he could contribute later in the experiment. in the experiment the experimenter indicated that the child might wish to donate some of his winnings to the unfortunates, such as the poor, the crippled, and the orphaned.) Following a practice period, the child was introduced to a model of the same sex who was approximately the same age as the subject or

who was an adult. Models used included: (a) a Preaching Charity model who said things like, "It is good to give to poor children (or crippled children)"; (b) a Preaching Greed model who said things like, "It is not good to give to poor children"; and (c) Hypocritical models, who preached charity but then did not donate, or who preached greed but then did donate. After the child watched the model, he was again left to play the game and afterwards, if he so desired, he could contribute to the needy. The child was led to believe that neither the experimenter nor the model would reenter the room and he was instructed to return to his classroom at the end of the game.

Overall, Bryan found that children evaluated their model peers both on their practices and preachings, but that preachings did not significantly effect their behavior while the modeling of altruistic behavior was positively associated with the children's donation behavior. Bryan concluded: "From these and other studies, it is clear that behavior is affected by modeling, but apparently neither boys nor girls are affected by the exhortations of the model" (p.71). The findings of the next study to be discussed supported this conclusion.

In order to assess the effects of modeling, verbalization of modeling, and model nurturance on sharing behavior in children, Grusec and Skubinski (1970) presented a model who was either nurturant or nonnurturant. Then, half of the nurtured and half of the nonnurtured subjects saw the model

play a game where a prize could be won. Afterwards, the model donated half of the winnings to charity. The remaining subjects watched a model who did not have the opportunity to play the game but was merely given the opportunity to muse aloud that the appropriate thing to do seemed to be to give away half of his winnings. A major finding of their study was that actual performance of sharing, on the whole, was much more effective in producing imitation than was mere verbalization by the model of what he believed to be the appropriate behavior.

However, the results of these studies cannot be viewed as unequivocal regarding modeling and exhortation to giving. Midlarsky and Bryan (1972) included two types of model practice (charitable and greedy), and two positive affect condi-These latter included positive affect contiguous to the generous or greedy act, and noncontiguous positive affect. They found that children were most likely to be generous if' they observed an unselfish model who experienced positive affect contiguously to his donations; and, that charitable exhortations were positively related to the amount donated -a finding that had not received previous experimental support. These investigators concluded that their results may have occurred because: (a) the exhortations employed in their study were rationalized; and (b) fifth graders were included in the sample, whereas previous experiments focused upon somewhat younger age groups.

To increase external validity, other studies have shown

that a model's behavior can determine the direction as well as the amount of altruism. Harris (1970) found that 10-and 11-year-old children closely patterned their behavior after the model's donating behavior, donating to charity if the model had done so or retaining their winnings if this is what they had witnessed. In a later study, Harris (1971) found that children would follow the example set for them by the model when donating to charity.

Another aspect of the external validity issue is the question: how durable and general are behavior changes following the observation of a model? Results of studies provide some evidence that changes made are durable and general. Rosenhahn (1969) used 6- to 10-year-old subjects and reported modeling effects that generalized on a 3-week retest to produce more generosity in quite a different situation. However, generalization did not occur to another kind of sharing, giving up a preferred toy to a stranger. Rushton (1975) and Rice and Grusec (1975) showed that altruistic modeling produced very strong durability in 2-month and 4-month re-test periods.

In general, studies investigating the effects of social modeling procedures with child observers have used adult models (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Flanders, 1968) while fewer studies have reported on the use of peer models (Bandura, Grusic, & Menlove, 1967; Clark, 1965). Some research has found adults to be more influential than peers (Bandura & Kuspers, 1964) whereas other research has noted few studies

with peer differences and/or unpredictable interactions with other variables.

Dorr and Fey (1974) investigated the relative power of symbolic adult and peer models in the modification of children's moral choice behavior. The materials for their study included 40 pairs of moral judgement stories drawn directly from Dworkin (1967). These stories were prerecorded on videotape and then presented to the subjects on a closed-circuit television system. Finding that the adult model was more influential than the peer model, Dorr and Fey concluded:

The results indicate that the form of symbolic modeling used was very effective in changing children's moral choice behavior...The experimental effects clearly persisted over the one-month follow-up period...Much is to be learned about the relative influence of peers and adults on children's behavior. (pp. 339-340)

Television has also been effective in producing a modeling effect as shown by the following studies. Elliot and Vasta (1970) used videotape models as part of their design and found that all of the modeling conditions promoted more sharing of pennies and candies than the control condition. Stein and Friedrich (1972) and Friedrich and Stein (1973) showed preschoolers a prosocial film, "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood." They observed the naturally occurring behavior which followed this presentation and noted that prosocial films, compared with neutral and aggressive films, increased the amount of prosocial interpersonal behavior for children from lower-social-status families. These positive behaviors included cooperation, nurturance, and verbalization of feeling.

Friedrich and Stein (1975) showed four 20-minute "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood" films over a 1-week period to kindergarten children, including film and film + training conditions. The TV modeling by itself led to some helping behavior increments on a fantasy puppet-play measure, but did not affect real-life altruism. However, when combined with other training conditions, prosocial TV did contribute to real-life altruism. To measure the effects of TV material on children's naturally occurring social behavior in a preschool setting, Coates, Pusser, and Goodman (1976) showed "Sesame Street" and "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood" programs to subjects. These programs significantly increased the giving of positive reinforcement to others and social contacts with others in the preschool.

In summary, the research literature reveals that, in general, the viewing of an altruistic model leads to consequent altruism. Television has been demonstrated to be an effective medium for presenting models. The present study included a modeling condition using television models. In line with the findings of previous research, it was hypothesized that viewing a helping model would increase altruism.

<u>Dependency</u>

The pioneering research with dependency as an independent variable was done by Deutsch (1949) who found that cooperative groups were more highly task-motivated than competitive groups, probably because the people in the former were "promotively independent," i.e., they had to work toward

a common goal, and hence felt dependent on each other.

During the 1950's and 1960's a series of experiments by Berkowitz was done to analyze the effects of dependency and several other variables on altruism. Dependency was defined in a unique way in these studies. Berkowitz and Daniels (1963) recruited subjects for the experiment under the guise that it was a test on supervisory ability, with a "worker" being required to construct paper boxes or envelopes for a "supervisor." There were usually two dependency conditions: (a) high dependency, where the worker was told that the supervisor's chance of winning a prize depended on the worker's productivity; and (b) low dependency, where the worker was told that it was the quality of the supervisor's instructions that would determine his reward. Altruism was measured by either the number of boxes or envelopes constructed in the experimental session, or the difference between the number constructed in the experimental session and the number in a practice session. These researchers found that subjects who were told that the peer was dependent upon their work showed a significantly greater rise in productivity than the subjects who were informed that their peer was not dependent upon their performance.

In addition, "Awareness of reward," whether or not the "worker" knew that the "supervisor" would learn of his efforts, was tested as a variable along with dependency. The experimenters hypothesized that dependency was a more powerful variable than awareness of reward and found some support for this view. However, this conclusion could not be viewed as unequivocal since the subjects in the high dependency condition may have exerted extra effort because of the experimenter's presence, possibly thinking that aiding the dependent person was the "correct" thing to do, even if he would not learn of their actions.

Berkowitz, Klanderman, and Harris (1964), using a similar methodology, hoped to clarify this question. This time, high and low awareness groups were set up regarding the experimenter, and not just the dependent peer. They found that awareness of the experimenter was not significant and that, as in previous experiments, more effort was exerted for the high dependent supervisor than the low dependent supervisor.

In sum, these studies showed that dependency was a more powerful variable regarding altruistic behavior than other variables tested in conjunction with it.

Another variable, the level of liking that the subjects felt for their partners, was tested by Daniels and Berkowitz (1963) in conjunction with modeling. They found that the liking influenced both the amount of effort that was exerted and the subjects' morale. The subjects having strongly positive attitudes toward their partners exhibited the greatest effort on their behalf, but only when their partner was highly dependent on them.

Berkowitz and Connor (1966) attempted to resolve one of the ambiguities in the Berkowitz and Daniels (1963)

experiment. In this study, subjects who had been informed that their peer was greatly dependent on them tended to express, in a postexperimental questionnaire, relatively great dissatisfaction with this person when they found out that he would not learn about their altruistic act. To test whether there would always be dissatisfaction toward a dependent peer if that person would not learn about the "good deed," Berkowitz and Connor presented subjects with an easy jig-saw puzzle to put together before the experiment and paid them \$1 for its successful completion. Other subjects were given a relatively hard puzzle that was difficult to complete. Hence, the first groups achieved a "success" before the dependency part of the experiment, whereas the other group experienced failure. In each of these groups, the dependent peer would not learn of the other's actions.

Men who experienced a frustration in the first part of the experiment tended to express a strong dislike for the experiment and for the dependent peer. The successful subjects showed a greater increase in work on behalf of their dependent peer. Berkowitz and Connor concluded that there is another variable that must be taken into account with dependency, previous success:

The simplest explanation, however, assumes only that the success experience had produced a glow of goodwill in the present subjects....Feeling happy, they could tolerate increased psychological cost to themselves. (p. 69)

The issue of social-cultural differences in relation to dependency and altruistic behavior was raised by Berkowitz

and Friedman (1967) because research had been limited to persons in the American middle class. The generality of these results was tested by taking white students ages 13-16 years, and dividing them into three groups: (a) "entrepreneurial" middle class, including boys whose fathers were in business for themselves; (b) bureaucratic middle class; and (c) working class. Class differences included the finding that entrepreneurial boys would help a dependent other only to the extent to which they had previously received help. By contrast, the help given by boys from a bureaucratic background tended to be relatively unaffected by the assistance they had received earlier.

Berkowitz (1968) hoped to enhance the external validity of his work by conducting a study that dealt with social class differences in helping and altruistic behavior in Oxford, England. In both countries, England and the United States, bureaucratic boys behaved in relatively the same ways; however, one difference between British and American subjects was that the intensity of work performed for a dependent person did not parallel liking for him.

Another experimental manipulation, that of varying the cost to the subject for yielding to a dependent person, was added by Schopler and Bateson (1965). This contrasted with the Berkowitz situations where not much material sacrifice was involved since help to a dependent other was defined as the rate of envelope fixing. Schopler and Bateson set up a lottery in their experiment, so that the subject could win

certain amounts of money. In some cases, if he yielded more to his dependent partner, he stood to gain less money in the lottery. Conversely, in other cases, if the subject yielded less to his dependent partner, he stood to win more money in the lottery.

Their results showed that the sex of the subject and' the partner's amount of dependence were more important variables in the low-cost-of-yielding group than in the high-cost-of-yielding group. Thus, in the low-cost-of-yielding group, females yielded more money to a partner in a state of high dependency. In this same low-cost-of-yielding group, males yielded more money when their partner was in a state of low dependency. These results indicated that as the partner's dependence increases, males are more ready than females to react against a "threatening" partner by refusing to yield to him. Another series of experiments by Schopler and Bateson (1967) confirmed these results.

These results contrast the Berkowitz findings, since the cost-of-yielding to the dependent partner might be considered equivalent to Schopler and Bateson's low-cost-ofyielding group, and more research suggesting this ambiguity can be suggested.

What theoretical principle could explain the findings that dependency tends to elicit helping behavior? Gouldner (1960) proposed that there is a universal principle or norm of reciprocity which makes two interrelated and minimal demands: (a) that people should help each other, and (b) that

people should not injure those who help them. Gouldner further mentioned that in situations where a person is <u>dependent</u> on another the norm of reciprocity does not apply. Leeds (1963) stated this in a more positive way regarding dependency situations: he proposed that there was a norm of giving that applies in situations where help is needed and institutionalized means of providing it are not available.

Berkowitz and Daniels (1963) reviewed these two theories regarding responsibility norms and proposed a norm similar to Leeds, the <u>norm of social responsibility</u>, prescribing that people help others who need help (i.e., who are dependent). Berkowitz used this norm to explain the results in his experiments, and Staub (1972) in his review concurred with this rationale, stating that "knowledge of the norm of social responsibility, of the expected behavior, may account for the findings" (p. 141).

The Berkowitz studies were done mostly with adults, and these point toward the conclusion that dependency is a robust variable with adults. How significantly related is dependency to altruistic behavior in children? Two review articles assert that this is a good question for research:

Recipient or beneficiary characteristics have been a popular source of independent variables in studies using adult subjects, but they have been neglected in developmental investigations. Aside from the studies by Berkowitz and his colleagues on social class, only Wright (1942) has manipulated client types. (Bryan & London, 1970, p. 209)

Moreover, many of the variables known to affect adult helping behavior have received very little attention by researchers in children's behavior....

the relationship between the potential helper and the recipient, and group influences upon children's helping behavior, have gone virtually unstudied. (Bryan, 1972, p. 101, italics added)

Thus, dependency, as an explicitly independent variable, can be viewed as an overlooked and possible important variable in studies of altruism in children.

A number of studies have assessed "perceived dependency" which can be considered as part of "the relationship between the potential helper and the recipient." These studies provide the bridge between the research on dependency which has been discussed previously and the hypotheses of the current study.

Schopler and Matthews' (1965) investigation of the perception of dependency indicated that individuals who perceived their partner's dependency to be caused by the environment were more helpful than those who perceived the partner's dependency to be a matter of personal choice.

Miller and Smith (1977) studied the effect of "own deservingness" and "deservingness of others" on children's helping behavior. They found that subjects in their "proper payment" and "underpayment" conditions gave more to the recipients when the recipients were portrayed as nonresponsible for their misfortune than when they were portrayed as responsible and therefore deserving of their misfortune. They concluded:

Thus, the more deserving the recipients, the greater the concern and feelings of responsibility and the greater the help. We hope future research will illuminate more fully the relationships among

the various motivational forces underlying the children's altruism. (p. 620)

These studies suggest that children's perceptions of how dependent some other child is will affect any altruism shown toward the dependent child.

Wright's (1942) studies may also be relevant to perceived dependency in that the needs of others appeared important. In the first experiment, 20 subjects were each asked on two occasions to share one of two toys which they had previously rated for attractiveness. Half of the subjects were asked to share with an unknown peer who was attending another school, while the other half were asked to share the toys with a peer who was known but absent. Wright found that the children were more willing to donate their preferred toy to a stranger than to a friend.

In a second experiment, subjects again were asked to indicate which toy they would give to each of the target peers. Again, more of the children gave the preferred toy to the stranger than to the friend. The children who favored giving the toy to the stranger most often argued that their generosity would eliminate inequality between the stranger and friend. Apparently, these children assumed that the stranger was in greater need than their friend.

The present study focused on the "helper-recipient" relationship between normal children and mentally retarded children. The latter were introduced to the normal children through a series of custom-made videotape television programs. Berkowitz's research suggested that altruism shown toward

the retarded children would be a function of how dependently the retarded children were perceived; that is, the higher the dependency, the higher the amount of altruism that would be shown toward them. Since mental retardation is "not a matter of personal choice," Schopler and Matthews' results would suggest a similar trend, as would Miller and Smith's findings that subjects gave more when the recipients were portrayed as being nonresponsible for their plight.

To test these ideas, instructions were written that varied the dependency of the retarded children in terms of being helped by the subjects versus simply receiving a gift from them. That is, it was hypothesized that greater altruism would be shown toward retarded children portrayed in the high dependency condition than those portrayed in a low dependency condition.

Decentering and Perspective Taking

The general ability to understand others and to act on this understanding is relevant to investigations of altruism, and Kurdek (1978) has stressed the growing importance of perspective taking in accounts of moral development:

One aspect of social-cognitive development that has received increasing attention is the identification of cognitive factors underlying children's moral development; one such factor of particular interest has been the ability to consider another person's viewpoint. This specific focus on perspective taking ability as the major cognitive underpinning of moral development stems from theoretical accounts that have given central importance to the child's ability to consider another person's viewpoint in the course of establishing and maintaining effective social interactions (Mead, 1934; Piaget, 1965; Weinstein, 1969). (p. 3)

Piaget's (1950) theory of decentering is relevant to the relationship between altruism and perspective taking, since Piaget stresses that a young child is unable to decenter, or shift his attention (or perspective) from one aspect of a situation to another, and that it is not until 7-12 years of age that the child is able to consider the viewpoints of others. In support of this observation, numerous studies have shown that altruism in children increases up to a point and then levels off (Bryan & London, 1970; Elliot & Vasta, 1970; Emler & Rushton, 1974; Handlon & Gross, 1959; Rubin & Schneider, 1973; Wright, 1942). Rubin and Schneider (1973) asserted that this increase in altruistic behavior in children was related to increased decentering ability:

It seems logical to assume that there is a direct link between a child's capacity to decenter and the amount of altruistic behavior he displays. The increase in the child's ability to (a) recognize that another person is in need of help (i.e., to take the other person's point of view) and (b) to understand reciprocal relationships, should be accompanied by an increase in the likelihood that the child will help others. (p. 66)

They tested this assumption in their study in which they administered a "communicative egocentrism" task to the child subjects, obtained a score for this ability, and placed each child in these two experimental situations:

(a) The child was given eight boxes of M&M candies and was then shown pictures of poor people and told that he could either give the candies to them, or keep the candies for himself. (b) The child was given a pile of tickets and

taken into a room with numerous toys, where there was another child who also had a pile of tickets. The children were told that they could play with the toys after they had sorted all the tickets. One of the children had a pile of tickets that was only half as large as the other child's. Hence, he would finish the ticket sorting first and then decide either to help the other child or play with the toys. The results of this experiment showed that there is a positive relationship between decentration skills and the incidence of altruism; that is, the less egocentric the children were, the greater the altruistic behavior that they displayed.

A number of other studies have found significant relationships between perspective taking and moral behavior (Green, 1975; Ianotti, 1975; Krebs & Sturrup, 1974; Olejnik, 1975). However, other studies in this same area have led to nonsignificant results (Emler & Rushton, 1974; Leckie, 1975; Rushton & Weiner, 1975; Waxler, Yarrow, & Smith, 1976). Kurdek, who reviewed these studies, concluded that the positive findings themselves were inconsistent since only about half of the reported associations reached statistical significance.

As part of his effort to identify factors which would account for the inconsistencies of the findings, Kurdek cited research suggesting that children engage in sharing behavior for a number of reasons, including: wanting the recipient to be happy (altruism); feeling social obligation (social responsibility); and, having expectations of future favors

(reciprocity) (Dreman, 1976; Dreman & Greenbaum, 1973).

Rushton (1976) postulated that a child acts altruistically because he: considers the needs of another person (empathic); bases his actions on some internalized standard (principled); and, bases his altruism on the goal of reaching an equitable solution to some social problem (justice oriented). Any particular study on altruism in children might be viewed as incorporating only one or several of the many categories described above.

Kurdek asserted that perspective taking skills need not be implicated in all of the above categories; thus he implied that a reason for nonsignificant results might be due to the use of a perspective taking measure in studies where it was not appropriate. He wrote:

Obviously, perspective taking skills need not be implicated in all of these categories, although cognitive perspective taking should be directly involved in "altruistic" or "empathic" based motives. (p. 22)

Rushton's views might be seen as congruent with this since he states that:

The ability to decenter and see the world (and presumably feel emotions) from another's point of view will be necessary conditions for the occurrence of genuine concern for others. (p. 910)

Perhaps the most significant categories of those listed above into which the present research could be classified are social responsibility and cognitive perspective taking. Dreman's category of social responsibility could be viewed as encompassing the experimenter's instructions regarding the high dependency or low dependency of the

retarded children.

To specifically test the relationship between perspective taking and altruism, the Feffer Role Taking Task was chosen as a measure of the ability to decenter in an interpersonal context.

In the administration of the Role Taking Task, the subject is shown a TAT-type picture in which two or more characters are involved and asked to make up a story about the picture, giving a past, present, and future and to describe what the characters are thinking or feeling. The subject is then asked to retell the story from the viewpoint of <u>each</u> of the characters. The subject receives a score for the degree of perspective taking shown, the stories being evaluated in terms of simple refocusing, character elaboration, and perspective elaboration.

Empathy as an Independent Variable

Heider's (1958) theoretical framework is pertinent to the use of empathy as an independent variable in a helperbeneficiary situation. He stated:

> Generally, a person reacts to what he thinks the other person may be doing. In other words, the presumed events inside the other person's skin usually enter as essential features of the relationship. (p. 1)

Heider emphasized such concepts as desire and pleasure, sentiment, request and command, and benefit and harm. Although not specifically devoted to altruism, Heider's work is devoted to how one person thinks and feels about another; a plausible extension of this attribution theory would be to assess it in

relationship to altruism.

A possible bridge between Heider's general framework and the literature on altruism is the concept of empathy, defined by Hoffman (1975) as:

The involuntary, at times forceful experiencing of another person's emotional state. It is elicited by expressive cues that actually reflect the other's feelings or by kinds of cues that convey the affective impact of external events on him. (p. 137)

Schafer (1959) proposed a similar definition, stating that "empathy can be defined as the inner experience of sharing and comprehending the momentary psychological state of another person" (p. 343). Empathy is a major element in role-theoretical accounts of interpersonal behavior, which state that social interaction is greatly facilitated by the ability to anticipate or construe the feelings and needs of others (Cottrell, 1971; Goffman, 1958; Mead, 1934).

Hoffman (1975) stated that there was only modest empirical support for the assertion that "sympathetic distress" would predispose the person to act altruistically. He raised some important questions that might be considered as hypotheses for future research, including: How will the advantaged react to the disadvantaged? Will their latent altruistic conscience be pricked by the awareness of others, or is there no such conscience to be pricked? Hoffman's work suggests the power of empathy as an independent variable worthy of experimental manipulation.

A number of other investigators concur with Hoffman.

Bryan (1972) asserted that sympathy or empathy for a victim

was thought to be important in affecting children's rescue behavior, as stated by Aronfreed (1968); Bryan and London, 1970; and Lenrow (1965). An experiment by Paskal and Aronfreed (Aronfreed, 1968) studied children whose helping responses were conditioned to a reduction in their own distress, and found that these children were more likely to aid one another than children who had not undergone such a conditioning procedure.

One way to test Hoffman's predictions would be to test empathy as an independent variable whereby different levels of empathy are induced in different groups of subjects. In much of the previous research, including studies cited in Kurdek's (1978) review, empathy has been defined as a subject variable measuring the relationships between the capacity of different persons to empathize (i.e., function at different levels of perspective taking ability) and the relationship of this capacity to altruism. One aspect of the present research, described previously, was to ascertain the correlation between altruism and perspective taking as measured by the Feffer Role Taking Task.

Another aspect of the present research design was to define empathy as an independent variable. The focus was on inducing sympathetic distress or empathy in varying degrees in the experimental groups, the hypothesis being that increased empathy would lead to increased altruism. Videotapes of retarded children were produced which were designed to induce different degrees of empathy within the normal children

who viewed them. Two high empathy conditions, the Empathy Videotape and the Empathy + Modeling Videotape were produced, showing retarded children engaging in activities similar to those of normal children, and the extra effort required of them. The Empathy + Modeling Videotape included scenes of adult helping models. A low empathy condition, the Informative Talk Videotape, included a lesson-like factual talk on mental retardation. A poster presentation showing a retarded girl was included as a control for the television presentations.

Summary and hypotheses

Variables which are considered pertinent to altruistic behavior in children have been described: modeling, dependency, empathy, and perspective taking.

Prosocial modeling generally has led to consequent altruism. Dependency, although effective in bringing out altruism in adults, apparently has not been applied to studies with children in an explicit way. Empathy has been viewed by some as an incentive to altruism, but there are few if any empirical studies with children which have attempted to vary levels of empathy.

In this study, several videotape television programs were produced to provide high and low empathy conditions for potential helpers of retarded children. A poster condition was a control group for the television presentations.

The helpers were normal children from a local school; the recipients were retarded children who were videotaped at a local institution. A modeling effect was examined by

including scenes of helping models in one of the high empathy videotape shows. High and low dependency of the retarded children was varied through experimenter instructions. The relationship of perspective taking to altruism was examined with the Feffer Role Taking Task.

It is hypothesized that:

- (1) Television as a medium is more effective in promoting altruism than a verbal appeal for altruism as represented by a poster of the recipient of the help;
- (2) Viewing a helping model increases altruism shown toward the recipients;
- (3) High dependency of the recipients of altruistic behavior increases the altruism directed toward the recipient;
- (4) Normal children in whom a high level of empathy has been induced (through videotape television programs) show more altruism toward retarded children than normal children in whom less empathy has been induced; and
- (5) Perspective taking ability, as measured by the Feffer Role Taking Task, correlates positively with altruism.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects consisted of 96 children, including 47 males and 49 females, from fourth- and fifth-grade classrooms at a Catholic school. Permission for the children to participate was obtained from both the school and each child's parents (see Appendix A).

Apparatus and Measures

Videotapes. It was hoped that a commercial videotape or film could be used to induce empathy and provide a modeling effect, but numerous letters to agencies and film rental companies yielded few worthwhile materials. It was decided to produce a set of videotapes specifically for this study. Establishing a precedent, Bryan, Redfield, and Mader (1971) used a videotape model in their experiment; also, Rushton and Owen (1975) pointed out that exposing a child to a television model affected subsequent generosity. However, the great amount of time involved, the expensive equipment required, and the technical expertise needed for editing and soundtrack generally have prevented the frequent use of custom videotaping in previous studies.

For this study, the administrator of a residential

home for retarded children was asked if her home would be willing to participate in developing some videotapes about mental retardation (see Appendix B). She agreed, on the condition that her staff would review the final tapes to ensure that the children portrayed were shown with dignity. Through the home, permission was obtained from the parents of the children who were shown in the videotape. Approval of the project was also obtained from the Loyola University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (see Appendix C).

Scenes of retarded children were taped at the home on a Sony "Portapack," a half-inch reel-to-reel videotape machine; these tapes were edited and the three treatment condition tapes were produced, with music and narration added to enhance the theme of each tape.

During the editing process, scenes were shown to selected children in order to assess their reactions. Finished versions were shown to a classroom of fifth-graders as part of a pilot study to ensure that the shows would hold the children's attention. The completed videotape shows were as follows, each being between 22 and 25 minutes long.

The Empathy Videotape began with a car traveling down a street in Chicago, with the narrator (female) explaining:

Hello, boys and girls. We're driving down a street in Chicago. We're going to visit a very special home today. Now, we're going to turn into the driveway of this very special home. It looks more like a park--see all the trees--but you'll also see a lot of buildings. This is a home, but it's not like your home--this is a home for 66 children.

¹Quotations from videotape shows are presented in paraphrase form.

Then, pictures of the children in the gym and in a classroom were shown, followed by a 5-minute "interview" segment, in which the Director of the Language/Communication Center was interviewed by the author about the children who lived at the home. The discussion emphasized that there is a large part in the retarded child's brain that does not work properly and that retarded children learn more slowly than do normal children. The function of this segment of the tape was to provide some cognitive information on mental retardation.

Next, approximately 10-12 minutes of tape showed children of the home at various activities: working on puzzles in the training room, making a bed, watching television, and playing in the gymnasium. The segment was designed to show the normal children that retarded children engage in many daily activities that are similar to those of normal children. However, the normal children could see the extra and quite painful effort it took for a retarded child to do even simple things as making a bed or putting together a puzzle—an approach considered likely to induce empathy or sympathetic distress in the viewers.

A scene of children in their classroom was shown, and the narrator stated: "Let's watch the children enjoy their books, their classroom, and their school."

The show concluded with the car leaving the grounds of the home. Children were shown playing on the swings and playing baseball as the car headed toward the exit of the home. The narrator concluded: I hope you'll have a little bit of a different feeling, that you won't see the buildings and think that there's a mystery. You'll know that, in those buildings, there're lots of children, with lots of life and lots of love--just like you and just like me.

In order to remove any possible modeling effects from this videotape, adults were deleted from all scenes except the introduction and discussion, either through camera techniques or through editing.

The first 10 minutes of the Empathy + Modeling Videotape, up to and including the informative talk or "interview" segment, were the same as in the Empathy Videotape. However, the next 10 minutes were filled with examples of "helping" models. The first model was the narrator, who was shown working in a room with two of the children. She explained:

This is called the language and communication room. This boy is 7 years old and he's a very imaginative little boy....

Here in the language and communication room, I develop lessons around the interests of the children. I'll get pictures of animals and games and toys....

If we're making this for girls and boys--it would be interesting for them to learn how I started working with these children. When I was young, I used to be scared of children who are retarded. A boy who was retarded lived near my home, and I used to walk around the block not to go by his house....

When I got to know these children better--then I wasn't afraid of them any more....

We hear words like mentally retarded, but I kinda like to forget those words and think of Johnny as a little boy who has a friend in California—then, you're not so afraid.

After this segment, other adults were shown helping the children in other situations, including a male teacher leading a training class, a male playing basketball with boys in

the gym, a teacher helping a child complete a puzzle, and a teacher leading a class.

The last segment of the show, of the car traveling out of the home, was the same as in the Empathy Videotape.

The Informative Talk Videotape (low empathy condition) was designed to convey factual information about mental retardation to the normal children, without inducing a great deal of empathy within them. The format was of a "talk show" nature. The author and the Director of the Language/Communication Center discussed aspects of mental retardation, what the cause of mental retardation might be, how many children live in the home, and what the children's daily activities are like at the home. The visual segments from the beginning and ending of the other videotapes were retained in the Informative Talk Videotape; however, a new audio soundtrack was produced, introducing the show in a much more factual and lesson-like way.

Poster condition. Since the three programs described above were designed to induce different levels of empathy in the children who viewed them, a fourth condition was desired, one that would act as a control for the medium of television. It was decided to use a poster as an appeal for altruism, a technique that had been used in other altruism research, such as Bryan (1971). It happened that the home for retarded children had several large posters left over from a fundraising effort. They pictured the smiling face of a retarded girl. These posters were used, with the addition of a sign

attached below the picture: "Please Help the Retarded Children--Make a Flashcard."

Development of a measure of altruism. It was hoped that the measure to be used for altruistic behavior would be an activity that would actually help the retarded children. After consultation with the staff at the home, a project was chosen that provided flashcards made by the normal children for use in the language lessons at the home. A pilot study revealed this to be an interesting project for fifth-graders.

Packets with the materials to make these flashcards were designed for the children to take home, if they so desired, after the appeal for altruism had been made. packets contained pieces of white cardboard about 4 inches high cut into the shapes of letters of the alphabet, and construction paper in pastel colors upon which pictures could be pasted. To make a flashcard, children were instructed to take a precut cardboard letter and paste it on one side of the construction paper. Then they were to find a picture of an object beginning with that letter and paste it on the other side plus printing the name of the object directly below it. Magazines as a source of pictures, glue, Q-tips for spreading the glue, and pencils were provided with each packet, as well as an instruction sheet. Each packet contained enough materials to make 12 flashcards (see Appendix D).

Feffer Role Taking Task. Feffer (1959) standardized his test, a TAT-type measure in which two or more characters

are involved, on 35 white male adults. Estimates of their cognitive level, as derived from Role Taking Task protocols, were compared with assessments derived from the Rorschach. Feffer and Gourevitch (1960) also provided evidence for construct validity for younger subjects. They administered the Role Taking Task to 68 boys ages 6-13 who also received the WISC vocabulary test and Piagetian tasks. They found that children ages 10-13 showed a greater degree of Role Taking Task decentering scores than did children ages 6-9.

Feffer's Task was scored according to the level of development that the child's story had reached, as described in Schnall and Feffer's scoring manual. Each set of stories was scored blind in that the scorer did not know the child's altruism score. The levels relevant to the present study were: (a) simple refocusing; (b) character elaboration, where the subject not only refocuses on a single character but also on another story character from that viewpoint; and (c) perspective elaboration, where the subject differentiates "self" from "other" and also attributes feelings and their behavioral counterparts to the characters in the story. There are subdivisions within each of the levels described above which are ratings of the "maturity" of the story. score of 1-11 was possible for each story character. Overall, since there were three characters in the story that was used, scores from 3 to 33 were possible for each subject.

Procedure

The variables were structured into a 4 X 2 X 2 analysis of variance, using eight different groups of children. Four treatments were included that presented information to normal children about retarded children: Modeling + Empathy Videotape, Empathy Videotape, Informative Talk Videotape, and Poster Condition. In addition, instructions were given after the videotape (or poster presentation) which varied the dependency of the retarded children. High Dependency and Low Dependency instructions were presented. Finally, the male versus female dimension was considered a subject variable and was included in the analysis.

Fourth- and fifth-grade children from one school were randomly assigned to one of eight groups. Before the actual study, classroom teachers told their students that they would be learning something about retarded children.

All of the High Dependency groups were tested on Wednesday and all of the Low Dependency groups were tested on Thursday, the following Friday being the deadline for returning the completed packets. Dorr and Fey's (1974) findings supported this rationale, since the experimental effects of symbolic modeling in their study persisted over a 1-month follow-up period.

Children in each group were brought from their classroom to the experimental room, where two posters of a retarded child had been attached to the blackboard. The eight groups of the study were: Empathy + Modeling, High Dependency. Children in this group were welcomed by the experimenter, who showed them the Empathy + Modeling Videotape. After the tape, the experimenter emphasized the high dependency of the children at the home:

By the way, the boys that you just saw on the TV who were playing baseball and playing on the swings were not children from the home; they were regular children from the neighborhood.

You have now finished seeing a TV show about some of the boys and girls who are retarded and who live at the home. Some of these boys and girls are learning how to talk. In their language classes, they sometimes use pictures and letters of the alphabet. It helps them to learn the alphabet when there are pictures of the alphabet to look at; this helps them to learn some words.

The boys and girls who are retarded really need other children to help them. They are really counting on you to help them.

We have some packets here with things inside that can be cut out and pasted together to make flashcards for the children who are retarded. We are going to pass out a packet to everybody.

Next, the experimenters passed out the flashcardpackets to the children; the male experimenter asked the
children to write their name on the inside of the packet, and
then instructed the children to take out the materials:

We would like you to take this packet home with you.

Please think about whether or not you would like to help the retarded children by making flashcards. You only have to make as many of them as you feel like making. You can do as many as you like, or you don't have to do any of them.

When you are done, you can keep the magazines, if you like. But please put everything else back in the packet, seal it closed, and bring it back to school. In your classroom, we have set up a box where you can drop off the packets. Next Friday, November 18th, we are going to come and get the packets, and after this we will bring the packets over to the home for the retarded children.

If you finish all of the letters in a packet, and want to do more, we have left a box with some extra packets. There are also some extra magazines, if you need them. We have left these things in the back of your classroom. If you do decide that you want to take a new packet, please remember to put your name on it. There are six letters in the new packets; please take only one extra packet.

We also want to tell you that you are not going to be graded on this. We won't be grading you, and neither will your teachers. Your teachers won't be opening the packets, so they won't know how many flashcards each person has made.

For this project, you only have to do as much work as you want to do. Make as many flashcards as you feel like making. But please try to keep in mind that the retarded children, who live at the home, are depending on you.

When you are done, seal the packet, bring it back to school, and leave it in the back of the classroom. And all the packets must be returned a week from this Friday, November 18th.

After asking the children if they had any questions about how to make the flashcards, the experimenter concluded:

Please just work on the packets yourself. Don't ask your parents or your brothers and sisters for help, and please don't try to help each other or talk to each other about this project until after next Friday.

Thank you for coming in today. We hope that you have learned something about retarded children.

The children then returned to their classroom.

Empathy, High Dependency. Children were welcomed, viewed the Empathy Videotape, and received the same High Dependency instructions as above.

Informative Talk Videotape, High Dependency. Children were welcomed, viewed the Informative Talk Control Videotape, and received the High Dependency instructions as above.

Poster Condition, High Dependency. The experimenter welcomed the children and told them that they were going to learn a little bit about mental retardation:

This is a picture of a child who is retarded. There is a home for these children in Chicago. Some of the boys and girls who live in this home are learning how to talk. In their language classes they sometimes use pictures and letters of the alphabet. It helps them to learn the alphabet when there are pictures to look at. Also, when there are pictures to look at, this helps them to learn some words.

The retarded boys and girls really need other children to help them. They are really counting on you to help them.

We have some packets here with things inside that can be cut and pasted together to make flashcards for the retarded children. We are going to pass out a packet to everybody.

Afterwards, the experimenters passed out the flashcardpackets and then continued with the same narrative as in the Empathy + Modeling, High Dependency instructions.

Empathy + Modeling, Low Dependency. Children were welcomed, viewed the Empathy + Modeling Videotape, and received the Low Dependency instructions. Instead of suggesting that the retarded children could be helped, the experimenter noted that the nature of the project was to make gifts:

By the way, the boys that you just saw on the TV who were playing baseball and playing on the swing were not children from the home; they were regular children from the neighborhood.

You have now finished seeing a TV show about some of the retarded boys and girls who live in the home. We are making a gift for these children.

We have some packets here with things inside that can be cut out and pasted together to make flashcards for the retarded children. We are going to pass out a packet to everybody.

The experimenter distributed the packets and demonstrated how to make flashcards as described in the Empathy + Modeling, High Dependency instructions section, and then stated:

We would like you to take this packet home with you.

Please think about whether or not you would like to make a gift for the retarded children by making flashcards. You only have to make as many of them as you feel like making. You can do as many as you like, or you don't have to do any of them.

The experimenter continued as before, but toward the end of the instructions he again emphasized the "gift" aspect of the project:

For this project, you only have to do as much work as you want to. Make as many flashcards as you feel like making. Please think about whether or not you would like to make a gift for the retarded children by making flashcards.

When you are done, seal the packet, bring it back to school, and leave it in the back of the class-room. And all packets must be returned a week from this Friday, November 18th.

The instructions were concluded as in the other conditions.

Empathy, Low Dependency. Children were welcomed, viewed the Empathy Videotape, and received the Low Dependency instructions as above.

Informative Talk Videotape, Low Dependency. Children were welcomed, viewed the Informative Talk Control Videotape, and received the Low Dependency instructions as above.

Poster Condition, Low Dependency. The experimenter welcomed the children and told them that they were going to learn a little bit about mental retardation:

This is a picture of a child who is retarded. There is a home for retarded children in Chicago. We are making a gift for these children.

We have some packets here with things inside that can be cut out and pasted together to make flashcards for the retarded children. We are going to pass out a packet to everybody.

Afterwards, the experimenters passed out the flashcard-

packets and then continued with the same narrative as in the Empathy + Modeling, Low Dependency instructions.

When the altruism appeal was finished, children were allowed to leave the room and to take their packets with them.

Administration of the Feffer Role Taking Task. Due to time limitations, the Feffer Role Taking Task was administered only to children in the High Empathy group, since this group showed noticeable variability in altruism scores.

The instructions were modified for the present study. Each child was greeted as he or she entered the testing room. The experimenter stated:

Can you say your name for me?

O.K.,	name) . wh	nen	were	vou	born?

O.K., (name) , what I would like you to do is make up a story for this picture. I want you to use your imagination and make up as dramatic a story as you possibly can. Tell what led up to the event shown in the picture, describe what is happening at the moment and then, what the characters are thinking and feeling. So make sure that your story has a past, a present, and a future. And remember, describe what the characters are thinking and feeling.

The child then told a story, and when the child was finished, the experimenter instructed the child to tell the story from the "teacher's" point of view.

That was good. Now what I would like you to do is look at the picture again, but this time make believe that you are each one of the people in the story you just told. I want you to make believe that you are this person, and that you are right there in the situation. Retell the story from the point of view of this person. So, tell the story again, but this time like you are really this person.

After the child told the story from the "teacher's"

point of view, the experimenter instructed the child to tell the story from the "little black girl's" point of view:
"Good, that was a good story. Now do the same thing, but this time I want you to pretend that you are this person here, and tell the story from this person's point of view."

When the subject finished telling the story from the "little black girl's" point of view, the experimenter instructed the child to tell the story from the point of view of the "little white girl" who was painting: "Good. Now pretend that you are this person here and tell the story from her point of view."

Upon completion, the experimenter told the child, "That was real good. Thank you very much," and escorted the child to the classroom.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

An examination of the mean scores showed that children across all conditions showed considerable altruism, constructing an average of 9.44 flashcards for the retarded children. There was considerable scatter with scores ranging from 0 (indicating that subjects chose not to donate) to 18, especially in the High Empathy, High Dependency condition (see Appendix E for scores). Contrary to the hypotheses, the means (see Table 1 and Figure 1) for the High Empathy groups were lower than for the control groups, and the overall mean for the Low Dependency conditions was higher than for the High Dependency conditions.

A 4 X 2 X 2 analysis of variance for the four empathy, two modeling, high and low dependency, and two sex variables was used to test the hypotheses relevant to the altruism scores. None of the \underline{F} ratios was significant (see Table 2). The hypothesis that television was more effective than poster presentation, which was planned to be tested with orthogonal polynomials, was not evaluated since it obviously would not be supported.

The final hypothesis, that perspective taking ability correlates with altruism scores, was tested by means of the

Table 1

Mean Scores for Empathy Levels, Dependency, and Sex

	Empathy + Modeling	High Empathy	Informative- Talk Control	Poster- Control
High Dependency	8.81	5.63	10.41	9.92
Low Dependency	10.57	9.33	9.61	11.22
High and Low Dependency Combined	9.69	7.48	10.01	10.57
Males	9.84	6.88	9.73	9.17
Females	9.56	8.08	10.28	11.98
		Overall Mean (All subjects, all conditions) 9.4		

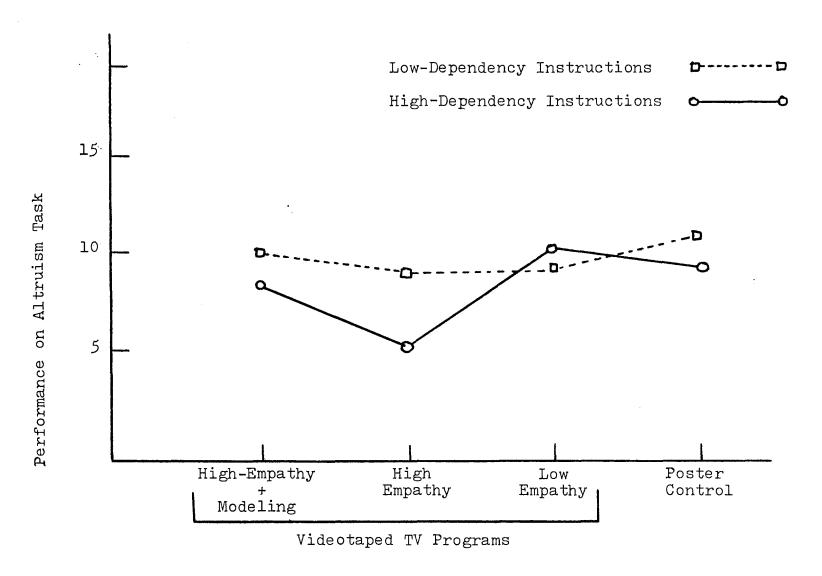


Figure 1. Mean Group Performance on Altruism Task as a Function of Empathy-level and Modeling

Table 2

Analyses of Variance for Empathy, Dependency, and Sex of Subject as Related to Altruism

Source of Variance	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Empathy (E)	3	43.66	1.28
Dependency (D)	1	54.26	1.60
Sex of Subject	1	29.49	< 1.00
E x D	3	20.46	< 1.00
E x S	3	9.39	< 1.00
D x S	1	.00	< 1.00
ExDxS	3	29.00	< 1.00
Error	80	33.97	

Note: A fully balanced design required 48 males and 48 females. 47 males and 49 females were available and the analysis of variance is approximate. The approximate method of unweighted means was used through the BALANOVA Computer Package.

Pearson Product-moment correlation for the total group as well as by subgroup for grade and sex. As indicated in Table 3, there was an unanticipated trend for the Role Taking scores to show a negative correlation with altruism. Although none of the correlations was significant, the \underline{r} for the total group of .41 approached significance (\underline{p} $\boldsymbol{\epsilon}$.10).

Table 3

Means for Feffer Role Taking Task Scores and Pearson Product-Moment Correlations

Between these Scores and Altruism Scores

Group	Feffer M	Altruism M	r	N	P
Overall	23.26	7.76	41	22	p<.10
Fourth-graders	23.73	9.18	34	11	NS
Fifth-graders	24.91	7.05	40	11	NS
Females	24.00	8.08	29	12	NS
Males	24.70	8.16	55	10	NS

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

A noteworthy feature of the results was that <u>all</u> experimental treatments promoted altruism; however, this was not accompanied by confirmation of the hypotheses of the study. The hypotheses predicting differential altruism as a function of empathy level, modeling or lack of modeling, and high or low dependency were not supported. Perspective taking ability as measured by the Feffer Role Taking Task did not correlate positively with altruism; in fact, there was a trend, although not a significant one, for the scores to correlate negatively. How can this high level of altruism displayed by the subjects be reconciled with the nonsupport of the hypotheses? A number of questions will be raised and discussed to clarify the findings and to offer possible extensions of the research.

First, did the children pay attention to the television programs? This would be a necessary condition for any modeling or empathy effects that might occur. A brief pilot study supported the notion that normal children would find the Empathy + Modeling Videotape and the Empathy Videotape engaging. In order to see if this had occurred in the study, the children who took the Feffer Role Taking Task (i.e.,

those who had viewed the Empathy Videotape) were asked if they had liked the TV shows; apparently at least 75% of the children interviewed expressed enjoyment toward the Empathy Videotape. Answers to these two questions, "What did you think of the mentally retarded kids?" and "Did you learn anything about them?" suggested that the subjects did experience empathy toward the retarded children, as illustrated by these responses:

"I wouldn't want to be one of them." "In a way, I felt sorry for them, and in a way they were kind of lucky. They get all of this special help." "They are sort of like normal people." "It's too bad that they had something wrong." "That one girl could read kind of good, considering that she is retarded." "They are not that active, they did not do many things. I never took any time to think of the mentally retarded kids. The TV show made me take time to think of it." "People should take time out and help them. Help them to paint, draw, and read." "I thought that they would learn more." "I thought that they were learning in that school."

These comments, in conjunction with the observations of the experimenters during the Empathy + Modeling Videotape and the Empathy Videotape, supported the notion that the children paid attention to the programs. Indeed, the interest and enjoyment expressed toward the project may have contributed to the amount of altruism displayed.

Second, were there demand characteristics in the school or in the teachers' attitudes that contributed to the amount of altruism displayed by the children? In order to minimize the possibility that the teachers would encourage the students, they were asked not to do so and were also given a written reminder after the television programs were shown to the

children (see Appendix F). In spite of these procedures, I felt that the teachers were encouraging the children to participate, perhaps thinking that this would be a "good thing" that would add to the success of the project.

Contributing to the probable teacher demand characteristics was the "charitable" atmosphere of the school envoirment. The study was conducted at a Catholic school, where helping those in need was seen as a desirable personal quality; in addition, a food drive for the needy was being held concurrently with the study and Thanksgiving was only a short time away. Perhaps these factors contributed to an overall atmosphere of helpfulness.

Third, were the television programs of sufficient length to create a significant empathy or modeling effect? It is likely that the programs in the present study were too short in length to produce a difference in altruism between conditions given the high degree of altruistic motivation apparently present in the subjects. The fact that the usual figure for children's TV viewing time in America has been set between 2 and 3 hours daily (Liebert & Poulos, 1976) is relevant to this assertion, as is Feczko's (1977) study. She found a lack of significant findings when testing the hypothesis that children of varied role-taking skills would react differently to prosocial and aggressive TV content. In attempting to understand this, she pointed out that the impact of a brief 15-minute segment was inconsequential in comparison to the mean 3.79 hours of viewing time per day reported by her

subjects. The designs of this study and of Feczko's are in contrast to that of Freidrich and Stein (1975) who showed four 20-minute films to children over a 1-week period. Perhaps extended viewing is necessary to produce any differences between experimental conditions.

Fourth, what possible explanations could there be for the trend (although not significant) of the Feffer scores to correlate negatively with altruism scores? In view of the theoretical framework of Selman (1976) who posited a positive relationship between social role taking and moral judgement stages, the children who participated in the present study would most likely be categorized into Stage 3 of Mutual Role Taking, which includes ages 10-12 and which has been described by Selman as follows:

Child realizes that both self and other can view each other mutually and simultaneously as subjects. Child can step outside the two person dyad and view the interaction from a third-person perspective.

Right is defined as the Golden Rule: Do unto others as you would have others do unto you. Child considers all points of view and reflects on each person's motives in an effort to reach an agreement among all participants. (p. 309)

The ambiguous results that have been obtained in other studies relating social cognition to behavior may be pertinent to this finding, with Shantz (1975) stating that:

One might well expect that there would be a good deal of information relating the child's understanding of other people to his actual social behavior, but there is not.... In fact, the relation between social cognition and interpersonal behavior may be one of the largest unexplored areas in developmental psychology today. (p. 303)

Hopefully further studies will provide evidence so that

relationships can be discovered and defined.

Fifth, was a proper control group used? It is possible that empathy was induced in <u>all</u> subjects since mentally retarded children were the recipients of the altruism. Perhaps this led to such a considerable amount of altruism that no experimental effects could be detected. A more appropriate design might include a less emotionally-laden type of recipient for the control group.

Sixth, what are the implications of the present research? Perhaps the hypotheses could be tested with a more appropriate design and with different samples of subjects, such as:

(a) children attending a public school where there probably would not be such high levels of encouragement to altruism as in the present study; and (b) college students, who would be at a higher level of cognitive-emotional development, and perhaps be better able to differentiate between different levels of empathy.

Another way to extend this research would be to use some other type of empathy inducing treatment as an independent variable. One such treatment would be a program designed by an educational publisher to encourage normal children to accept differences that exist between themselves and retarded children. This theme is furthered through an attractive series of pictures which tell a story about retarded children. The story also highlights the similarities that exist between the retarded child and other children. Empathic identification could be considered a goal of this project.

Or, this study could be extended by viewing empathyinducement as a long-term project involving extended television viewing and other activities. This type of project
would be very difficult to carry out because of all of the
practical details involved and a great deal of financial
backing would probably be necessary.

The fact remains that many of the children in this study did display noteworthy altruism, even though the results were not significant. "Future research has the vital task of determining combinations of experience that will develop a person who both feels compassion for his fellow human beings and acts upon it" (Hoffman, 1976, p. 143).

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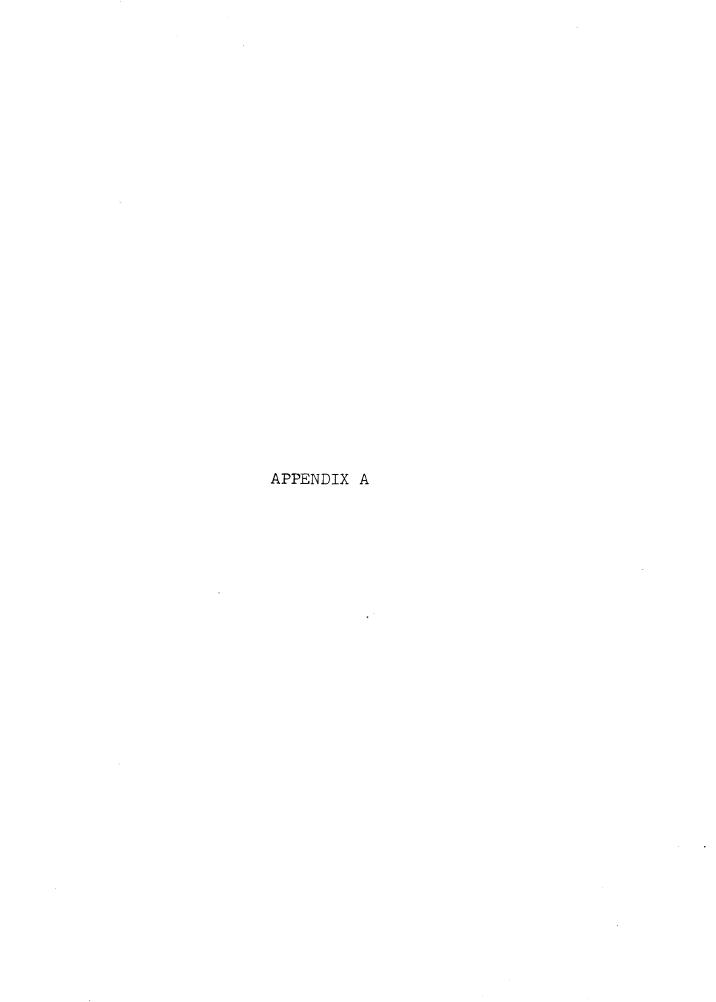
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6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626 * (312) 274-3000

PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Dear Parents:

As parents, you know that there are times when your child is quite capable of acting sensitively and generously to the needs of others. In past years, the topic of helping behavior in children has not been researched as often as have other topics within psychology.

We are currently doing research on helping behavior in children, and are looking at how children respond to other children in need.

We have presented to and reviewed our project with Mr. Joel LoCashio, principal, and the teachers of Our Lady of Mercy School. They have decided to allow us to work this project into their school curriculum.

Specifically, we are going to present children at Our Lady of Mercy School with information about children who are retarded. Part of this information might include a videotape television show of children at a community residential home for children who are retarded. These television programs have been produced and approved with the full cooperation of the home. The research design has been approved by the Psychology Department and by the Loyola University Board for the Protection of Human Subjects.

After learning about children who are retarded, the students will be asked to volunteer their services to work on a project for these children. After consultation with the staff of the home we have determined that the children there might be able to use simple materials for their language lessons. Children who elect to volunteer will be given a small packet of materials to take home and complete. In addition, we hope to compile some questionaire data using self-ratings, peer ratings, and teacher ratings. Some of the children will also participate in the Feffer Role-taking Task, a measure of a child's "role-taking" (how well he can see the perspective of another, or be empathic with another). Another possibility might be to correlate the above with scholastic information about the children.

We would like to ask your approval for your child to participate in this project. We feel that the children who participate will be involved in a very meaningful experience. In addition, all information obtained is completely confidential and findings will only be reported statistically for the group as a whole.

We do ask, though, that if your child participates in this project, that you do not mention your knowledge of this project to your child in any way, until after he/she returns the completed materials. Please do not help him/her in any way with the materials which he/she may bring home.

Our research advisors are: Jeanne Foley, Ph.D., Dean of Social Sciences and Co-founder of the Loyola University Child Day Care Center; Ann Heilman, Ph.D., who is currently helping to organize the Loyola University Applied Psychology Program and who has had years of experience working with children and teaching Developmental Psychology; and Debbie Holmes, Ph.D., Co-founder of the Loyola University Child Day Care Center, researcher into reading development in children and teacher of Developmental Psychology.

If you would like a report about the project when we are finished, please make a notation on the enclosed permission form asking us to send you one.

Your understanding and cooperation on this project are greatly appreciated. Please return the enclosed permission slip with your child to school by WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 19th.

If you would like further information, call Bill Van Ornum at Loyola University, 274-3000, extension 739, or the office of Our Lady of Mercy School, 588-1637.

We hope that this project will be a worthwhile educational experience for your child.

Sincerely yours,

Bernad Grader Kalsh Bill Van Dun Bernard Brady

Colleen Walsh

Bill Van Ornum

Students--LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

enc: Parental Permission Form

OUR LADY OF HERCY SCHOOL and LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PARENTAL PERMISSION SLIP

	We,									,	
give	our	full	perm	iis	ssion for	our chil	Ld,				
								Allegan and a second second second second second		,	
to pa	artio	cipate	in	a	research	project	on	"helping	behavior	in	
child	iren	, "									

This project has been approved by Mr. Joel LoCashio, principal, and by the relevant teachers at Our Lady of Mercy School. Also, by the Psychology Department and the Loyola University Board for the Protection of Human Subjects.

We ask that you do not discuss your knowledge of this LINTIL THE PROJECT IS FINISHED project to your child and that you do not help him/her with any materials that he/she might bring home with him/her.

Please be assured that all information obtained in this study is completely confidential and findings will only be reported for the group as a whole.

Please seal this form in the enclosed envelope and return it with your child to school by WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 19th.

Thanking you for your cooperation,

Mr. Joel LoCashio, Principal Our Lady of Mercy School

Jeanne M. Foley, Ph.D. Professor of Psychology and Dean of Social Sciences, Loyola University

William Van Ornum Graduate Student



February 10, 1977

6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626 * (312) 274-3000 Psychology Department, DH603

Mr. Philip Roos, Executive Director National Association for Retarded Citizens 2709 Avenue E, East Arlington, Texas 76011

Dear Mr. Roos:

I am working on research with Dr. Jeanne Foley (Professor of Psychology; Dean of Social Sciences) in the area of "Altruism in Children." Specifically, one question that our study hopes to answer is: if a group of "normal" children (third and fourth grade) develops empathy toward retarded children, will they be more likely to engage in some form of "helping" behavior toward retarded children?

Other research efforts in this area have been limited in that they have used contrived experimental situations and measures of helping behavior.

To overcome this limitation, we are writing to associations and agencies who deal with the retarded to find out:

- (1) Are there any videotapes or films that could be shown to grade school children, that would make them aware of and sympathetic toward retarded children?
- (2) What volunteer activities could grade school children participate in that would benefit retarded children? Some projects that have been suggested include making scrapbooks and beanbags. We hope to develop a list of such projects.

Can you give us any suggestions about the above questions?

We are hoping that our study will provide information on some of the variables that affect helping behavior in children, and that perhaps insights will be obtained that may help teachers and other professionals who work with children. Should we decide to use any materials that you suggest, we will (if you desire) acknowledge these in any articles that may be published from this project.

Thank you for your time and consideration. Any information that you might be able to send would be greatly appreciated. If you would like a more detailed explanation of our study, please write to us.

Your prompt response is very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Bill Van Dinun

Bill Van Ornum, Graduate Assistant



COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626 * (312) 274-3000

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

February 28, 1977

Sister Rosemary Director, Misericordia Home 6300 N. Ridge Avenue Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sister Rosemary:

I have been supervising the research efforts of Bill Van Ornum. Bill, for his master's thesis, is studying different variables that affect helping behavior in children. One part of this research involves the question: Will normal children, who have developed sympathy and empathy toward retarded children, be more willing to engage in altruistic behaviors toward retarded children, as a result of these attitudes? In order to facilitate empathy and sympathy, Bill would like to use some form of videotape materials.

We realize the possible ethical issues involved in research of this type. Let me assure you that as many steps as are needed will be taken to ensure that any children videotaped will be portrayed with dignity. As an accredited program of the American Psychological Association, research originating from the Clinical Division here at Loyola must conform, in both letter and spirit, to the APA's Ethical Standards of Psychologists. In addition, if any research at Loyola raises ethical problems, it may be referred to the University's Committee on Ethical Treatment of Human Subjects.

These steps are being planned in this study:

- Produce a videotape depicting some of the events in the lives of retarded youngsters. Bill will strive to see that they are portrayed sensitively and with dignity.
 - 2) Edit the videotape, perhaps adding soundtrack and voice.
 - 3) Show the tape to school children as part of a pilot study.
- 4) Observe the reactions of the children toward the tape, to make sure that it facilitates empathic identification. After this, any necessary modifications would be made.
 - 5) Running subjects in the actual study at area grade schools.

Possible ethical questions raised by Bill's study might include: 1) Will the children on the tape be portrayed with dignity?; 2) Who will see the tape?; and 3) Will Misericordia Home be named in the tape?

Page Two Sister Rosemary

February 28, 1977

In order to handle these issues, Bill has proposed that the following steps be taken:

- 1) Review the initial taping and/or editing with you or members of your staff.
- 2) Make any necessary changes in order to have the tape approved.
- 3) Submit a list of schools where the tape will be shown.
- 4) Upon completion of the study, Misericordia may, if desired, retain control of and/or possession of the tape, or may choose to have it erased.

I am confident that these procedures would help to ensure the dignity of the children portrayed, the reputation of Misericordia, as well as allow for effective research. The rationale for Bill's study grows out of the literature on altruistic behavior in children. We are hoping that this study will make a worthwhile contribution to this area.

Sister Rosemary, thank you for your time and consideration about this project. Any help that you can provide on this proposal will be greatly appreciated. If I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitiate to contact me, either in the Dean's office, 274-3000, extension 481, or at my office in the Psychology Department, extension 738.

Sincerely yours,

Jeanne M. Foley, Ph.D.

Professor of Psychology

Dean, Social Sciences Division of Liberal Arts and Sciences.



6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626 * (312) 274-3000

PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT

REQUEST FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS TO SERVE IN A PSYCHOLOGY STUDY

We are currently doing research on helping behavior in children, and are looking at how children respond to other children in need. We would like to present to fourth and fifth grade children at an elementary school information about retarded children. Part of this information might include a videotape television show of children at a community residential home for children who are retarded. This television program has been produced and approved with the full cooperation and a-proval of the home. The research design has been approved by the Psychology Department and by the Loyola University Board for the Protection of Human Subjects.

We are hoping that we can find an elementary school that will allow us to group about 100-125 fourth and fifth grade children into eight groups. Some of these groups will watch a television program about children who are retarded, and then will be presented with a request to help the children who are retarded by taken home a packet of materials and constructing language lesson materials for the children who are retarded. Two groups of children will not watch the television show but will receive the request for help. Approximately forty-five minutes to an hour would be needed for each group.

Another possibility in this study would be to administer the Feffer Role Taking Task to each child who participates in the study. This takes about 30 to 45 minutes to administer to each child individually. The task measures how well a child can perceive the emotional perspective of another person.

We feel that this project has merits beyond its value as an empirical study. A number of people, including faculty at Loyola, undergraduates, and the staff at the children's home, have assisted in the production of the videotapes. One reviewer of the tape described it as quite touching and poignant. We feel that children who participate in this study will learn a great deal and will find this a very meaningful educational experience.

Any further questions can be referred to:

Jeanne M. Foley

Jeanne Foley, Ph.D. Dean, Social Sciences of Arts & Sciences
Professor of Psychology

extension 738 or 481

William Van Ornum Graduate Assistant in Psych.

Wellen Van Ornen

extension 741



Retarded Infants Services, Inc.

386 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10016 Tel: (212) 889-5464

March 2, 1977

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Gerard Wm. O'Regan

Executive Director

Mr. Bill Van Ornum, Graduate Assistant Psychology Department, DH603 Loyola University of Chicago 6525 North Sheridan Road Chicago, Illinois 60626

Dear Mr. Ornum:

We received your letter of February 10th. With respect to your first request for video tapes or films about retarded children, we regret that we do not have any. The National Association for Retarded Children, 2709 Avenue E. East, Arlington, Texas 76010, may have lists of films. Also, United Cerebral Palsy Assoc., 122 East 23 Street, NYC, may have some video tapes which may be available to other groups. By-in-large, in trying to locate suitable films to use with our parent groups, we have found there to be a dearth of good films.

In relation to your second question, certainly the concept of normal children "making things" for retarded children is worthwhile, but perhaps of greater value would be well supervised planned activities in which normal and handicapped youngsters can have a positive exposure to each other. Our contact with families persistenly suggests that the schools do a successful job of completely segregating normal youngsters from handicapped children. In many schools we find that the retarded children are either not permitted to use the school lunchroom, or do so at restricted times when normal youngsters are not there. Similarly, restrictions often prevent retarded children from participating in physical education programs as well as school assemblies and trips. By so insulating normal children from handicapped children, leaving them only with a vague awareness that there are in their school some "different" children, and often with damaging stereotyping, the schools do little to foster a sense of altruism or "helping" behavior.

I am enclosing some information about our Agency and hope that these may be helpful to you. Good luck in your project. Please feel free to contact us if you have any further questions.

Gerard Wm.O'Regan

Sincerely.

Executive Director

APPENDIX C

TO: Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

FROM: William Van Ornum, graduate student in Clinical Psychology

I would like to provide the IRB with the following information, as requested in your memo:

- (1) (Requirements for subject population) This study requires 96 subjects for the planned analysis of variance procedures. The subjects would be drawn from fourth and fifth grade students at an area school.
- (2) (Potential risks) Possible ethical issues involved in creating the videotape treatment conditions might include: 1) Will the children who are retarded be portrayed on the videotape with dignity?; 2) Who will see the videotapes; 3) Will the home for children who are retarded be named on the tapes?

In order to handle these issues, the following steps were proposed to and accepted by the Director of the home for the children who are retarded:

- 1) Review the initial taping and/or editing with the Director or with members of the staff at the home.
- 2) Make any necessary changes in order to have the tape approved.
- 3) Submit a list of schools where the tape will be shown.
- 4) Upon completion of the study, the home for children who are retarded may, if desired, retain control of and/or possession of the tape, or may choose to have it erased.

A possible risk involving subjects in the study: One school board official mentioned that children might feel bad if they decided to help the children who are retarded and then, because of whatever reason, were not able to do so. I propose that the school set aside some time toward the end of the study where children who had not finished as much of their packet as they had hoped to do at home would have an opportunity to do so at school.

- (3) (Consent procedures) The home for children who are retarded will approve the completed videotapes. Regarding consent procedures for subjects, a letter will be sent to parents of children who will participate in the study. Parents will sign the consent form and will send it back in.
- (4) (Confidentiality safeguards) All information obtained in this study will be completely confidential and findings will only be reported for the group as a whole.
- (5) There are a number of benefits that may result from this study. First, it is hoped that the home for children who are retarded will benefit from the videotape productions in the sense that they may develop ideas for staff training videotapes. Perhaps they will find the experimental treatment tapes themselves useful

April 23, 1977

in this way or in other ways. Secondly, we are striving to establis a good relationship between Loyola University and the home for child who are retarded; perhaps this will lead to shared programs in the future. Third, undergraduate students at Loyola University are learning more about mental retardation as a result of this study. Fourth, the children who serve as subjects in this study will hopefully learn a great deal and will find this a very meaningful educational experience. Fifth, the children of the home may actually benefit from the pictures that are put together by the children in the study. Some other potential benefits of the study might include increasing positive attitudes toward the children who are mentally retarded and also adding an empirical study to the literature on altruistic behavior in children.

(6) I feel that the benefits of this study greatly outweigh the risks.

Thank you for your time and consideration about this study.

Sincerely yours,

William Van Orman

William Van Ornum Graduate Assistant, Psychology Loyola University of Chicago

April 23, 1977

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(6) I feel that the benefits of this study greatly outweigh the risks.

Thank you for your time and consideration about this study.

Sincerely yours,

William Van Orman

William Van Ornum Graduate Assistant, Psychology Loyola University of Chicago APPENDIX D

HOW TO MAKE FLASHCARDS

FOR CHILDREN WHO ARE RETARDED

Inside this packet, you will find: 1) Some sheets of colored cardboard;

- 2) Some letters that have been cut out; 3) Some magazines; 4) A pencil;
- 5) Some glue; and 6) Some Q-tips for spreading the glue around.

HERE IS WHAT YOU CAN DO: 1) Paste a cardboard letter on a colored piece of cardboard. 2) Look through the magazines until you find a picture beginning with that letter. 3) On the other side of the cardboard, paste the picture. 4) Under the picture, write what it is.

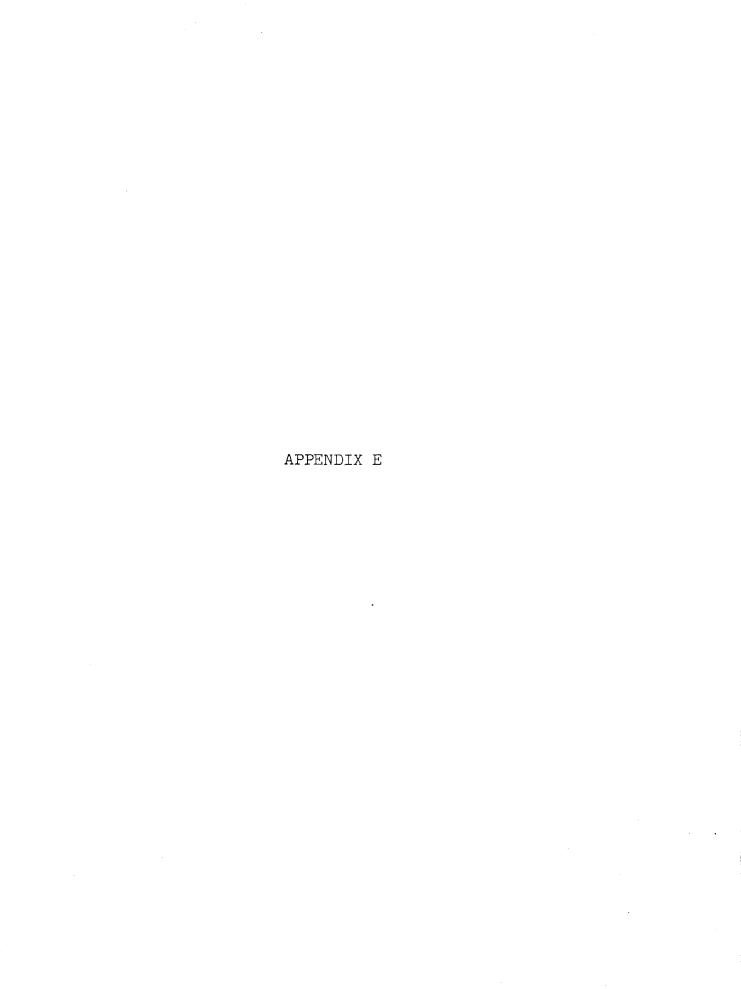
YOU ONLY HAVE TO DO AS MANY FLASHCARDS AS YOU FEEL LIKE DOING.

- --Please work on this project yourself and don't ask your mom and dad or brothers and sisters or friends for help.
- -- If you finish a packet and want to do more, seal and close this packet and bring it back to school. There, you can take another packet.
- --Try not to use too much glue, just a little bit of glue is all that you need. If you do run out of glue, use some of your own glue or take another packet from school.
- -- There are extra magazines at school that you can take if you need to.

WHEN YOU ARE FINISHED WITH THIS PACKET, SEAL IT AND CLOSE IT AND DROP IT OFF IN THE BOX IN YOUR CLASSROOM.

The packets must be returned by Friday, November 18th.

After this time you will learn more about the project.



Appendix E

Altruism Scores and Means

High Dependency Condition

	Empathy +	High	Informative-	Poster
	Modeling	Empathy	Talk Control	Control
Males	4 8 6 12 12	0 12 1 9.6 0	18 8.9 0 18 0	12 4 9.6 17.4 12 4
<u>M</u>	8.40	3.77	10.48	9.83
S <u>D</u>	3.58	5.51	8.85	5.19
Females	12	12	12	0
	10	9	6	12
	12	0	6	0
	8.9	0	12	18
	8.8	12	12	12
	12	12	14	18
M	9.1	7.50	10.33	10.00
SD	4.26	5.92	3.44	8.20

Appendix E (continued)

Low Dependency Condition

	Empathy + Modeling	High Empathy	Informative- Talk Control	Poster Control
Males	12	13	0	10
	16	12	1	12
	16.2	7	0	18
	7	10	17•9	0
	12	12	18	6
	3	6	17	5
M	11.03	10.0	8.98	8.50
<u>SD</u>	5.18	2.90	9.49	6.25
Females	18 12 12 10 7	12 12 12 5 0 11	0 12 10 12 18 9.4	12 17 9.9 16 15.2 13.6
M	10.10	8.67	10.23	13.95
SD	5.50	5.05	5.86	2.66

APPENDIX F

Letter to the Teachers

November 10, 1978

Dear Sister or Dear Paula,

Thanks so much for letting us into your classroom these past few days!

Please try not to give encouragement to the children on this project. However, if the children have questions about any of these points below, the following information may be given to them:

- •All packets must be returned by Friday Nov. 18th
- Only one extra packet may be taken by each child
- They can use their own glue if they run out
- •Or, if they say they couldn't open the glue, it's O.K. to use other glue or ask their Mom or Dad to help open the glue

On other questions please try to just say that we'll answer these after next Friday.

Thanks again.

Bill Bernie Colleen

P.S. Could we talk about the questionnaires and Feffer Task with you next Friday?

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by William Van Ornum has been read and approved by the following committee:

Jeanne M. Foley, Ph.D., Director Professor of Psychology and Dean for Social Sciences, Loyola University of Chicago

Ann E. Heilman, Ph.D. Assistant Professor of Psychology, Loyola University of Chicago

Deborah L. Holmes, Ph.D. Assistant Professor of Psychology, Loyola University of Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date | 21,1978

Director's Signature